



[And say : My Lord ! Increase me in knowledge.—Qur'ân]

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MEETINGS AND SALONS UNDER THE CALIPHATE

"In the Agora men become conspicuous" is a saying of Homer. The Agora is the place where men gather, usually for debate, and there various talents find an opportunity for revealing themselves. The chief purpose of the speakers is to persuade, and an art or even science of rhetoric develops. But there are other gatherings of which the object is either instruction or entertainment. In these the talents which can be displayed are more varied; the purpose of the performers is not necessarily to persuade, but rather to please or to win admiration.

Such information as we can glean of pre-Islamic conditions in Arabia indicates that the states or communities were more democratic than was afterwards the case. In a Katabanian inscription published by Glaser and since interpreted by Rhodokanakis¹ there is mention of assemblies which approve legislation. The language in which the result of their deliberations is couched could not easily be exceeded by any draftsman of our time in cumbersome verbosity and wearisome repetition. The monument only records an Act of the Katabanian parliament, which like ours consisted of lords and commons; if any Hansard of the time reported the debates which preceded the passing of the Act, his work appears to have perished. This parliament like ours was summoned by a king.

Pre-Islamic Meccah, if the Prophet's biography may be trusted, lacked this element of our constitution. We read of debates followed by resolutions, but our ideas of the procedure are somewhat vague. Such meetings must have been summoned, there must have been a chairman and some rules of procedure. During the difficult years which followed the Prophet's Migration the deliberative assembly, whatever its constitution, must have held frequent sittings, and some persons besides Abu Sufyân must have won fame by eloquence or wisdom.

(1) *Der Grundsatz der Oeffentlichkeit* etc.

The archæologists pay more attention to the meetings for entertainment. They tell us how at the pre-Islamic fairs poets produced their productions, and competitions not altogether dissimilar to those of the Greeks took place. Abu Hayyan held that to question the supremacy of the Arabs in oratory was to fly in the face of common sense. Compositions, both in prose and verse, ostensibly delivered on such occasions, are preserved by the historians of literature. Their claim to genuineness is another question.

In Islamic times the deliberative assembly formed no part of the constitution. The sovereigns naturally consulted persons on whose judgment they relied, and are likely to have held meetings of councillors, but the responsibility for the decisions was exclusively theirs. When, as often happened, the sovereign delegated his duties to a vizier, the conduct of the latter might, if disaster occurred, provoke popular indignation, but there was no legally constituted assembly which could pass a vote of censure. The appointment and dismissal of viziers were either arbitrary acts of the sovereign or the result of intrigues. Miskawaili's Chronicle is instructive for the light which it sheds on these dark corners.

The only authorized meeting which the sovereign addressed was that in the Mosque on Friday. In early times this corresponded to some extent with the "Speech from the Throne" with which the monarch in many states opens parliament. It contained at least at times some account of the policy which had been followed and that which the sovereign proposed to pursue. We learn that it was a frequent source of anxiety to a sovereign who doubted his mastery of the Arabic language or his oratorical ability. When the Caliph became a figurehead—in 324 A.H.—it was natural that he should be deprived of this opportunity of airing his opinions. The last sermon of the Caliph who first surrendered his independence is recorded. It was delivered in this very year and had a political purpose¹.

The Caliph, however, could be in one place only at a time, and in other cities than the Residence some one had to act for him. If this delegate were disloyal, the Friday sermon gave him an opportunity of putting forward disloyal opinions, and winning adherents. The case of Mu'awiyah is familiar. When Uthman, the third Caliph, had been murdered, Mu'awiyah, governor of Damascus, took the opportunity which the Friday sermon afforded

(1) *Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, i. 333.

him of arousing public sentiment against 'Ali, who had assumed the sovereignty at Medinah. He suspended from the pulpit the fingers of Uthman's wife, which had been amputated by the assassins when she endeavoured to ward off the strokes from her husband, and inflamed passion against the alleged author of the crime by pointing to this ghastly relic. The rivals presently introduced mutual execrations into the Friday sermon, and the successful Umayyads maintained the practice of cursing 'Ali on this occasion till it was abolished by the pious 'Umar II. In 284, probably owing to the consolidation of the Umayyad power in Spain, Mu'tadid contemplated re-introducing the cursing of Mu'awiyah, and was with difficulty prevented from enacting this¹; and in 321, when an Umayyad in that country had openly taken the title Caliph, some statesmen in Baghdad were inclined to have recourse to the same measure², but seem to have abandoned the idea owing to the public agitation. It is unlikely that this was due to any reverence for the memory of Mu'awiyah. 'According to Tabari the danger lay in reviving loyalty to 'Ali, whose descendants were a constant source of anxiety to the Abbasids'.

An interesting account of the political employment of the Friday service is given by Tabari in his record of the events which followed Ma'mûn's declaration of independence³. The Caliph Amin summons his family, his clients, and his captains into the royal pew in the Shammasiyyah Mosque for the Friday prayer. The Caliph discharges his duty of leading prayer and then enters the Palace. His son Mûsa and the minister al-Fadl b. al-Rabi remain in the sanctuary. One of these then reads out a letter from the Caliph recording the illegal acts of Ma'mûn, and reminding his subjects of their obligations. The ordinary preacher of the Mosque then rose and declared his approval of the contents of the letter which had been read. Al-Fadl then delivered an oration, sitting, wherein he gave it as his opinion that no one but Amin had any claim to the title Caliph or sovereign. He spoke at length and with great emphasis. A rather important contribution which his speech contained was an undertaking on behalf of Amin's son Mûsa to distribute three million dirhens among the people of Khorâsân. The other speakers were chiefly officers of the court.

(1) Tabari iii. 2164.

(2) *Eclipse* i. 260.

(3) Leiden ed. iii. 796.

times is recorded by Jahiz in his work on Oratory¹. After the defeat of the Pretender Zaid, the orators of the Alawid family were ordered to proclaim their disapproval of his rebellion at a public gathering. One of these contented himself with a brief statement, which he afterwards defended on the ground that the occasion was too melancholy a one for the display of eloquence; he could easily have made such a display had it been appropriate. Another speaker, great-grandson of Ja'far "the Winged," delivered an eloquent harangue and was regarded by those who heard him as the greatest orator of his time.

The Greco-Roman world associated oratory with the law-courts, and many of the finest specimens of the art which have come down to us were either delivered or meant to be delivered at trials. Since there was no lack of litigation in the Islamic countries under the Caliphate, we might well expect that professional advocates and professional attorneys would arise, since the utility of both could not be doubted. References to such persons are however very rare. Where the litigant was an individual, he might and ordinarily did conduct his own case. But when the litigant was a community, representation was necessary, and there are anecdotes illustrative of its employment. In Ma'mun's time the people of Kufah complained of their governor, who was a favourite of the Caliph. They held meetings, and (apparently) resolved on a petition for his removal. The Caliph agreed to give the case a hearing, and bade the people of Kufah send some one to plead their cause. They replied that the only advocate at their disposal who was fit to plead before the Caliph suffered from the infirmity of deafness. The Caliph promised to put up with this. When the time arrived for hearing the petition, this deaf advocate presented himself, was told to sit down, and was asked by Ma'mun to state his case. He proceeded to enumerate the disasters which their governor's misconduct had brought upon them, causing them ultimately to leave their city and implore the Caliph's mercy. The Caliph in reply told him that his statements were all false, and that their governor was a model of what a governor should be. The advocate, in answer to the Caliph's tirade, admitted that the latter was quite right, and that all his own charges had been false; but, he asked ought our city alone among so many to have enjoyed the privilege of this model governor all these years? Surely some others ought to have the benefit of

(1) Ed. 1, i. 120.

his exemplary conduct besides us! The Caliph was non-plussed by this rejoinder and dismissed the governor¹.

Rather more serious pleading before a Caliph is recorded in a story told the author of *The Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge* by his father². The Caliph Mu'tadid, wearied of adventurers who had entrenched themselves in walled cities, had resolved to rase the walls of Antioch, and the inhabitants, alarmed thereat, sent a deputation to plead with him for their preservation. The deputation consisted of ten persons, of whom the elder Tanukhi (the source of the narrative) was one. Their plea that the destruction of the walls would leave the city exposed defenceless to the Byzantine raiders was met by the rejoinder that a garrison would be established there; and the deputation at first were unable to answer, especially as the Caliph declared that he had pledged his word. Tanukhi, however, proved equal to the situation. He assured the Caliph that, if only they could be sure of always having so wise a sovereign and one so careful of their interests as Mu'tadid, his substitute for walls would be adequate. Only another Caliph might arise inferior to him in prudence and ability, and where would the people of Antioch be? Let the Caliph's word by all means be kept; let him order his workmen to devote a day to the demolition of the wall, but permit the people of Antioch immediately to repair it. To this solution Mu'tadid gave his assent.

Except in such cases pleaders would seem rarely, if ever, to have been employed, and where we have reports of litigation, the litigants seem regulary to be their own advocates. Tanukhi, who was himself a judge, and belonged to a family which produced many judges, appears to know nothing of advocates or even legal advisers. Where several persons constituted the party in a case, they all appeared in court, and (we must suppose) chose their own spokesman. One of his stories illustrates the procedure, though even the spokesman is not mentioned³. A man who had possessed great quantities of wearing apparel died, having for heirs some cousins; there was, however, a widow (doubtless entitled to a share), who after his death had removed all his goods, leaving only one box, containing pantaloons. The cousins came and sealed up the chests, etc., but these, when opened after

(1) *Muruj al-Dhahab*, Cairo ed. ii. 230.

(2) E. T., p. 238.

(3) *Table-talk*, E. T. P. 206.

the mourning, were found to be empty. There was nothing but the boxes containing the hose. An action was brought by the cousins, who with the widow came to the metropolis for the trial. An abstract is given of the speech of the cousins, though it is not stated whether they all spoke or only one of them. They asserted that the deceased was celebrated for the magnificence of his attire, and that it was grossly improbable that he should have possessed numerous changes of one garment only. The widow "came forward eagerly as one with an answer prepared". She referred the judge to a case recorded by Jahiz of Basrah, of a man who had a passion for mortars, and had collected two hundred of them; "my late husband" she said "had a similar passion for pantaloons". *Solvuntur, risu tabulae*—the court broke up in laughter. One would expect that persons less gifted than this particular lady would have had recourse to some one more experienced and more capable than themselves, but it is not easy to find anecdotes in confirmation of this. The practice in ancient Athens appears to have been for the litigant to get a speech composed for him by a professional orator, which he delivered himself. In such scenes as Hariri describes the litigant (as in the anecdote quoted) does everything himself. In Maqamah xxxiv the narrator purchases a slave-boy from Abu Zaid; the lad, when asked his name, at first keeps silence, but presently recites some verses in which he says he is "Joseph." When the vendor has received the purchase money, and in an affecting scene parted from the lad, the latter declares the sale invalid, on the ground that being free born he could not be sold (the vendor in fact being his father). This assertion leads to a dispute, proceedings to fisticuffs, and ending in an action before the Qadi, who decides that the purchaser has no remedy, since he had received due warning that the sale was invalid; "Joseph" being a typical example of an illegal sale. By an artifice employed by Philostratus near the beginning of our era, and by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle in our own time, the narrator of the Maqamahs represents himself as unusually dull-witted; we should have expected him therefore in such an emergency to have sought legal advice and have been represented by counsel. Neither of these ideas occurs to him, and it would appear that they occurred to no one else.

The Maqamahs take us to another form of meeting, that of which the purpose is entertainment or possibly instruction. It is of great interest to find the word *Maqam* already employed in the Katabanian inscription cited at

the commencement of this article in the sense of "assembly"; the old translation "The Assemblies of Hariri" turns out to be right. The word is derived from a part of the verb which in the older language had the sense "to gather". Hence it tells us nothing about the posture of the speaker, who may have either stood or sat.

The place where Moslems most naturally gather is the Mosque. It was therefore possible not only to address them from the pulpit on political questions, but to ask them for information. The *Aghani*¹ furnishes an illustration of such procedure. One of the Umayyad Caliphs (the name is not given) orders the governor of Medinah after his sermon to ask the congregation who was the author of a particular verse, and to what tribe a particular poet belonged. The congregation from all sides gave the reply to the first question: there was a general shout "Kuthayyir". To the second question no-one at first offered an answer; ultimately a Bedouin from the back row was able to name the tribe. Thus the problem which had occupied the Caliph, which was the better known, the verse or the poet, was satisfactorily solved.

The "Circle" in the Mosque, *i.e.*, the practice whereby one who wished to gather an audience established himself in a suitable place, began early; we are told that one Jabir b. Abdallah, who died 78 A.H., had such a "circle" in the Prophet's Mosque at Medinah². Doubtless the proper subjects of instruction at these circles were religious; but these included edifying stories, and the "story-teller" had his place not only in the streets, but in the cathedral mosques. At times the activities of these persons were forbidden by edict³, but they were too popular to be permanently suppressed. We read in the record of events belonging to the year 66 of a mosque in Kufah called "the Story-tellers' Mosque"; it was frequented by the "men" (traditionalists?) of the people of the time, who told stories there⁴.

A graphic account of the story-telling conducted in the mosques is given by Jahiz of Basrah in his zoological treatise⁵. One Abu Ka'b was in the habit of story-telling in the Mosque of Attab every Wednesday. One day a crowd awaited him, but he failed to appear; presently he

(1) vii. 180 (ed. 1).

(2) Zurqani, *comm. on Muwatta*, i. 56.

(3) Tabari iii. 2165 (A.H. 284).

(4) Tabari ii. 656.

(5) iii. 7, 8.

sent an excuse for disappointing them, which was that he had not recovered from the effects of the previous night's intoxication. On another occasion he went to the Mosque after dining "not wisely, but too well". It was the time of evening prayer, there was a great crowd assembled, and the Mosque was sheltered with matting from cold, wind, and rain. The niche showing the direction of prayer was sunk deep in the wall. The leader of prayer was a feeble old man. When he had finished the service, he turned his face to the congregation and concealed himself in a corner of the niche. The storyteller took his seat directly in front of the minister and with his person and his clothes filled up the remainder of the niche. He then commenced narrating, calling on his audience at various points to repeat the creed *There is no God but Allah*.

The practice had become so common in the early centuries of Islam that certain regulations dealing with it were ascribed to the Prophet, in whose time we may feel certain it had not been introduced. Indeed there appears to be a tradition to that effect.¹ A'ishah is reported to have given some rules to the "story-teller" of the people of Medinah which would have strictly limited his activities.

Besides the Mosques there were other meeting places which varied in different cities. In Umayyad times a singer who came to Hims (Emesa) with the view of earning money by his profession asked where the young men were in the habit of gathering. He was told that he had best go to the baths. He entered one of these and found the company that he sought. After a time they took him to the house of one among them, where he exhibited his musical powers. Unfortunately they greatly preferred a local performer, and when this latter arrived and received the applause which the stranger had been unable to secure, the latter hastened elsewhere.²

The assemblies at which the heroes of the Maqamahs exhibited their talents were mostly haphazard; some of them however were wedding-feasts or the like. Magnates and persons of wealth could afford to have *salons* in their own houses: fixed times at which those who were possessed of some literary or artistic talent got an opportunity of displaying it. This practice was followed by most of the viziers, governors, etc., who figure in the chronicles or collections of anecdotes as patrons of literature. Not unfrequently the patrons (like those of Juvenal's time)

(1) See Wensinck's *Handbook of Tradition*.

(2) *Aghani* ii. 123.

"themselves wrote verse and yielded only to Homer owing to his thousand years' seniority", or had strong opinions which the performers had to be careful to respect. Abu'l-Ala of Ma'arrah, who, if only he could find a Fitzgerald, might become as popular in Europe as Omar Khayyam, had the misfortune to differ from the holder of a salon about the merits of the poet Mutanabbi; the slaves were told to drag him feet foremost from the room.

One of the most famous of these literary patrons was the "Count" Isma'il b. Abbad, vizier of the Buwaihid Fakhr al-Daulah, about whom a disappointed aspirant to fame and fortune composed a monograph, large portions of which have been published in the biography of the Count: indeed the whole is said to be in existence, but has been withheld from publication, either because its title "Censure of the Two Viziers" was thought by the Sultan Abd al-Hamid II likely to encourage liberal opinions, or because the work had the reputation of bringing ill-luck. If its statements are to be trusted, the Count's methods were apt to be crude and unworthy of a great man. Access to his salons was to be had by the grossest flattery, the thicker the more effective. Some of these were held at the annual festivals. Access was given to poets who had composed encomia on the vizier, and the vizier would compose such on himself, and suborn a "crafty Baghdadian" to recite the verses as his own. His recitation was to come third in the list, and the vizier would assign it a handsome prize—to the indignation of the competitors who were convinced that the winner was quite incapable of producing a verse. On a certain occasion two distinguished visitors were announced. The vizier before admitting them hands one of his staff a couple of verses, which are merely abuse of these visitors, and requests him to get them by heart and come back after a short time, and solicit permission to recite them as his own; he must not mind if the vizier at first indignantly refuses to hear them. The comedy proceeds according to plan. After severe handling by the vizier the supposed poet gets permission to recite his lampoon. He is told that he is a bad boy, but that the verses are excellent.¹

Two detailed reports of proceedings at such assemblies have come down to us, one of them incorporated in the Epistles of Hamadхани, the other in the biography of the grammarian Abu Sa'id of Siraf. The latter of these belongs to the first half, the former to the second half of

(1) *Irshad al-Arib* ii. 278.

the fourth Islamic century. The "assembly" in each case has to hear a debate or competition between two celebrities, one of whom is the reporter, who may have reported favourably to himself. Hamadhani according to his own statement came to Nisabur, where one Abu Bakr of Khawarizm had acquired great fame as a litterateur, and indeed his Epistles still count as models of style. Hamadhani had on his journey encountered brigands, who had appropriated his baggage, so that he arrived at Nisabur in distressed circumstances. He there addressed a letter to Khawrizmi, whose reply was somewhat chilling, and a rather acrid correspondence followed, from which it appears that Hamadhani must have found friends at Nisabur. Finally the latter summoned his rival to a public competition, which took place in the house of a local magnate. The subjects suggested for competition were feats of memory, verse or prose composition, and improvisation of any sort; these being literary departments wherein Khwarizmi had acquired fame. Khawrizmi selected the last of these. Hamadhani then produced a poem of thirty verses by his rival, and offered to match each verse of it with another identical in meaning, but different in expression, without pausing to take breath; and to admit himself beaten if any one could show that Khwarizmi's verse was in any way superior to its counterfeit, or could even say to which of them any of the verses belonged. To this proposal Khawrizmi made the natural objection that for all he knew Hamadhani might have prepared his "improvisation" a long time beforehand. The latter suggested as an alternative that his rival might select the verses to be matched himself. Finally they compromised by persuading the chairman to select a verse in the metre and rhyme of which each of them was to improvise an ode. These odes are produced, and the editor of the Epistles is in doubt which of the two is the worse doggerel, but on the whole regards Hamadhani's as the poorer. After each has criticized the other's performance, Hamadhani suggests that each should quote a verse which the other is to match in an ode; and undertakes to repeat his rival's compositions without hesitation. Khwarizmi cites a line for this purpose, but interrupts Hamadhani at the end of his first verse to find fault. Unfortunately his criticism conflicts with the usage of the Koran, and there is a general protest from the audience. According to the narrator Khwarizmi lost his temper, and indulged in violent language, which the former at first tolerated with dignity; presently, however, he declared himself quite ready to

make the competition one of bad language, if that were desired. Khwarizmi's retort is interesting, though in doubtful taste : " I " he said " by my talents have amassed a fortune which would be the ransom of the whole population of Hamadhan ; how much have you acquired by yours ? " To this Hamadhani replies that he would not compete with the other in beggary ; and that he knew of a Jew whose fortune was far larger than Khwarizmi's, but who would gladly change places with himself. He then proceeded to personalities which were brought to an end by the introduction of a musical performance, after which the assembly broke up.

Good-natured persons then endeavoured to reconcile the rival litterateurs, with such success that Hamadhani accepted Khwarizmi's hospitality. A rumour however presently reached the latter that Hamadhani had been claiming the victory, and this led to a renewal of angry correspondence between the parties. There was nothing to be done but organize a fresh competition, and for this the Mustaufi (Chancellor of the Exchequer) Abu'l-Qasim lent his house. The judges, jurists, nobles, and many other inhabitants of Nisabur were present. Hamadhani gives a list of these celebrities of the time and place, so far as they were favourable to himself ; he dismisses his rival's supporters with some contemptuous phrases. When Khwarizmi arrives, he is asked to suggest a subject for competition, and at first declares that the subject must be grammar, and nothing else. A distinguished fellow-citizen points out to him that something more is expected of him, and he agrees to compete (as before) in improvisation. Khwarizmi proceeds to improvise in the metre and rhyme of a line suggested by one of the audience ; Hamadhani finds numerous faults with the verses, to which the other retorts that he is misquoting. Accordingly in the next bout the rivals are told to commit their improvisations to paper. Hamadhani produces his own verses, which are respectable ; Khwarizmi's according to him were so bad that he asked the jurists present whether if a man swore that he would divorce his wives if ever he composed poetry, and then produced these verses, the wives would be divorced ; and the jurists replied that the marriage would be unaffected.

The next subject of competition is epistolography, to which enormous importance was attached. Indeed a dispute about proficiency in this art seems to have led to

the Umayyad conquest of Spain¹. Hamadhani offers to compete in four hundred different styles of letter-writing, such as a letter which contains its own answer, or a letter which reads backwards, etc. Khwarizmi declines competition in these artificial styles, and they agree to produce rival communications on the subject of the debased currency. That of Khwarizmi is (as usual) in rhyme, according to his rival of too cheap a sort; Hamadhani's is to be read backwards from the end, but it is not clear that the rhymes are more *recherche* than the other's.

They now proceed to the Arabic language, which means knowing by heart a certain number of classical manuals. According to the report Hamadhani can repeat straight off the passage named by his rival, whereas his rival is quite unable to do the like. The next subject is Arabic metric, and Khwarizmi has a fainting-fit, which terminates the assembly. The rivals are afterwards entertained at a repast, where they indulge in mutual vituperation.

Possibly Khwarizmi's account of the assemblies would have been somewhat different; one could have wished that Hamadhani had adhered to his proposition that *adab* "learning" also means "courtesy" and "refinement". There is no reason for doubting that the scenes described were characteristic of these salons. One matter which the report indicates is the rapidity with which Mutanabbi, who is called "our contemporary" had become recognized as the greatest Arabic poet. When verses are wanted as models, those which first occur to the speakers are his.

One other point may be noticed. Khwarizmi was an adherent of the Shi'ah, Hamadhani supposed to be of the Sunnah. The latter was afraid that his views might discredit him with some prominent members of his audience; so he produced some verses of his own in honour of the Prophet's family, to show that he was orthodox on this matter. It would appear, however, that neither of the rivals endeavoured otherwise to introduce religious prejudice into the competition. We cannot say quite as much for the other "assembly", to which we proceed.

This took place in Baghdad, and the entertainer and chairman was that member of the Furat family who is generally known as Ibn Hinzabah; he was the last vizier of Muqtadir, and was present at the battle in which the latter lost his life. One would have expected that in this year of confusion (320 A.H.) the vizier, of whose ad-

(1) Dozy's *Spanish Islam*, transl. Stokes, p. 183.

ministrative ability there was no doubt, would have little time to hold a salon ; but the fact is attested (apparently) not only by the Grammarian Abu Sa'id, who played a leading part therein, but by another grammarian, known as "the Pious Sheikh", who supplied Abu Hayyan with an even more detailed report than the other could provide.¹ As in the other case, names of prominent persons who were present are recorded ; and it is an indication of the monopoly of talent exercised by the metropolis that several of these names are still known by writings which have survived. There were besides the sort of guests whose presence at fashionable gatherings of our own time is reported in the newspapers : the *corps diplomatique*, ex-ministers, popular poets, etc. The Chairman began by calling attention to a statement which had been made by the philosopher Matthew of Dair-Qunna to the effect that the Aristotelian logic was indispensable for the distinction between truth and falsehood, and the detection of fallacies. Would not some member of the audience publicly debate the matter with Matthew and prove him to be mistaken ?

The reason for the vizier's alarm at Matthew's doctrine is doubtless to be found in the name *Furqan* which is one of the many whereby the Koran is designated. That word is said by the commentators to mean "the Discrimination" *i.e.*, the criterion whereby truth is distinguished from falsehood. Hence the assertion that some other work—the *Organon* of Aristotle—was the sole criterion would clearly impugn this claim of the Koran ; and that the chairman had this consequence in mind is clear from what follows. At first the audience were all silent ; no one took up the challenge. He then expressed his disappointment ; "I had supposed you" he said "to be oceans of learning, defenders of the faith and of its adherents, beacons to the searchers after truth ; can no one come forward ?" The grammarian Abu Sa'id, still the most popular interpreter of the great grammatical treatise of Sibawaihi, at last ventured to reply. He pointed out that it was a very different matter to work out such problems in the calm of the study from discussing them before so distinguished an audience, which might well abash any expert. The chairman told him in reply that as he had volunteered to excuse the others, he is the proper person to take up Matthew's challenge.

In the dialogue which follows Matthew displays as much incompetence as Khwarizmi in the other. Abu

(1) *Irshad al-Arib* iii. 108.

Sa'id with some skill turns the discussion into one on the comparative importance of logic and grammar, and being an expert in the latter subject speedily reduces the other to impotence. He certainly had a feeble antagonist to deal with if it be true that Matthew declared the phrases "Zaid is the best of the brethren" and "Zaid is the best of his brethren" to be equally correct, and was unable to distinguish between them. Nor does it say much for the general knowledge of either that they acquiesce in the statement that the works of the Greeks have all perished, and are only preserved in Syriac translations. There must have been people in Baghdad at this time who knew better. It must be admitted that such opportunities as remain to us of judging the attainments of Matthew of Dair Qunna incline us to the belief that the report of the dialogue is correct. And indeed Abu Sa'id's view that the professional philosophers of his time were impostors is in painful accordance with the contents of many of their works. Airstotle in the Rhetoric mentions among the occasions when men are not angry "in festival". The Greek *en cortei* was misread *en orgai* "in anger". The Arabic translator makes the philosopher say that one of the occasions when men are not angry is "in anger", and is apparently quite satisfied with this proposition.

The chairman before dismissing the assembly congratulated Abu Sa'id on his success, assuring him that his performance would be immortal—which owing to the efforts of Abu Hayyan (from whom Yaqut derived his copy of the dialogue, and whose own work awaits publication) has proved to be a true prophecy. Abu Sa'id lived to take a leading part in a salon held 44 years later, when Ibn al-Amid the younger, vizier of Rukn al-daulah, came to Baghdad. The vizier propounded a question which Abu Sa'id regarded as profane. He was now old and distinguished enough to rebuke his chairman and host for propounding it.

A notice of one more salon may conclude our list. One Abu Sulaiman Sijistani was holding a meeting of litterateurs in his house when the death of Adud al-daulah, the capable ruler of Baghdad, was announced. One of them recollected the scene by the coffin of Alexander the Great. There were a number of savants present in Babylon at the time, including Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Aristotle's, *Topics*, Democritus and others; this at least is what Tha'alibi records,¹ and the responsibility for the chrono-

(1) *Histoire des Rois de Perse*, p. 450.

logical and other difficulties must be his. These eminent men (and books) decided that each should produce an apothegm which could serve as an epitaph for the deceased conqueror. Abu Sulaiman's guests agreed to follow their example. And the record of their sayings is again due to Abu Hayyan¹. A historian who lived a couple of centuries later than this scene thought the superiority of the epitaphs on Alexander proportionate to the superiority of Alexander over Adud al-daulah. To us, who are removed from both by a further interval of nine centuries, the value of the two sets seems about the same.

(1) *Eclipse* iii. 76.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

AN ECHO OF PERSIAN POETRY

O the joy of youth !
O the dream of love !
Have they fled with the days of yore
When the earth around
And the heavens above
The smile of their Maker wore ?

Then the days shone bright
And love's hope became
A garden like Eden fair ;
Then the Night's still voice
To my spirit came
Like bliss on the moonlit air !

Then the Nightingale
To the Rose did sing
Love's woes that his heart opprest,
And the Rose sighed forth
To the breath of Spring
The perfume of love in her breast.

Like the Rainbow's arch
Rose the wings of my dream
Twixt earth and the realms above,
And all forms of life
In that arch did seem
God's tokens of grace and love.

And my soul was thrilled
With a strange delight —
Soft pain and a sweet unrest,
And each thrill in my soul
Was a blossom bright
Unfolding within my breast.

Who will bring that dream
To my heart again ?
Who will show me that garden fair ?
Who will echoes bring
Of that haunting strain
That came on the moonlit air ?

Who can tell me where
Is that magic flower
That sighed forth the perfume of love
To the Nightingale
While the moon did shower
Love's light from the realms above ?

Let the Seeker seek,
He shall find them still ;
His Quest --it shall not be vain !
Though his fading eye
May have lost its skill,
His heart shall yet find them again !

NIZAMAT JUNG.

NEW LIGHTS ON MOGHUL INDIA FROM ASSAMESE SOURCES

PART III.

Analysis of the Padshah-Buranji.

RUNGADDIN'S DEFEAT OF PITHOR RAJA, THE LAST HINDU KING OF DELHI.

Muhammad Shâh of Alamanja rules at Majitpur, the capital of Nako¹, noted for its fabulous birds and wealth. He had three hundred wives, but no issue. On the advice of Shêr Khân 'Alî, the Pâdshâh offers gold to Mecca and gets a son who is named Rungaddîn. Rungaddîn succeeds his father, and asks his Wazîr and his Kâzi to trace the date of the establishment of his dynasty. The records were consulted, which showed that the line was as ancient as the war between the Kauravas and the Pandavas. Rungaddîn's prosperity enabled him to make enormous charities; even beggar-women possessed gold ornaments. Being ambitious of military glory, Rungaddîn starts on an expedition of conquest with his general Fateh-jang-Khân and defeats Shêkh Pingal, King of Rûm, who agrees to pay tribute. Rungaddîn then marches against Pithor Raja, the Hindu King of Delhi, who meets the invader

(1) Where is Nako? The author of the *P.B.* refers to it as *the land of the Nakos*. This country is famous for its fabulous birds *viz.*, Hurma, Sarol, Serengi, and Murta-khuras. The *hurmas* lived on the flesh of elephants and rhinoceros. The *sarols* like the phoenix flapped their wings and produced fire in which they were consumed. The *serengis* assumed several colours during the course of the day. The *murtakhuras* or *swikars* swallowed live charcoals of bamboo fuel without any injury to themselves. This *Nako* may be a variation of the fabulous bird Lokheh mentioned by Emperor Babar in his autobiographical *Memories* as believed to have existed in Afghanistan or near about that kindgom in Transoxonia. Pringle Kennedy writes in his *History of the Greata Mughuls*, vol. 1, p. 134,—'Another curious fable Babar mentions as regards a bird which he called Lokheh or Chameleon-bird, to wit, that if it flies across a vine-yard, it falls down.'

with his Rajput adherents. The Pathans and the Rajputs were equally invincible. At last Pithor Raja was killed in the battle. His body was burnt on a pile of *agar-chandan* brought by his son Kumud Singha and his brother Rana Singha. The widows of Pithor Raja, numbering 120, followed their lord on the funeral pile. After the Raja's death the contest was renewed by Kumud Singha and Rana Singha but they were defeated. Delhi was swept by the broom of plunder and Pithor Raja's crown, worth three lakhs of rupees, was presented by Rungaddîn to his general Fâtch-jang- Khan. Rungaddîn occupied the throne and ruled wisely. He consulted the late Raja's priest Sarbabhaum-Chandra as to the principles he should adopt during his rule in India. Rungaddîn did not alter the old order of things. The new ruler organised the army in India by creating officers of various ranks and designations, such as mansabdars, fauzadars, ek-hazaris, do-hazaris, tin-hazaris, char-hazaris, panch-hazaris etc. His palace consisted of the following divisions,—mardâna mahall, zânâna-mahall, dewân-khâna, khânsama, rêz-dewân, rôz-adawalat etc. On Sundays and Wednesdays the Pâdshâh decides cases, on Thursdays he settles matters regarding Hindu and Moslem shrines, Fridays are reserved for prayer. Rungaddîn became Pâdshâh in the *Saka* year 843. From his time Hindu rule ceased at Delhi, being replaced by Muhammadan supremacy.

Humâyûn boasted that there was no one on earth who could subdue him. The Kâzis consulted their scriptures and predicted Humâyûn's humiliation and flight from Delhi, and the usurpation of the throne by a slave belonging to a Nawâb. The slave in question is identified at a feast to be Shêr Khân. The Nawâb is commanded to produce Shêr Khân, but he secretly advises his old hereditary slave to flee, and offers an apology to Humâyûn, who now despatches a panch-hazârî Nawâb to trace and capture the fugitive. Shêr Khân advances with soldiers, fights the imperial general, but is defeated. Shêr Khân takes shelter in the house of an old woman who teaches him the proper way to fight from the analogy of a dish of rice which should be eaten from the sides and not from the middle. Shêr Khân employs a juggler as spy and ascertains from him the best opportunity to attack the imperial troops. Shêr Khân falls upon them unawares and defeats them. Humâyûn flees to the King of Rûm, Shêr Khân becomes Emperor with the new name Shêr Shâh. He did not alter the prevailing system of Government. He

begged Humâyûn's¹ Begum not to feel distressed, saying she was his mother, and Prince Akbar his brother. Humâyûn makes two attempts to regain his throne with the aid of forces given to him by the Pâdshâh of Rûm,² but he is defeated in both. Shêr Shâh, out of compassion, invites Humâyûn to come back and rule at Delhi while he will rule at Agra, by dividing the State into two parts.

Sekender Shâh, Pâdshâh of Irân, who accumulated 40,50,000 rupees per year, founds Secunderabad. After some times Sekender Pâdshâh returns to his native country, which was at a distance of three months' journey from Delhi, leaving Ghâlib Khân Nawâb, a commander of 9,000, as ruler of Secunderabad, which measured 220 kros in length and 103 kros in breadth. Pearls and gems were sold in that city; sea-horses basked on the banks, and men domesticated and sold them at prices varying from 1,000 to 1,500 rupees. Siliman Pâdshâh lived at the port of Farrang. Taking advantage of the absence of Sekender Pâdshâh, Siliman proposes to invade Secunderabad, but he doubts his success in view of the impregnable fortifications. Siliman is advised to adopt strategy on the following lines,—500 soldiers of Siliman should become employed as servants at Secunderabad, secretly to reconnoitre its

(1) She was no other than Hamida Banu Begum, or the Miriam-Makkanî of the *Maasiru-l-Umara*, of whom Sykes writes in his *History of Persia*, vol. 2, p. 248,—“Humayûn was married to a daughter of the Shaykh of Jam, who bore him the famous Akbar.” A memorial inscription at Turbat-i-Shaykh Jam, dated A.H. 952 or A.D. 1544 describes Humayûn as “A Wanderer in the Desert of Destitution.” The *Humayun-nama* written by the Emperor's sister Gulbadan Begum says that Akbar and his mother accompanied Humayûn in his exile in Persia.

(2) Rûm means Asia Minor, but the Assamese always applied it to Persia; they designated China as *Kheh*, and a non-Assamese as a *Bangal*; they called a European *Baga* or white *Bangal*. The *P.B.* reproduces the conversation of Humayûn and Shah Tahmasp of Persia on the political situation of India which is supported by *Maasiru-l-Umara*, p. 125,—“Shah Tahmasp in conversation with Humayûn discussed the question in India, and the loss of sovereignty. He said,—‘It appears that there are in India two parties who are distinguished for military qualities and leadership, the Afghans and the Rajputs. At present you cannot get the Afghans on your side for there is no mutual confidence. Make them traders instead of servants, and arrange with the Rajputs and cherish them.’ There is a very beautiful picture of Shah Tahmasp entertaining Humayûn at his court in Sykes *History of Persia*, 2-248. It was during Humayûn's stay in Persia that the *Kohinoor* passed from his hands to the Sultan of Persia, *Babar's Diamond* in *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, for April, 1899, though Catron claims the large diamond as the gift of Mir Jumla to Shah Jahan, *Bernier's Travels*, Constable, 469 ff.

military position, while others should proceed there as merchants with ships and boats ; a damsel represented as the grand-daughter of Siliman Pâdshâh, should be presented to Ghâlib Khân with instruction to poison that ruler. Accordingly, Siliman despatched a letter to Ghâlib Khân seeking the latter's friendship and alliance, on the ground that both of them were exposed to invasion by the Pathans. Ghâlib Khân, delighted to receive the message, offers his daughter Gul-Makhmal to the Padshah's son. In return, Siliman sent to Ghâlib Khân his niece, who was a cunning scholar ; Ghâlib Khân marries her. Siliman sends 500 soldiers to live at Secunderabad as spies ; they offered their services to Ghâlib Khân who enlisted them in his army as they looked handsome and energetic. Farrangi merchants traded at Secunderabad ; their leader had offered valuable presents to the viceroy, Ghâlib Khân, who permitted them to trade in his territory. The merchants had five ships or *jahaz* loaded with attractive articles. Their boats were covered with bags stuffed with fish-scales, and arrangements were made to carry elephants and horses on boats. The girl-scholar of Siliman, who had now become the Begum of Ghâlib Khân, laid a poisonous wrapper on the body of the Nawâb at the time of sleeping, and he was killed. The Nawâb's general fought with the soldiers of Siliman who had now gone there personally, but the battle remained indecisive. Siliman secretly directed his merchants to act within the city, and they set fire to the bazar and killed men on horse-back. Secunderabad was then occupied by Siliman Pâdshâh. This narrative was heard from the great scholar Muhammad 'Alî, tutor of Mansûr Khân's sons¹.

Shâh Jahân desires to see a sovereign equal to his power and magnificence. Asaf Khân, his Wazîr consults the state papers, and reports the absence of two monarchs of equal strength during the period from the reign of Judhithira to that of Jahângîr, but the Wazîr informs the Emperor that his peer is to be found in the person of

(1) *Akhun*.—The word used in the *P.B.* in connection with the scholarship of Muhammad 'Ali is *Akhun*, of which we read in the *History of the Rosheniah Sect and its founder Bayezid Hussain*, "Akhun, a religious instructor, a doctor in theology, is used in Afghanistan as synonymous with the term Mulla, a judge, a doctor in Laws both terms are applied indiscriminately to a man of learning,"—*Asiatick Researches*, vol. 11, p. 365.

Prithivi Shâh, son of Chandra Raja, King of Kandor,¹ which is contiguous to the Empire of Delhi. Shâh Jahân proposes to meet Prithivi Shâh near the junction of the two States, and exchanges embassies with that object. Asaf Khân marches in advance to make arrangements. The two monarchs meet at the appointed place to their mutual delight, and make presents of valuable articles and horses to each other. Two Rajput combatants fight a duel in the presence of the sovereigns and die. This story is heard from Gakulpuri.

N. B.—The above episode is given in both the manuscripts, in Chapter IV of MS. A and in Chapter II of MS. B. The latter also contains the two other episodes given below, but they are not found in MS. A.

Tîmûrlanga and his mother are reduced to poverty. Tîmûr tends the goats of a blacksmith and his mother spins cotton yarn for others. The mother supplies breakfast to her son in the field. One day Tîmûr gives away his food to a hungry faqîr who predicts that Tîmûr will become the Pâdshâh of Delhi. Tîmûr heats the furnace of his master who falls asleep. A variegated caterpillar comes out of the smith's mouth, flies over the ruins of Khattam Shâh Pâdshâh's fort, and re-enters the mouth of the smith. During his sleep, the smith dreams of gold mohurs lying scattered on Khattam Shâh's fort, and reports the same to Tîmûr who advises the smith to attach no importance to a mere day-dream produced by fatigue and exhaustion. At night Tîmûr with his mother digs open the fort at some places, and carries home a basket of gold mohurs. Tîmûr dreams a dream in which a faqîr advises him to strew the mohurs at the market-place of Tîmûrâbâd; Tîmûr does accordingly. The *waqayanavis* at Tîmûrâbâd reports the matter to Jalâl Hussain, Pâdshâh of Delhi. Tîmûr occupies the fort of Khattam Pâdshâh, and encounters and vanquishes the general despatched by Jalâl Hussain.

(1) *Prithivi Shah*. The description of Kandor as given in the *P. B.* agrees with the district of Baglana, between Khandesh and the Surat coast, having prosperous valleys and hill-slopes, smiling with cornfields and gardens, ruled by a Rathor family in unbroken succession for fourteen centuries, whose Rajas styled themselves as *Shah*. Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, 1, p. 51. According to the *Maasiru-l-Umara*, tr. Beveridge, Kandour is 30 *Kos* from Ahmadabad, p. 53: Baglana lay between Guzrat and Deccan, p. 353. Baglana was annexed to the Mogul territory in 1638 by Prince Aurangzêb, during Shah Jahan's reign, perhaps as a result of the diplomatic interview recorded in the *P. B.* Cp. the Persian proverb,—“*Do badshay dar aqlime na gun-jund*”, i. e., two sovereigns cannot live together in the same kingdom. Shah Jahan's contemporary Prithivi Singha, the Raja of Srinagar, gave shelter to Sulaiman Shukoh the fugitive son of Dâra Shukoh.

With 80,000 soldiers Tîmûr marches to Delhi. The old faqîr who made the prediction sees Tîmûr crowned as Pâdshâh of Delhi. Tîmûr's descendants rule at Delhi, viz., Shâh Bâbar, Shâh Humâyûn, Shâh Akbar and Shâh Jahângîr.

From travellers Jahângîr hears of the magnificent city of Secunderabad, then ruled by Nâsir Muhammad Pâdshâh who did not pay tribute to anybody and whose resources were unparalleled. Jahângîr sends ambassadors to Secunderabad demanding its evacuation. Nâsir Muhammad boldly refuses. The ditch encircling the fort of Secunderabad was immensely broad and impassable. Jahângîr's soldiers and horses are eaten up by crocodiles while attempting to cross the dyke. On the advice of the Wazîr, Jahângîr brings from Delhi his mammoth cannon and opens fire on the fort. Secunderabad is captured and Nâsir Muhammad retires to the next fort. Jahângîr sets fire to the mines previously laid, and Nâsir Muhammad's men are burnt to death. Jahângîr becomes ruler of Secunderabad, which he leaves after establishing a court and a garrison there.

Hasan Muhammad Khân, the Sultân of Golconda adopts the son of his wife's brother for succession to the throne as he had no son. Mîr Jumla, son of Mîrzâ Hazaru, declines to accept the non-royal son of a Nawâb as the future ruler of Golconda. The Sultân attempts to capture Mîr Jumla who flees and meets Aurangzêb at Aurangâbâd.¹ Shâh Jahân retires from the throne in favour of Dâra ; Shujâ' was at Dacca and Murâd at Kâbûl. Mîr Jumla refuses to rise against Shâh Jahân as proposed by Aurangzêb. Mîr Jumla gives 18 crores of rupees to Aurangzêb to enable him to carry out his ambitious project. Aurangzêb becomes Emperor after slaying his two brothers Dâra and Murâd. He asked Mîr Jumla to pursue Shâh Shujâ' in Bengal, and to see the new Emperor's maternal uncle Shaista Khân at Dacca. Sultân Mu'âzzam, the son

(1) *The Deccani Sultan Muhammad Shah.* The Sultan of Golconda who resented Mîr Jumla's growing power and disloyalty was Abdulla Qutb Shah who died in 1674 A. D. Muhammad Shah was the 'Adil Shahi Sultan of Bijapur, his consort being Bari Sahiba, sister of the Golconda Sultan. Md. Shah died in 1656, his nominee on the throne being 'Ali 'Adil Shah II whose parentage and authority were questioned by many. Our chronicle seems to have confused between the incidents of Golconda and Bijapur. His use of *Khan* instead of *Shah* after the name of Muhammad is significant, as we know that Bijapuri Sultans were addressed as *Khans* and not by *Shahs* by Delhi Emperors before Shah Jahan.—Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, 1, p. 255.

of Aurangzêb also accompanies Mîr Jumla in this expedition. The general waits upon Shaista Khân, with reluctance, when the latter was rubbing his teeth. Shaista Khân dislikes to come out at this unseasonable hour. He advises Mîr Jumla how successfully to carry out the command of the Emperor and thereby establish his bread and reputation in India. Mîr Jumla feels humiliated on receiving presents from Shaista Khân which were worthy of a Commander of 5,000. Aurangzêb confers the following titles on Mîr Jumla : Ma'zum Khan on defeating Shâh Shujâ', Khân-Khânân on conquering Cooch Behar, and Khân-Khânâ-Sipâr-Salâh-Sirmanli on occupying Gar-gaon, the Ahom capital.

Shâh Jahân studies the resources of Kandahar and deposes Prince Shujâ', Galiz Khân and Jai Singha to invade it. It was then ruled by Shâh Safi¹, who declines to march against a mere prince. Shujâ' finds the fort impregnable ; Galiz Khân loses 20,000 soldiers. Galiz Khân draws out the water from the hostile ditch by constructing an underground tunnel. The ditch thus emptied of water is refilled by the enemy with earth, and it cost 20 lakhs to the imperialists. Khosar Khân, the Kandahar general blows up the newly piled earth of the ditch. Galiz Khân then refills the ditch with plantain trees and dead animals, which were set fire to by Khosar Khân but they were burnt only partially. Galiz Khân then attacked the Kandahar fort, and destroyed it by blowing it up with powder. Galiz Khân then enters the fort and sends the booty to Delhi. Mogul Nawâbs are posted to Kandahar, and Shujâ' confers on Galiz Khân rich presents as well as the Subadarship of Kandahar.

(a) *Shah Jahan divides his Empire.* Shâh Jahân's astrologers predict that he will live only for ten years more. Dâra, his eldest son, deploras the idea of being a sexagenarian Emperor. Shâh Jahân placed Shujâ' at Rajmahal, Aurangzêb at Aurangâbâd and Murâd at Kâbul ; Dâra was placed on the throne, and Shâh Jahân himself saluted his Emperor-son. Dâra was asked not to accept any contribution from his brothers' revenues. Shâh Jahân wanted 1,20,000 rupees per month for his own expenses

(1) Shah Safi was the Sultan of Persia, 1629-1642, being the grandson of Shah 'Abbas the Great, and 'Ali Mardan Khan was the Governor of Khandahar under Shah Safi. Quliz Khan, the Galiz Khan of our narrative was first Governor of Lahore and then of Kandahar. 'Ali Mardan joined the Moguls and became Governor of Kashmir and the Punjab. See *Maasiru-l-Umara*, p. 187 ; Sykes, *Persia*, vol. 2, p. 297.

and removed to a new residence inside the fort. His principal Begum, the mother of the four princes, foresees the sorrow she will be plunged in future from her tiger-like sons, who will surely cut each others' throats; and she dies by swallowing poison.

(b) *Aurangzeb ascends the throne.* Shujâ' attacks Delhi, is repulsed and returns to Rajmahal. Aurangzêb proposes to pass his life as a faqir, and promises to retire in favour of Murâd Bukhsh. Aurangzêb and Murâd fall upon Dâra who retreats, and Murâd is placed on the throne. The two brothers propose to pay their respects to Shâh Jahân, but he refuses to see them as they had violated his arrangement. Aurangzêb and Murâd become great friends, and Aurangzêb invites Murâd to dinner; Murâd is drugged with intoxicants, and Aurangzêb binds him with golden fetters. Aurangzêb places Dâra and Murâd on the back of an elephant and displays them to the people; he then slays his two brothers, Dâra and Murâd, and with their blood imprinted on his forehead, Aurangzêb ascends the throne of Delhi.

(c) *Mir Jumla pursues Shuja.* Mîr Jumla is despatched with Prince Mu'azzam in pursuit of Shujâ'. The general feels humiliated at the reception accorded to him by Shaista Khân at Dacca. Mu'azzam attacks Shujâ', who offers his daughter Fâtima to his nephew. Prince Mu'azzam ceases hostilities with his uncle and father-in-law, Shujâ'. Aurangzêb accuses Mîr Jumla for his inability to subdue Shujâ' and to keep Prince Mu'azzam under control. The Prince with his sense of duty revived by Mîr Jumla's warning attacks Shujâ', defeats him and Shujâ' flees to the country of the Maghs. Mîr Jumla is given a sirpao and is appointed Subadar at Dacca.

(d) *Mir Jumla dies on the way.* Aurangzêb advises Mîr Jumla to invade Cooch Behar and Gauhati, leaving his son Masudami Khân at Dacca. The Emperor confers new distinctions on Mîr Jumla on his conquest of Cooch Behar and Assam¹. The general dies at Bouritala on

(1) *Mahshud-Ami-Khan.*—This Mahshud-Ami-Khan, son of Mir Jumla, was no other than Mir Muhammad Amin Khan whose life-sketch is given by Shah Nawaz Khan, p. 241. His rollicking drunkenness caused the imprisonment of the Nawab's family by the Sultan of Golconda. He rose to be the Governor of Guzrat and was offered the Grand-Viziership by Aurangzeb. According to Tavernier, p. 134, "Mirgimola had several daughters, but only one son, who had a great train, and made a great noise at court."

his way back¹. Mîr Jumla's son, Masudami Khân and Dilâl Khân offered to Aurangzêb at Delhi the princess, elephants and other articles presented by the Ahom Raja to the Emperor. Masudami Khân is made a panch-hazâri, Dilâl Khân is appointed Subadar at Aurangâbâd and Shaista Khân is posted to Dacca.

Aurangzêb ascertains from his Wazîr Amânat Khân, the names of the rulers who had not yet accepted his allegiance. Nawâb Sulati-fat Khân is despatched by the Emperor to subdue Kandarpa Singha, Râja of Sewa². The Nawâb fails to subjugate the Sewa-raja during his campaign lasting for three years. Bahâdur Khân is next sent, but he goes over to the side of the Sewa-râja. The next general Nawâb Shamser Khân falls ill and dies at Sewa. Ram Singha, son of Jai Singha and grandson of Raja Mandhata of Amber, is next despatched, who proceeds with his Rajput warriors and subdues Kandarpa Singha who is taken to Delhi. Kandarpa Singha gives a bold and dignified reply to Aurangzêb's suggestion for submission. The Sewa-râja is imprisoned, but he flees in a box of provisions, and the Emperor suspects Ram Singha to be responsible for Kandarpa Singha's escape.

A Guru of the faith of Nanak commits ravages in the country with his followers ; he is seized and imprisoned by Aurangzêb, and Ram Singha stands surety for the Guru. The Guru escapes from confinement, and Ram Singha is held responsible³.

(1) *Diler Khan*.—Diler or Dilal Khan's chivalrous and successful attack on the impregnable Assamese fort of Shamlagarha is picturesquely described in the *Maasir*, pp. 498-500.

(2) *Sewa-raja*.—This story is unmistakably the one of Sivaji. Jai Singha was sent to subdue the Mahratta chief, and Ram Singha came in later as the host and custodian of the prisoner. At the conclusion of the wars Jai Singha had assured Sivaji of his freedom and safety. The Mahratta chief was allowed by Emperor Aurangzeb to sit among the Panch-hazari Omraos, and he expressed his vehement dissatisfaction to Ram Singha and reminded him of his father's promises. Our chronicler mentions Sewa as a place against which the Rajput Raja was despatched : this may be Sivapur which was built by Sivaji. Two expressions are used in the *P. B.* to designate the hero,—*Sewa-raja* and *Raja of Sewa*. Kandarpa Singha is inexplicable, unless we take it as a palpable mistake arising out of confusion of names like Kankana and Kandana so intimately associated with the heroic exploits of the Mahratta leader.

(3) *Teg Bahadur and Ram Singha*.—That Teg Bahadur the ninth Sikh Guru accompanied Ram Singha to Assam is mentioned in all contemporary Sikh chronicles. Cunningham on the authority of a MS. Gurmukhi summary of Teg Bahadur's life says that the Guru meditated on the banks of the Brahmaputra, and convinced the Teart of the Raja of Kamrup who became a believer in his mission. The Guru retired from Assam on hearing of the birth of his son Govinda. Ram Singha's support of Teg Bahadur, as narrated in the *Padshah Buranji* is confirmed by Cunningham.

Aurangzêb does not intend to punish Ram Singha for his repeated misdemeanours in view of the services of his father and grand-father, and the possibility of the formation of a Rajput confederacy hostile to the Emperor. In the meantime Gauhati is wrested back from the Moguls by the King of Assam, and Ram Singha is deputed by the Emperor to invade Assam, and to die in that country of noxious air and water. Ram Singha, on his way to Assam, halts at Dacca where he is cordially received by Shaista Khân, the friend of Jai Singha.

Emperor Jahângîr ascertains that the following rulers who paid their allegiance to Akbar Pâdshâh have now ceased to do so,—Muhammad Murâd Khân Pâdshâh of Hussain Abdal, Shahdul Pâdshâh of Piran, Râja Bitholdas of Bund, Mohan-madhur Singha of Rameswar-bandar, Achinta Zemindar of Jaleswar-bandar, Nawâb Kiledar Khan of Benares Sarkari, Hussain Khân Pâdshâh of Gaur of Bengal. Jahângîr's financial advisers pointed out that there were in the imperial treasury only seven crores of rupees left by Akbar, and one crore saved by Jahângîr himself, which would be inadequate for expenses necessary for the subjugation of the refractory rulers, unless the Emperor touched the ancestral tanks of gold and silver mohurs accumulated during the reigns of the preceding rulers, from Timûr to Akbar. The Emperor was advised to take up the subjugation of the adjacent rulers first, to be followed by that of Bengal which would surely replenish the impoverished imperial coffers. Raja Mandhata of Amber is sent against Hussain Shâh of Bengal¹. Mandhata deplores his ceaseless warfare. Kiledar Khân of Benares offers resistance to Mandhata, but he is defeated and killed. The Rajâ marches to Bengal and encounters Hussain Shâh in a terrible contest. Râja Raghunath, and the Râja of Cooch Behâr and other chieftains did not offer their promised help to Hussain Shâh, fearing to provoke the vengeance of the invincible Rajput warrior. Hussain Shâh is speared to death by Thakur

(1) *Man Singha's antagonist Husain Shah.* Husain Shah, Sultan of Bengal who invaded Assam about 1498 could not be the ruler of that name whom Man Singha subdued during Jahangir's reign. Man Singha was withdrawn from Bengal in 1606, and he died in 1614. Man Singha had a tough fight with the rebellious 'Usman Khan of Bengal in 1599 during Akbar's reign. The *P. B.* Husain Shah may be one of the Hussaini Kings of Bengal mentioned by Blochmann in the *J.A.S.B.*, 1872 No. 4, in *A New Ruler in Bengal*. Cp. Cunningham's note in his *Sikhs*, p. 63, ed. Garrett,—“It is not uncommon in India to talk of eminent men as living although long since dead, as a Sikh will now (1848) say he is Ranjit Singha's soldier.”

Chandrabhal, uncle of Râja Mandhata. The Mogul general wins victory over the remnants of Hussain Shâh's army. Mandhata gives the name *Jahangir-nagar* to Dacca, and appoints Nawâb Isekhan-masandali as the Zemîndâr of Dacca¹. Râja Raghunath, and the Râja of Cooch Behâr, as well as other chieftains, offered their submission to Mandhata. The Râja witnesses the recital of the puthi *Chandi* from the *Markandeya Puran* by Brahmans near the Ganges, to whom he presents one thousand rupees. The victorious Râja returns to Delhi and is richly rewarded by the Emperor.

Muhammad Sa'id, a slave of Nawâb Shahdulla Khân has the marks of a sovereign. The slave with the help of three crores of rupees given to him by a faqîr named Shâh-Bhramara, literally the Prince of Wanderers, fights with Shâh Jahân and usurps the throne with the name Shâh Muhammad. Shâh Jahân flees to Rûm. The faqîr predicts a reign of only three years for the usurper, who invites the fugitive Emperor to come back and re-occupy his throne. Shâh Muhammad dies.

Shâh Jahân visits Amber, the capital of Râja Jai Singha, who receives the Emperor in the most magnificent manner. During the abortive rule of Muhammad Shâh there was anarchy and confusion in Bengal, Orissa, Cooch Behâr, Gauhati, Sylhet and Arrakan. Jai Singha is deputed to restore quiet and order in Eastern India. Jai Singha subjugates Cooch Behâr, which promised an annual tribute of one lakh of rupees to be paid to the Pâdshâh as a salâmi during the Nao-rôza celebrations. Nao-rôza is held in Kartik, when the Begums and other respectable ladies sell precious wares in a splendidly decorated spot inside the imperial palace, where no male except the Pâdshâh can have access.

(1) *Ise Khan Masandali*.—Ise Khan Masandali, whom according to the *P. B.* Man Singha, the 'great gun of Mogul militarism' placed on the *masnad* of Bengal, should be distinguished from Alauddin Islam Khan Chisti Faruqi and Islam Khan Mashhadi who became Governors of Bengal in 1608 and 1637 respectively. Man Singha was withdrawn from Bengal in 1606 to quell disturbances at Rohtas in Behar, see Burgess' *Chronology of Modern India*, and Prof. Beni-prasad's *Jahangir*. Ise Khan Masandali is described in the *P. B.* as an influential Zemindar who refused to aid the Bengal rebel on the principle,—“We are Zemindars and are unconcerned as to who wields the sovereign power in the state.” There was one Ise Khan Masnad-i-Ali, the Bhuyan king of Khizarpur who is said to have built about 1584 the Mogul garrison at Rangamati in Goalpara. His grandson Manawar Khan, the Menorcan of Glanius, was a naval commander attached to Mir Jumla's Assam expedition. See *Mir Jumla's Invasion of Assam, in Bengal: Past and Present*, No. 57.

Masim Khân of Bengal offers his submission to Jai Singha. Morung, noted for its birds, offers resistance but it was ultimately quelled. The King of Nepâl, famous for its copper, offers his allegiance. Jai Singha also suppresses the Maghs. Chisim Khân is sent against Sylhet, which he subdues, and the Firingees stationed at Sylhet were removed therefrom to Dacca. Orissa was then ruled by Subal Singha, and after his death by his son Siva Singha, of the line of Indradyumna; and Jai Singha defeats the ruler of Orissa. Jai Singha bestowed rich presents to the temple of Jagannath in Orissa. Emperor Shâh Jahân confers the title of Mîrzâ Râja on the victorious general Jai Singha. The Mîrzâ Râja crects a garden at Patna yielding an annual income of one lakh of rupees. He also establishes a new market-town in Munger, to which he gives the name Jaisinghapûr. Kashmir rebels, and the Emperor recalls Jaisingha from Patna and despatches him to Kashmir.

N. B.—Chapter X of MS. A. corresponds to Chapter I of MS. B., though slight textual variations are noticeable here and there.

Chapter XI-A. (1) Schedule of distances from Agra and Delhi to other important places in terms of days, prahars and dandas required for the respective journeys.

Distance from Delhi to Rasatpur, Agra, Gulbah, Ahmedabad, Itast, Haridwar, Gharath, Kanauj, Karnat, Bahramabad, Garirdwar, Kashmir, Khayrbad, Naun-, khas, Lakhirabad, Rohtap, Mathura, Bijapur, Khangaraka-bil-bandar, Dhameli, Manahat, Tajgaru, Muhammadabad, Sitabpur, Ajmere, Gujrat, Allahabad, Surat-bandar, Khidrabad, Laganpur, Ahalnagar, Ilampur, Lahore.

Distance from Agra to Rabijak, Gogar, Ajmer, Raitap, Saratpur, Islampur, Muhammadabad, Ujjalpur, Amber, Prayag, Patna, Burhampur, Gwalior, Paradiksha, Barbara, Kanauj, Nadiya, Lahore.

Distance from Aurangabad to Gulasabad, Baraksal, Swibidpur, Kashmir, Bharatipur.

N. B.—After this a leaf is missing in the manuscript, otherwise we should have a few more names of places and Rajas.

(2) *Names of Rajas who helped Sewai Jai Singha.*

We have here the names of 34 Rajas, of whom two were Muhammadans, viz., Mîrzâbêg and Wâjit Khân; we have also the names of the localities over which they ruled, together with the numerical strength of their soldiers, elephants, horses and camels as well the distances of the localities from the capitals. The list concludes by saying, —“The above Rajas were the allies of Sewai Jai Singha.”

This Sewai Jai Singha is no other than the celebrated astronomer—chief of Amber and founder of the picturesque capital of Jaipur, about whom Lt. Col. James Tod writes, "Jai Singha II, better known by the title of Sowae Jey Singh, in contradistinction to the first prince of this name entitled the "Mîrzâ Râja", succeeded in S. 1755 (A.D. 1699)." The unknown Assamese chronicler is to be congratulated on maintaining this somewhat nice distinction. The specifications regarding soldiers, horses, camels indicate the equipments with which they marched to the aid of Jai Singha. But for the loss of the unfortunate leaf the list would have been slightly larger. After the name of each locality the word *gram* or village is given which I omit in the following list.

	Distance in days	Soldiers	Elephants	Horses	Camels
1. Rao Rup Singh of Patna ..	9	2,000	2	250	300
2. Gopal Singh of Keranli ..	20	200	20	300	2,000
3. Rao Kusul Singh of Zila ..	12	5,000	5	250	200
4. Dipsingh of Bharari ..	4	2,000	1	200	300
5. Wajit Khan of Gosawli ..	10	5,000	5	400	500
6. Gad Singh of Jauli ..	8	2,000	1	500	250
7. Krisna Singh of Kut ..	15	2,000	2	100	200
8. Jalum Singh of Rajgarh ..	30	..	2	500	250
9. Bud Singh of Budi ..	80	10,000	40	200	1,000
10. Indar Singh of Chaupar ..	9	1,500	1	200	210
11. Bhawar Singh of Pehele ..	20	2,000	2	300	210
12. Badan Singh of Dig ..	25	12,000	40	1,000	10,000
13. Suryyamal of Pratapgarh ..	25	14,000	60	2,000	250
14. Pratap Singh of Bharathpur.	25	5,000	15	1,000	500
15. Prataprai of Unara ..	9	5,000	2	500	300
16. Sam Singh of Bachua ..	8	15,000	5	500	1,000

	Distance in days	Soldiers	Elephants	Horses	Camels
17. Bakat Singh of Barpur ..	4	2,000	2	200	500
18. Bane Singh of Bisan ..	2	5,000	2	1,000	2,000
19. Pratab Singh of Babali ..	4	2,000	1	1,000	500
20. Lal Singh of Antara ..	5	1,000	2	1,000	800
21. Jut Singh of Barial ..	6	3,000	2	1,000	500
22. Simram-sim of Atera ..	30	12,000	40	1,000	250
23. Sam Singh of Majpur ..	7	2,000	1	500	200
24. Krit Singh of Kamban ..	20	12,000	1	1,000	1,500
25. Baloram Singh of Bangarh .	30	15,000	20	1,000	1,000
26. Bahadur Singh of Ghachila	15	5,000	15	1,000	1,400
27. Guzarmal of Rewali ..	20	11,000	20	500	2,000
28. Rao Brindaban Singh of Manoharpur ..	2	12,000	10	1,000	1,500
29. Kisser Singh of Marach ..	2	15,000	40	2,000	6,000
30. Lakha of Jarpur ..	9	7,000	5	1,000	600
31. Mirzabeg of Narnau ..	3	12,000	5	1,000	1,000
32. Jadu Singh of Tero ..	10	12,000	5	500	1,500
33. Rao Pheriram of Chatas ..	2	5,000	5	500	1,000
34. Malahar of Rampora ..	60	80,000	80	500	8,000

Râja Mandahta, grandfather of Ram Singha renamed Dacca Jahângîr-nagar when he remained there for some-time. He left Mus-haf Khân, a commander of 4,000 in charge of Dacca, a measure which was not countenanced by the Emperor, as Bengal Râjas and Zemîndârs were cunning, demanding the powerful control of a more responsible officer. Burhân Khân, nick-named Kôka, son of Jahângîr's nurse, who was a commander of 6,000, was appointed instead. During Shâh Jahân's reign Burhân Khân was succeeded by Islâm Khân, who was in

turn succeeded by 'Ajam Khân. Shuja' lived at Rajmahal and 'Ajam Khân's daughter became the chief Begum of the prince. During Aurangzêb's reign, Shaista Khân came to Jahângîr-nagar with his five sons and two sons-in-law. Reports reached Aurangzêb that Shaista Khân was carrying on trade in Bengal on his own account by which he had accumulated seventeen crores of rupees. The merchants complained that trade in Dacca was monopolised by the Governor. Manowar Khân, son of Masim Khân Zemîndâr was deported to Gwalior by Aurangzêb for saying to the Emperor,—“O Pâdshâh—Hazrat, Shaista Khân is as great as you are. He has become the Pâdshâh in Bengal.”—Aurangzêb recalls Shaista Khân on the pretext of jointly devoting their lives to prayers now that they have both become old, and for his expert counsel for conquering a few more kingdoms.

Fede Khân Kôka, son of Aurangzêb's nurse is appointed to Dacca. He was succeeded by Prince 'Azamtara who was anxious to go to Dacca for opportunities of sports, and for its musk, aloes etc., The prince left the duties of the State to the Dewân, Mîr Mulla, and the Hazurnavîs, Malukchand, and passed his days in hunting on horseback. 'Azamtara destroyed the salt emporium of Shaista Khân, and unjustly confiscated the property of a mansabdâr. Mansûr Khân is deputed by 'Azamtara to occupy Gauhati on the invitation of the Ahom Viceroy. During a hunting excursion the Prince lost the jewel he wore on his head, which was valued at one lakh of rupees. The Zemîndâr of the place was asked to recover the gem, or pay Rs. 100,000 in default. The Zemîndâr paid the amount, being compelled to do so. The jewel was subsequently recovered and it was returned to the Prince by the Zemîndâr, but the money was not returned. The honest waqayanavîs at Dacca reported to the Emperor the misgovernment of 'Azamtara who was recalled, and Shaista Khân was re-appointed Governor of Bengal.

Mahiranga Danav, son of Brahma, is the first King of Kamarupa or ancient Assam. He is succeeded by his son Iatakasur. Two other princes of this dynasty rule in Kamarupa, after whom Narakasur ascends the throne, and is succeeded by Bhagadatta, after whom four other princes of the line become rulers. Dharmapal, a Kshattriya, came from Gaur and became King of Kamarupa. Kendu Kalai, a priest of Kamakhya daily witnesses the dance of Durga, and one day Dharmapal peeps through a chink. The irate goddess curses Dharmapal and predicts

the extinction of his rule. Dharmapal dies and is succeeded by his son Raktapal, whose grandson Pratap Singha offers his wife Chandraprabha to the Brahmaputra. The queen is picked up by a Brahman in whose house she gives birth to her son by Pratap Singha. Arimatta after becoming King avenges the wrong done to his mother by his father Pratap Singha who is defeated and killed in action. Chandraprabha dies on her husband's funeral pyre. Arimatta constructs the fort, Baidyargarh. One Phingua, a prince of the family of the Kings of Kamata, after conquering several kingdoms, attacks Arimatta, who offers the invader a vigorous resistance. Phingua learns of the secret of Arimatta's weakness from the latter's wife Raktamala. Arimatta is defeated, and Phingua kills Raktamala, the betrayer of her husband, as being unworthy of confidence. Rakta Singha, son of Arimatta, ascends the throne after killing Phingua. Rakta Singha enters into a liaison with a Brahman woman whose husband curses the king who dies. The Barabhuysans again established their power. Then Machalanda Gâzi of Bengal ruled here for sometime¹. Sultan Gayâsuddîn, son of Hussain Shâh Padshâh dies at Garurachal. The Barabhuysans again rise to power.

Naranarayan, King of Cooch Behâr, had a brother named Sukladhwaja or Cilarai who is famous in history as a redoubtable conqueror. After the death of the two brothers their sons struggled for power and sovereignty. Parikshit, grandson of Cilarai, and Lakshminarayan, son of Naranarayan, pressed before Emepror Jahângîr their respective claims. Jahângîr asked the nephew Parikshit to touch the feet of his uncle Lakshminarayan. Parikshit refuses, and thereby displeases the Emperor. The two princes are detained at Delhi. Lakshminarayan is supplied with swords and 'Irâkî ponies by the Emperor. Parikshit is given a protrait of Jahângîr, which he shows to Islâm Khân, Nawâb of Dacca, who bowed to it, and asked the Emperor to re-capture Parikshit who was reported to be troublesome. Parikshit is sent again to Delhi, but he dies on his way at the sacred pilgrimage of Tribeni.

(1) *Masalanda Gazi*.—James Prinsep in his *Useful Tables*, Thomas edition, p. 293, mentions against the date 1498 :—

“Assam invaded by Dalal Gazi, son of Husain Shah, Masalandar Gazi, Sultan Ghiyasuddîn.”

Blochmann comments on this passage in his paper *On a new King of Bengal*, J. A. S. B., 1872, p. 336.—“It is not said who Masalanda Gazi or Sultan Ghiyasuddin are, whom Prinsep mentions as having gained a footing in Assam,” nor does the *P. B.* beyond giving the mere names.

The chapter ends with the enumeration of the *pergannas* of the *sarkars*, Koch Hajo, Kamarupa, Dhekeri, Dakhin-kul and Bengal.

Correspondence between Jahangir and the rebellious prince Khurram, and between Shah Jahan and the refractory Adil Shah of the Deccan. 1. Prince Khurram, afterward Shâh Jahân, quarrels with his brothers Parvez and Khusrû estranges himself from his father Jahângîr who wrote the following letter to his rebellious son, —

(Substance).—Prince Khurram, the captivating idol of your father's eyes, you should note carefully if you solicit my blessing and protection.—You have deviated from the path trodden by good sons by rebelling against your father and Emperor. If you are anxious to wield your sword, come back, and march against the rulers of 'Irâk and 'Abbâs in the company of your well wishing Omras. The two rulers have dishonoured your father's coins, and you should dishonour their coins as well. If you return to your father's presence with due humiliation you may be re-admitted to our favour.

2. Prince Khurram sent the following reply, —

(Substance).—I, prince Khurram, kiss the letter of my father. If I, being senseless, have done any wrong, there is no one to forgive except yourself. I am ashamed of my misdeeds. I have never dreamt of any unfilial or disloyal conduct. What power do I possess to quarrel with the Emperor? Did Sulaiman Paygambar suffer any pain at the hands of the ants? May you shine for ever as the moon and the sun! It is said that what is given recoils on the giver. If you have bestowed the Emperorship on Parvez, I have also been provided with my blood-thirsty sword. He is blessed with the prospect of sovereignty, and I have been subjected to humiliation and disgrace. When Parvez has intended my ruin I should not also remain inactive. So I have come away, being unable to tolerate my disgrace. I will renounce my hostility when such renunciation is deemed necessary; if hostility be my only course I will take it up without delay. As regards the subjugation of 'Irâk and 'Abbâs, I would have surely made it an accomplished fact had I been commissioned in time. The fort of Kandahar would not have fallen into the hands of the Pâdshâh of 'Abbâs from within a distance of eleven cubits. When the Deccanites rebelled, Parvez was in his mother's womb; they were subdued twice. The fort of Kandahar has also been occupied, and the formidable enemies living in the recesses of hills and forests

have been converted to Islâm, a fact which is known all over Hindustan, and is known also at the two feet of the Pâdshâh Hazrat. I do not seek any body's help to assert my rights as long as I have the sword of Jahângîr Pâdshâh in my hands. Borne on the whirlpool of life I have not been able to attain success. I pray you not to take any umbrage against this mad one.

3. The 'Adil Shâhi Sultâns of the Deccan used to send an annual tribute to Jahângîr, and ceased to do so during Shâh Jahân's reign. Shâh Jahân sent the following letter to the 'Adil Shâhi ruler¹.—

(Substance).—Glory to God, the fulfiller of man's desire, Who has placed me in the exalted office of an Emperor. The Sultâns of Bîjapûr and Gôlconda have used independent coins in their realms. They should pay heed to my advice, and use my coins instead, otherwise I will let loose in their country the great kites of destruction. They should be attentive to my words, and should not remain lethargic like the hare and the deer. Our most esteemed counsellor. Muhammad Khan, is sent herewith. Come to some terms with him.

4. The 'Adil Shâh sent the following reply, —

(Substance).—The only receptacle of adoration and praise is God. You have regarded mighty rulers like dust of the earth. Your message, speaking of your self-elation and unapproved by the wise, has produced laughter here. Yes, the hare sleeps peacefully, but once it is on its feet it gives enormous trouble and disappointment to the pursuer.....(Here the manuscript ends abruptly.)

(1) *Shah Jahan and Bijapur*.—This is probably the letter addressed by Shâh Jahân to the 'Adil Shâhi Sultan which was discussed by the latter in full court, when the captains of Bîjapûr cried out words of defiance, ending in the delivery of a haughty reply to the Delhi envoy. Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, 1, p. 256.

S. K. BHUYAN.

(To be continued).

JEHANGIR AND HIS ARTISTS

THERE are few more agreeable interludes in the biographies of great men of action than those passages in their lives which tell of their sympathies with art and artists. Such phases in the character of an Alexander, a Lorenzo, or a Napoleon seem to transfigure these potent personalities and reveal the great Conqueror, Statesman, and Soldier in a milder light. Its humanising power is perhaps art's most catholic characteristic. We turn from our contemplation of Alexander the tamer of the horse Bucephalus, the invincible leader of the Macedonian phalanx, and the unrestrained slayer of his best friend, to Alexander, the man of taste, who chose that the unique Persian casket which had been brought to him from among the spoils of King Darius should be used as a receptacle for the Iliad of Homer, but for no lesser jewel. We dwell on the thought of a Napoleon insisting on a masterpiece of painting forming a necessary feature in a treaty of Peace; and we resent being told by our modern iconoclasts that Leonardo da Vinci did not die in the arms of King Francis after all, and that Shâh Jehân did not breathe his last while contemplating the distant Taj! Not willingly would we consent to class as apocryphal these stories which seem of the essence of canonical truth, or those others of how Philip of Spain painted with his own hand the badge of ennoblement across the breast of Velasquez's own portrait, how Charles V. stooped to pick up the brush Titian had let fall, and how he checked the murmurs of his courtiers with the reproof: "I can create others like you, but I cannot create another Titian."

"Consider the respect which must have been paid to great Artists", wrote one who admired the Ancients, "when such a man as Socrates pronounced them the only wise men. Æsop took the greatest pleasure in lounging in their painting rooms; Marcus Aurelius took lessons in philosophy from an artist, and always said that the latter first taught him to distinguish the true from the false; and when Paulus Æmilius sent to the Athenians for one

of their ablest philosophers to educate his children, they selected Metrodorus, the painter, and, let it be remembered, that amongst the children placed under *his* care was one of the Scipios. What must have been the effect on the rising youth of Greece when the Amphictyonic Council decreed that Polygnotus, their greatest monumental painter, should be maintained at the public expense wherever he went, as a mark of the national admiration for his greatest work, the Hall at Delphi ? ”

Tempora mutantur! Europe can at any rate point proudly to the Art Patronage of the Past—can heave a sigh of retrospection still audible, even amidst the whirr of her flying men and the roar of her multitudinous machinery. India can equal if not surpass the record.

Indeed the vital spark of patronage glowed brightly for so long in India as almost to lead one to hope that its present eclipse cannot signify extinction ; that the flame still burns somewhere or other, to blaze abroad again in its due time, as the opening of the grave of a Rosicrucian was said to reveal within it the ever-burning lamp, (shining as brightly as ever), of the long buried magician !

To attempt to parallel a Lorenzo with a Jehângîr or a Julius II with a Shâh Jehân would be more ingenious than instructive ; for, of course, all great patrons of art the world over have come of a common origin. Like the Montresors in Edgar Poe's story they are “ a great and numerous family,” and the noble family traits are unmistakable. The true scion of this world-wide family has always been distinguished from the connoisseur and the virtuoso by breadth of vision, and courage. The connoisseur may boast of his Moghul Paintings, his Old Prints, his Blue and White China, his “ Old Masters ” ; but rarely indeed does he show original taste, or the courage to buy, from unknown artists, work whose value has not been stabilised by Time and the dealers. He prides himself—not upon his patronage of artists—but upon his acquisitive capacities ; he will talk of his love for a portrait by Titian, which he had cleverly obtained for an old song from an impoverished owner, or perhaps one who did not understand its value ; will tell us how he has come to regard this picture as quite indispensable, and how a sight of it at least once a day has become an essential indulgence for his fierce aesthetic cravings. And the plain man believes in all his vehemence and cannot but draw comparisons between this gifted being, endowed with such super-sensitive appreciation for the Beautiful, and his

mundane self ; until one day he reads in his daily paper that his fastidious friend had sold his Titian patriotically to an American magnate for the "nominal sum" of fifty thousand pounds !

The business of the Art Patron on the other hand is the very reverse of this glorified picture-dealer's. His business is not to sell, but to buy. He is always generous ; frequently absurdly generous. He is sometimes taken in, but still follows the lure of art, and does not care two pins about the intrinsic value of the style of a picture which he fancies. His idea is to give many artists a chance. We feel that Plutarch is wrong when he says that Alexander refused to have his portrait made by any other sculptor than Lysippus, not because of the arguments advanced against this statement by the commentators, but simply because Alexander indubitably belonged to the "great and numerous family" of the Art Patrons, and such exclusiveness is at variance with the family traits. Your true Art Patron is not afraid of making mistakes.

The pages of that enthralling book, the Memoirs of the Emperor Jehângîr, abound in interesting indications of the actions and opinions of a great patron of art. A modern historian—Mr. Vincent Smith—has well observed "Art really interested Jehângîr. His book is full of references to the subject, which it would be desirable to collect and discuss". His love of nature has been cited as Jehângîr's most pleasing characteristic, but it did not stop with his descriptions in poetry and poetic prose ; he loved the graphic delineation also.

Very early in the Memoirs¹ the sculptors come into the picture. "In this place had been erected by my order a *mandor* at the head of a grave of an antelope called Man-saraj....on account of the rare quality of this antelope, I commanded that no person should hunt the deer of this plain,....They made the gravestone in the shape of an antelope". When encamped at Basawâl his artistic eye detects an even more novel possibility : "A white rock was present in the river bed. I ordered them to carve it in the form of an elephant."

On the Imperial journeys the artists are an integral unit of the Sovereign's escort, and at all times and seasons he calls upon their services.

Thus at another halt they brought Jehângîr—who was an ardent naturalist—"a piebald animal like the flying

(1) For all the extracts from Jehângîr's Memoirs in this article I am indebted to the translation of Messrs. Rogers and Beveridge.

mouse, which in the Hindi tongue they call *galahri* (squirrel), and said that mice would not frequent any house in which this animal was. . . . as I had never seen one before, I ordered my painters to draw a likeness of it". The Emperor was no stickler for the academic forms of beauty in the models he chose to set before his artists.

Indeed in the following incident one might discover a pre-futuristic symptom of the cult of ugliness—Europe's modern fetish!

When a dervish from Ceylon had brought him "a strange animal", whose "face was exactly like a large bat, and whose whole shape was like that of a monkey, but it had no tail", he explains that, "as the creature appeared very strange, I ordered the artists to take a likeness of it in various kinds of movement. It looked very ugly".

Jehângîr was not unaware of the limitations of the Art of the period as well as of its possibilities. After describing with the keen interest of a naturalist a pair of pet kids—"their liveliness and laughable ways, and their manner of gambolling and leaping,") he adds the observation that, "it is notorious that painters cannot draw properly the motions of a kid. Granting that they may chance to draw the movements of an ordinary kid after a fashion, they certainly would have to acknowledge themselves at a loss how to draw the motions of these kids." The Grand Moghul could become eloquent over the merits of a picture; a work containing 240 figures by Khâilîl Mîrza Shâhruki, which was given to him as a present, caused him exquisite delight.

Jehângîr was an all-round patron and art critic, and there are ample evidences in his Memoirs, of his gift of *thinking* pictorially. Not only is this faculty revealed in his brilliant scenic descriptions of Kashmir, and innumerable beauty-spots of India, but it crops up repeatedly in instances as charming as they are unexpected. At one time he saw a wild ass "exceedingly strange" in appearance, which he fully describes, concluding: "round the eyes there was an exceedingly fine black line. One might say the painter of fate, with a strange brush, had left it on the page of the world".

Himself an enthusiastic gardener he could not have failed to appreciate the artistic value of flowers, and narrates how one of his artists had painted more than a hundred of the different varieties of the wonderful *flora*

of Kashmir. The breadth and scope of Jehângîr's taste in art makes it probable that there is little exaggeration in the well known stories of his eagerness for examples of European painting wherever he could obtain these; and we can readily understand the often quoted accounts of Roe, the British Ambassador, and of the Jesuit Fathers.

All art interested Jehângîr, and all artists were naturally protégés of this genial member of "the great and numerous family."

What could be more illuminating, what possible labour of historical research could better explain the flourishing condition of Indian painting during the best Moghul period, than the following passage, in which the liberal and living spirit of encouragement seems to permeate every line?

"Abu-l-Hâsan the painter," writes Jehângîr, "who has been honoured with the title of Nâdiru -z-zaman, drew the picture of my accession as the frontispiece of the Jehângîr-nâmâ and brought it to me. As it was worthy of all praise, he received endless favours. His work was perfect, and his picture is one of the *chefs d'oeuvre* of the age. At the present time he has no rival or equal. If at this day the masters Abdu'l-Hayy, and Bihzâd were alive, they would have done him justice.....

From his earliest years up to the present time I have always looked after him, till his art has arrived at this rank. Truly he has become Nâdirah-i-zamân (wonder of the age)!" There follows the celebrated passage in which Jehângîr explains, and glories in his own understanding of the art—a passage which can well bear repetition: "My liking for painting and my practice in judging it have arrived at such a point that when any work is brought before me, either of deceased artists or of those of the present day, without the names being told me, I say on the spur of the moment that it is the work of such and such a man. And if there be a picture containing many portraits, and each face be the work of a different master, I can discover which face is the work of each of them. If any other person has put in the eye and eyebrow of a face, I can perceive whose work the original face is, and who has painted the eye and eye-brow." The man of affairs may only see in the artistic pride of the mighty ruler of Hindustan, something as incongruous as the gesture of the Emperor Charles when he stooped to pick up Titian's brush! For the genuine patron, however eminent, is scarcely better understood by the world than

the artist ; and because he feels this, he is fain to make common cause with the latter. The sympathetic bond, which has in all times united Artist and Patron, is not the least strong of human ties ; less powerful than Love itself, but as binding in this respect that it also can overleap chasmic divisions of rank. For if the patron has often to pay a price for the sake of art, not by any means comprised within the limits of pounds, shillings, and pence, art must inevitably repay its full quota in the scheme of mutual interdependence. Patronage is not an art but an instinct, and those who try to *assume* the ingratiating rôle of art's champion, cut as sorry a figure as did the jackdaw strutting in peacocks' feathers. The Patron is the vital centre of nature's scheme of artistic creation ; a constantly recurring phenomenon, always inexplicable but always effective. He is the heart of another solar system of human lights which can only endow the world with their starry brilliance while he continues to shine upon them. During periods of eclipse, when he has sunk in temporary extinction, Art has sadly re-echoed the impassioned statement of Timon of Athens,—how that he had changed

“ As the moon does by wanting light to give :
But then renew I could not like the moon ;
There were no suns to borrow of.”

Such great men as Jehângîr—for by virtue of the aspects of his character which have here been glanced at Jehângîr *was* a great man—are vicarious progenitors of genius. It was scarcely less wonderful to have been *in loco parentis* to such as Abu'l-Hasan, and Mansûr, than it was to have executed their paintings under a vivifying influence.

“ Our little systems have their day,
They have their day and cease to be,”

sang Tennyson ; but no system has yet been devised by man to replace the Celestial System of the patron and his artists ! True, the passing of the princely props of culture has forced modern man to cudgel his brains to invent substitutes. But the academies of Europe with their stereotyped patronage cannot fill the individual's place, and the Government can only encourage art effectively when it is moved by the patron's magnetic touch.

With Jehângîr's advent the Hour and the Man had come once more for Indian painting ; and at his passing, there passed with him one of the brightest phases of Moghul Art.

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

THE Easterner who sojourns for a period in the West, with purpose to devote himself to the acquirement of a meed of Western knowledge, invariably looks for enlightenment, during his leisure hours, regarding the intellectual life of the British Isles, not by questioning "the hewers of wood and the drawers of water," but by perusing the works of great men—the real representatives of the West. English literature reveals to him the soul of the English speaking peoples. When he begins to peruse English literature, he does so with a mind stored with a heritage of ideas, fashions and leanings that have come down through countless generations; and, ere he happens on the light that shines here as elsewhere, he has to accustom himself to local modes of expression and to individual idiosyncrasies. He must master the language to appreciate not only the sense of the metrical line—for he will inevitably begin with the poet—but also its music and verbal beauty. His first impressions depend very much on which poet, or group of poets, chance or a friend's guidance may place in his way. He may choose to begin with the very latest and find himself startled by the materialism of Masefield :

" 'Splash water on him, chaps. I only meant

" 'To hit him just a chip. ' "

" 'God send ; he looks damn bad, ' the blacksmith said."

He may turn from the *Widow in the Bye Street* and set himself to get through *Dauber* till an Eastern ray suddenly breaks through the squalor and brutality of a rough sea life in the lines :

" Then in the sunset's flush they went aloft

" And unbent sails in that most lovely hour,

" When the light gentles and the wind is soft,

" And beauty in the heart breaks like a flower."

Mayhap the reader will select a Classic like Milton, and find beauty breaking oftener and more impressively.

“ Under the opening eyelids of the morn — ”

a line which lingers like the memory of a vision in a dream. The loveliness of rural England in its sweet summer season is made lovelier by Milton :

“ Whose artful strains have oft delayed

“ The huddling brook to hear his madrigal

“ And sweetened every musk-rose of the dale.”

An Oriental may find himself in *Comus*, from which I quote, in a veritable Eastern atmosphere, especially when reading Milton's lines on a song, that since first perusal have haunted my mind with a sense of mystery and beauty ; they are not surpassed even by Hafiz for their imaginative and spiritual qualities. The lines I refer to are :

“ At last a soft and solemn breathing sound

“ Rose like a stream of rich distilled perfumes,

“ And stole upon the air, that even Silence

“ Was took ere she was ware, and wished she
might

“ Deny her nature, and be never more,

“ Still to be displaced. I was all ear,

“ And took in strains that might create a soul

“ Under the ribs of Death.”

Those Himalayan heights of poetry, *Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained*, may be found too vast for pleasurable appreciation without prolonged study ; but *Comus*, *Lycidas*, and the shorter poems readily reveal a mind which appeals to the East as profoundly as to the West.

If, by chance, the reader selects Swinburne, he may be puzzled by numerous splashing and glimmering obscurities and rendered blind or breathless by long, dazzling lines such as :

“ Are thy feet on the ways of the limitless waters,
thy wings on the winds of the waste north sea ?

“ Are the fires of the false north dawn over heavens
where summer is stormful and strong like thee ? ”

With relief he turns to the jungle of beauty in Keats with its vivid word-pictures, sharply and swiftly outlined as in Eastern poetry :

“ Clear rills

“ That for themselves a cooling covert make

“ 'Gainst the hot season.”

“ The rocks were silent, the wide sea did
weave

“ An untumultuous fringe of silver foam,
“ Along the flat brown sands.”

In Keats the “ Eastern ” atmosphere is often evident. He was a mystic whose religion was Beauty —

“ Beauty is truth, truth Beauty, that is all
“ Ye know on earth, and all ye need to know.”

The Introductory Sketch to my volume of Keats' poems is touched with a feeling of regret because the poet lived among flowers and ignored the English reservoirs of learning, because he was merely a “ sensuous poet.” An Easterner perceives that Keats was one of the most intellectual of English poets. To him Truth, which is God, was revealed by divine beauty. He enters into this Beauty and becomes a part of it. In his *Endymion*, so strangely neglected, he exclaims :

“ Behold

“ *The clear religion of heaven ! Fold*
“ *A rose-leaf round thy finger's taperness.*
“ *And soothe thy lips ; hist, when the airy stress*
“ *Of music's Kiss impregnates the free winds . . .*
“ *Feel we these things ? --that moment have we stept*
“ *Into a sort of oneness and our state*
“ *Is like a floating spirit's.*”

Keats was no mere sensuous writer. Like the Eastern poets, he realized that Beauty is the essence of the Creator, to whom he really calls in these exquisite lines in *Endymion* :

“ Thou wast the deep glen ;
“ Thou wast the mountain top, the sage's pen,
“ The poet's harp, the voice of friends, the sun ;
“ Thou wast the river, thou wast glory won ;
“ Thou wast the clarion's blast, thou wast my steed,
“ My goblet full of wine, my topmost deed :
“ Thou wast the charm of women, lovely Moon !”

A deep sense of what may justly be called religious fervour of great poetic intensity pulsated in the soul of this mystical singer. His love of Beauty was adoration of God.

But of all the English poets with whom the Easterner makes early acquaintance, none impresses him so readily, so intimately and so permanently as the saintly Shelley, over whom some writers still shake their heads because of an offence committed against a social convention, despite

all the sorrow it brought him. An Easterner can understand this point of view, but he cannot understand what is meant by "Shelley's atheism." In the East the religious sage may be found speculating with even more freedom than did Shelley regarding the mysteries of life and death. Speculation was in the old days encouraged in the East and it is still regarded as an attribute of an independent mind. Who can understand the truth if he has never had a cloud of doubt overshadowing his mind? All of us have been loitering in the shadows. The honest man admits his doubts, the impulsive man is no less honest if he insists on them at some period in his life and declares that the shadow is the only reality. Shelley did this, and it has not yet been forgotten by the orthodox who are "less forgiving than God and therefore somewhat ungodly," as an Eastern sage puts it.

"I never read Shelley because I detest atheistical writings" declared one of my English friends; another, a Scot, asserted, "there is nothing in Shelley but winds and waters and birds and clouds." Yet Shelley was in the real sense a prophet and a teacher of humanity, one of the greatest minds England has produced, as well as one of its greatest singers, if not its very greatest, not excepting Shakespeare. For Shakespeare never wrote such lyrics as did Shelley, and never revealed himself as a solitary pilgrim-thinker in the spiritual world, as did the author of "The Hymn to Intellectual Beauty." Shakespeare was concerned about human character. Shelley was more concerned about human character. It is necessary to draw this distinction because there are those who would deny to Shelley, as to Keats, those intellectual qualities which are necessary for the production of great poetry. Both were profound, spiritually-minded thinkers; they were also seers in the real sense, at any rate, in the sense understood in the East. A Persian critic would be inclined to place Shelley and Keats above Shakespeare, and yet not fail to admire Shakespeare as much as does the English critic.

Shelley, far from being an atheist, believed that God pervaded all things. He saw the Divine Spirit in Nature, in the tree instinct with life, in the moving river, in the "still snowy and serene" Mont Blanc, in the cloud, in the skylark, in man. Life was but an episode in the history of man, and Eternity was to him an enduring reality; he sings in the *Adonais*;

" The One remains, the many change and pass ;
 " Heaven's light forever shines, Earth's shadows fly ;
 " Life, like a dome of many-coloured glass,
 " Stains the white radiance of Eternity,
 " Until Death tramples it to fragments. — Die
 " If thou wouldst be with that which thou dost
 seek !

" Follow where all is fled !
 " Why linger, why turn back, why shrink, my Heart
 " Thy hopes are gone before.
 " No more let life divide what Death can join
 together."

Light and Beauty were to Shelley manifestations of divine truth, and Love was God's beauty gleaming in the heart of man. His was a lovely and inspiring creed — " pleasant if one consider it." —

" That Light whose smile kindles the Universe,
 " That beauty in which all things work and move,
 " That Benediction which the eclipsing Curse
 " Of birth can quench not, that sustaining Love
 " Which through the web of being blindly wove
 " By man and beast and earth and air and sea,
 " Burns bright or dim, as each are mirrors of
 " The fire for which all thirst ; now beams on me
 " Consuming the last clouds of cold mortality."

Shelley believed in the immortality of the soul, which, as he held, existed before birth and will endure after death. In that wonderful poem *Ginevra*, he pictures the horrors of death.

" When there is felt around
 " A smell of clay, a pale and icy glare,
 " And silence."

Death comes suddenly to his heroine :

" The dark arrow fled
 " In the moon."

He contemplates the earthly phenomena of death with horror, not devoid of grandeur.

" Ere the sun through heaven once more has rolled,
 " The rats in her heart
 " Will have made their nest,
 " And the worms be alive in her golden hair,
 " While the spirit that guides the sun,
 " Sits throned in his flaming chair,
 " She shall sleep."

But that is not the whole story of human destiny as felt in the shadows :

“ In our night
 “ Of thought we know thus much of death, —no
more
 “ Than the unborn dream of our life before
 “ Their barks are wrecked on its inhospitable
shore.”

Shelley like the spirit of his own *West Wind* searched the whole world for God and found Him in the mind of man, the greatest of all Divine gifts, for the gift of mind unites all with the One. The poet makes this clear in his strange poem *Julian and Maddalo*, in which the Count says to his friend :

“ The words you spoke last night might well have
cast
 “ A darkness on my spirit —if man be
 “ The passive thing you say, I should not see
 “ Much harm in the religious and old saws
 “ (Tho’ I may never own such leaden laws)
 “ Which break a teachless nature to the yoke :
 “ Mine is another faith.”

Then we are given a glimpse of the beautiful faith of this saintly and mystical singer of England :

“ See
 “ This lovely child, blithe, innocent and free,
 “ She spends a happy time with little care
 “ While we to such sick thoughts subjected are
 “ As came on you last night — it is our will
 “ That thus enchains us to permitted ill —
 “ We might be otherwise — we might be all
 “ We dream of, happy, high, majestic.
 “ Where is the love, beauty and truth we seek
 “ But in our mind ? and if we were not weak
 “ Should we be less in deed than in desire ?”

The Easterner cannot but wonder to find in this country societies, formed to deal with the occult, devoting so much attention to translations of the Indian *Upanishads* and similar ancient works, when they have seers like Shelley, Keats, Wordsworth, Browning and Blake in their own language, who are quite as profound and certainly more easily understood. No Eastern mystic ever revealed more clearly than the author of the *Revolt of Islam* the divine truth of the unity of “ all that is ” as a manifestation of the Eternal.

" And the Great Spirit of God did creep among
 " The nations of mankind, and every tongue
 " Cursed and blasphemed him as he passed, for none
 " Knew good from evil."

Burns is usually referred to as a "love poet" but Shelley was more truly that, for he sang of the Greater Love, the Love which is God. This Love revealed in beauty to the eye in Nature, was similarly revealed to him in the beauty of character and the beauty of the ideals of peace and justice. He dreamed of the return of the Perfect Age when war would cease to be and men would perceive that there are greater victories than can be won on the battlefield, that there are higher ideals than blood-shedding can bring to frail man.

" The world's great age begins anew,
 " The golden years return.
 " The earth doth like a snake renew
 " Her wintry weeds outworn :
 " Heaven smiles, and faiths and empires gleam
 " Like wrecks of a dissolving dream."

.....

" Oh ! write no more the Tale of Troy,
 " If earth Death's scroll must be !"

The difference between Shelley and the Brahmanic authors of the *Upanishads* is most marked in one particular respect. In the famous "Forest Books" of India, the sages are really agnostics. They despair of the human mind ever being able to solve the riddle of existence. They cannot tell aught of God except negatively. They know what God is not, but not what God is. Shelley is a seer with a positive Knowledge of divine truth. To him Love and beauty were synonymous with the Divine Being. He rejoices in the thought of all-pervading Love. The idea of Divine Love never occurred to the authors of the coldly-speculative *Upanishads* who likewise were blind to Divine beauty. The Brahmans realized that they could not sway the masses with their vague speculations, and they provided a host of gods and goddesses with as many attributes as there was need or demand for. But behind all their pantheons remains the haunting belief that nothing positively can be known regarding Narayana or Brahma, or whatever name they choose to apply to the unknown God. But Shelley had a definite message for humanity, and it was essentially a poetical message. He

desired men and women to live noble lives which would reflect divine beauty and divine love, not by the performance of certain rites, not by the organization of creeds and cults, but by thinking and living in a manner worthy of their ideals. To be "one with Nature" meant to Shelley to be "one with God."

Like the Easterner, Shelley had a symbolizing mind. He thought in symbols. In Greek mythology he found, ready-made, a host of Deities whom he spiritualized and glorified. His *Prometheus* is not, however, the old Greek Prometheus at all. He is Shelley's symbol of the human intelligence struggling with the chains that bind him, and the poet's Asia is his ideal of Eternal Love. This Love, married to intelligence, produces a new and better world.

Shelley's tendency to deify Nature, which puzzled his critics, including his wife, is manifested in that beautiful poem *The Witch of Atlas*, which, had it been composed by an Indian Brahman, would have added another deity to the Hindu Pantheon. In his lines *To Mary*, written because she objected to the *Witch* "upon the score of its containing no human interest," he compares the poem to Wordsworth's *Peter Bell*, and says :

"If you unveil my Witch, no priest nor primate
"Can shrive you of that sin--if sin there be
"In Love, *when it becomes idolatry.*"

Here we have the keynote of the poem, which is no mere fantasy, and something more even than "one of the most 'poetic poems' in the English language." I never weary of studying the *Witch*—

"So fair a creature, as she lay enfolden
"In the warm shadow of her loveliness."

"A lovely lady garmented in light
"From her own beauty - deep her eyes, as are
"Two openings of unfathomable night
"Seen through a Temple's cloven roof--her hair
"Dark--the dim brain whirls dizzy with delight,
"Picturing her form ; her soft smiles shone afar,
"And her low voice was heard like love, and drew
"All living things towards this wonder new."

One reads with feelings of reverence, perceiving that the lady is the symbol of that Love which to Shelley was the Eternal Good. The beauty of the metrical music and the abundant imagery intensify the spell of the poet's dream :

“ The deep recesses of her odorous dwelling
“ Were stored with magic treasures—sounds of air,
“ Which had the power all spirits of compelling,
“ Folded in cells of crystal silence there ;
“ Such as we hear in youth, and think the feeling
“ Will never die.”

This reference is to Shelley's youth, let us remember, when he had visions of Eternal Purpose which are not realized wholly in this life of ours. The Witch of the poet says to mortals :

“ Oh, ask not me
“ To love you till your little race is run ;
“ I cannot die as ye must.”

She revealed herself in all that is beautiful by night and day, in the clear heaven, among the stars, in the ravine with its roaring river and on the summits of lofty and lonely mountains. She hovered over mankind by night. The poet imagines her visions in the wonderful lines :

“ A pleasure sweet doubtless it was to see
“ Mortals subdued in all the shapes of sleep.
“ Here lay two sister twins in infancy ;
“ There, a lone youth who in his dreams did weep ;
“ Within, two lovers linked innocently
“ In their loose locks which over both did creep
“ Like ivy from one stem ;—and there lay calm
“ Old age with snow-bright hair and folded palm.

“ But other troubled forms of sleep she saw,
“ Not to be mirrored in a holy song—
“ Distortions foul of supernatural awe,
“ And pale imaginings of visioned wrong ;
“ And all the code of custom's lawless law
“ Written upon the brows of old and young :
“ ‘This ’said the wizard maiden, ‘is the strife
“ Which stirs the liquid surface of man's life.’ ”

She gives dreams to the sleeper and each dream reveals the character of the dreamer. Those worthy of her love :

“ She did unite again with visions clear
“ Of deep affection and of truth sincere.”

Why this poem should be neglected or regarded merely as a poet's fantasy, sorely puzzles an Easterner. It has more poetry and more beauty and more truth than can be found in a dozen of the "popular poems" so often reproduced in anthologies. The *Witch of Atlas* is worth more than many *Don Juans*, and is more beautiful than a *Dauber*, more human than an *Everlasting Mercy*, more spiritual than many *Idylls of the King*. One must go back to half forgotten Spenser, "the poet's poet," for such a glimpse of

" That sovaine light
 " From whose pure beams all perfect beauty
 springs,
 " That kindled love in every godly spright
 " *Even the love of God* ; which loathing brings
 " Of this vile world and these gay-seeming things.

There is much in common between Shelley and Spenser, although the latter takes a longer time to tell his story. Compare, for instance, Shelley's *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* and Spenser's *Hymn of Heavenly Beautie* in which the same message is given :

" Him to behold, is on his workes to looke."

And yet Spenser is regarded by many as a poet who wrote musical verse mainly about such trifling and archaic things as fairies and ogres met by wandering knights of old romance. But the poets who followed him heard and understood him, and hailed him, as does Wordsworth, in his enchanting *Prelude* :

" Sweet Spenser, moving through his clouded heaven
 " With the moon's beauty and the moon's soft pace."

It cannot be said that Wordsworth is neglected. But he does not seem to appeal to his own countrymen in the same manner as he does to an Easterner, that is, as a seer like Shelley, Keats and Spenser. He knew himself to be a seer, and says so in his *Prelude* and *Excursion*, which so many critics regard as "failures" because they forget that the poet's message is of more account than his manner of setting it forth, and that it could not be concentrated in a series of pretty songs. He required space for his great pronouncement to humanity—the memorable inspiring message he was sent into this world to deliver.

A poet without a great message is a mere piper of tunes, a mere clasher of brazen cymbals, a mere idolator who bows the knee to Baal in the name of Art, or noisy reveller in the train of Bacchus. The merely "popular poet" is usually the poet with least intelligence and smallest soul, the poet who strikes the right note of mediocrity for business purposes, or who makes pretty phrases out of trite ideas fashionable in his age, or who glorifies the weaknesses and excesses of mere sensual passion which conceals the Divine spark by its formless and exaggerated and obscuring cloudiness. There is no real beauty which is not a manifestation of the Divine—not the divine who is a god of a cult—but the Divine Spirit which is revealed in beauty and love in the heart or in nature.

A manly godliness of spirit is apparent in all immortal verse. He who creates even a poem must bear resemblance to the Creator of all that is beautiful and good and true. Let us not have Art for Art's sake, but Art for God's sake—Art which interprets the Divine element in mankind.

That Wordsworth realized all this is abundantly shown in his autobiographical poem, *The Prelude*, which is, without doubt, the most wonderful autobiography ever written in any country. He gives his account of what Westerners call his "conversion" in the fourth book. It occurred during a "sober hour" on a dewy evening :

" Gently did my soul
" Put off her veil, and, self-transmuted, stood
" Naked, as in the presence of her God.
" While on I walked, a comfort seemed to touch
" A heart that had not been disconsolate :

" I had inward hopes
" And swellings of the spirit, was rapt and soothed,
" Conversed with promises, had glimmering views
" How life pervades the undecaying mind ;
" How the immortal soul with God-like power
" Informs, creates, and thaws the deepest sleep
" That time can lay upon her."

Having acquired "clearer knowledge," Wordsworth saw a new world which was the old, for there was divine love in his heart. The artist in him had been awakened by a loving influence sent direct from God who loveth all. Then he became god-like as he relates :

“ I loved,
“ More deeply all that had been loved before,
“ More deeply even than ever.”

Addressing Coleridge, he declares that poets had a message for mankind :

“ Prophets of Nature, we to them will speak
“ A lasting inspiration, sanctified
“ By reason, blest by faith : what we have loved
“ Others will love and we will teach them how.”

These thoughts might well be translated from Persian or Arabic. East and West are more closely akin than some writers and travellers appear to realize, and this is particularly true in reference to intellectual life.

The religious systems may differ, and divergent views may be entertained as to which religion is the true religion. But in the lands “ somewhere East of Suez,” as in England, the seer-poets who have lived near to God enable all to surmount barriers and reach those green places which form the garden of God. There all may feel as did the Irish poet :

“ The stars sang in God’s garden,
“ The stars are the birds of God ;
“ The night-time is God’s harvest,
“ Its fruits are the words of God.”

In “ the garden of God ” are those divinely-inspired singers from whom we have much to learn as Eastern and Western children of the same Creator. In His eyes East and West are one.

SIRDAR IQBAL ALI SHAH.

ANCIENT ARABIAN POETS

I.

A Muslim Saint and poet of the Third Century of the Hijrah.

Zu'n-Nun Al-Misri.

ABUL-FAID Thauban-ibn-Ibrâhîm (or "al-Faid") ibn-Ibrâhîm al-Misri ¹, and surnamed Zu'n-Nûn ², was a celebrated *Quddis* ³ and one of the "men of the path" ⁴. He was the premier person of his age for his learning in *ilm al fiqh* (jurisprudence), devotion ('*ibadat*), community with the Divinity (*hal*) ⁵, and acquaintance with literature, and is recorded as one of those who taught from memory (*alquwat al hafizah*) the *Muwatta* of the Imâm Mâlik (who died in the 179th year of the Hijrah) ⁶.

(1) Al-Misri—"The Egyptian."

(2) Zu'n-Nûn—Literally, "Man of the Fish." A title given to the prophet Jonah (Arabic Yûnus), in Qurân, Sûrah, xxi. 87. This prophet is also mentioned by the name Yûnus, in several sûras, and as Sahion'l-Hut in Sûrah lxviii., 48-50; Sûrah X is known as the Sûratu Yûnus.

(3) Quddis—Saint; Qudissu (pl.)—Saints.

(4) Man of the Path. This is a title given to some of the eminent Sûfis; it means one who walks in the path of asceticism (*ifrat azzahd biddinniya*). The words *attarik al mustaqim*, the right way, signifies also metaphorically doctrine and system of conduct, which, with the Sûfis consisted in the continual practice of mystical devotion.

(5) Hal (Arabic)—State, situation, condition. This word is employed by the Sûfis, in their technical language to signify a periodical fit of excitation or of mental abstraction, or religious ecstasy, to which their devotees are subject and which is produced by a long continuance of their religious exercises. During its continuance, the souls of the ecstatic is believed to be absorbed in the Divinity.

(6) In the early years of Islâm, many learned authors composed works, but did not reduce them to writing. These works they taught to their disciples, who either wrote them down as they were dictated or transmitted them orally. The *Muwatta* (literally, "That which has been compiled"), or "Beaten Path," is a celebrated treatise on jurisprudence and book of traditions (Ahâdis) or uninspired record of the inspired sayings of the prophet Muhammad. It was compiled by the Imâm Mâlik, and is the earliest compilation of traditions, and is placed by some of the Muslim historians and theologians amongst the *Kutuba's Sittah* or the "Six (correct) books."

Ibn-Yûnus, the celebrated Arabian Historian and Traditionist, who died on Sunday, 26 Jamâdi-al âkhir, Anno Hijrah, 347 (September 958 of the Christian era), who, from the information which he acquired respecting eminent men, his thorough acquaintance with the works wherein their history is set forth, and the correctness of the facts which he adduces from personal knowledge, is entitled to the highest confidence in his history of the lives of eminent men who were natives of Egypt, says that Zu'n-Nûn al-Misri was acquainted with '*Ilm al-hikmat* (philosophy), and that he spoke with elegance and eloquence (*fasahah*). "He dived into the ocean of eloquence and selected therein the finest and best pearls: and from the tree of speech culled the ripest and most beautiful and luscious fruit, while others only gathered the dry wood or rapidly rotting branches."

The father of Zu'n-Nûn, who was a native of Nubia, or of Ikhmim (in upper Egypt), was a manumitted slave who had been adopted (*tabanni*) by the tribe of the Quraish.

Zu'n-Nûn, on being asked why he had renounced (*mankur*) the world, replied:—"I went forth from Misri, journeying to a certain village, and feeling fatigued, I lay down in one of the deserts on the way and fell asleep (*na'isa*), and while asleep (*nama*) I had a dream (*manam*), and therein my eyes were opened, and lo! I beheld a little bird, yet blind, fall from its nest to the ground. Then the earth split asunder and two trays came forth through the crevice (*fulk*), one was of gold and the other of silver; in one was sesame ¹, and in the other was water; and the

(1) Sesame. (*Sesamum orientale* and *S. indicum*. Name probably derived from Sempium, the Egyptian name of one of the species)—*Sesamum*, a genus of about 12 species of African or Indian annual hairy herbs, called sesame, gingili, bene, til, etc., of the botanical family. Pedaliaceæ. The species are so similar as to be sometimes reckoned as mere varieties of one species, *Sesamum indicum*. The sweet oleaginous seeds are used in Central Africa for making pudding. In Egypt they are eaten strewn on cake. The bland, long-keeping, fixed oil obtained from them is used as a food, like olive oil, and by the women of Egypt as a cosmetic. From ancient times it has been cultivated in India, China, Japan, and many tropical and subtropical countries. It is one of the quickest plants to yield returns. Several varieties are cultivated for the oil obtained from the seeds. Two in India are distinguished, one by having white and the other black seeds. Sesame-oil is a non-drying, fatty oil obtained from the seeds of *Sesamum orientale*. It has a yellowish colour, is inodorous, and has a slight taste of honey. The crude-oil is used in soap making, and for burning in lamps. The oil-cake, mixed with honey and preserved citron, is considered as a luxury in the Orient. The leaves of *Sesamum* abound in mucilaginous substance, which they readily impart to water, making a rich bland mucilage, used in some countries as a demulcent beverage. The seeds are also used in confectionery.

little bird ate of that and drank of this.' 'That,' said I, 'is a sufficient warning (*khavar*) for me: I renounce the world;,' and then I awoke (*istaykaz*), but the vision (*basar*) in my dream (*kulm*) remained indelibly fixed in my mind, and I then did not quit the door of Divine Mercy until I was admitted therein."

Ibn-Khallikan in his *Biographical Dictionary* styles this little bird Kunbura. The Arabic word Kunburat means a lark, and particularly the crested lark (*Galerita cristata*). This bird is frequently met with on both corners of the Sinaitic peninsula at Suez and Akabah, also at the Ghôr and in the Judæan wilderness. The "Persian lark" and the "Isabelline lark" are also known in those districts; the latter seems to be mainly confined to the Sinaitic, Egyptian and Sahara deserts, and extending like many other forms of bird life up the Arabah to the Dead Sea. It would appear, however, that Ibn-Khallikan has made a mistake in the name of this bird, as larks build on the ground, and Zu'n-Nûn states positively that, in his dream, he saw the bird "fall from its nest to the ground." The various Arabic and Turkish writers, who described this incident in the life of Zu'n-Nûn, differ as to what species the bird belonged. One Turkish author calls it a *setche-kushu* (a sparrow), and this is confirmed by an Arabic writer who styles it an *asfur*, the Arabic term for a sparrow, while another Arabic author states that it was a *zarzur* (starling). Personally I am inclined to think that the probability is that it was the sparrow (*asfur*), as large flocks of the common sparrow (*Passer domesticus*) are to be found in the desert a day's ride from Gaza, and the birds are as frequently seen in Alexandria, Cairo, Jerusalem, Mecca and Madînah as they are in London. Four species of sparrow are numerous in Palestine. The Marsh-sparrow (*Passerhispanolensis*) and "Tristram's sparrow" (*P. moabiticus*), are also well known in the Wâdy Arabah and the Dead Sea valley. Large flocks of starlings (*turnus vulgaris*) frequent the country between Jerusalem and Jericho.

In considering this matter it is as well to remember that every Muslim recognises all the prophets of Israel as being prophets of Islâm, and that 'Isa-bin-Maryam (Jesus the son of Mary) is also regarded as the prophet immediately preceding Muhammad (on whom be everlasting peace!), "the last and greatest of the prophets," and that Islâm is regarded as "the faith of Abrahâm," Judaism and Christianity coming from the same stock that the Toarh,

the Gabour (Psalms) and the Injil (the gospels) are respected as inspired works, and that there are frequent allusions to the sparrow in the Bible. The Hebrew word thus rendered in the English translation (of Psalms lxxxiv.4 and cii.7, Proverbs xxvi.2) is *zippor*, which denotes birds in general, but is used especially of small passerine birds (Latin, *passer* : a sparrow), though it is also used as a generic name for all small birds that frequented houses and gardens. The word occurs about 40 times in the Bible, and is indiscriminately translated "bird," "fowl," or "sparrow." The translators have, apparently, used the word "sparrow" where they felt that this bird best fitted the requirements of the texts. Some critical commentators, however, allege that what is said does not apply to the sparrow. For example take Psalm 102 v. 7 (A.V.8.) :

"I watch, and am as a sparrow alone upon the housetop." Canon Tristram identifies the "sparrow" mentioned in the above passage with the blue thrush (*Monticola cyanus*), from its habit of sitting solitary or in pairs or on some other conspicuous perch¹.

The feeling that to "sit upon a housetop alone" is not characteristic of the sparrow arises from the fact that it is such a friendly and gregarious bird that if it were on the housetop it would be surrounded by others of its kind ; so, as above mentioned, the solitary thrush was intended. There is, however, no force in the change. Thrushes of to-day are shy, timid birds of thickets and deep undergrowth. Occasionally a strong one comes around a house at migration, but once settled to the business of living they are the last and most infrequent birds to appear near the dwellings of men. The habits of birds do not change in the space of even two or three thousand years. Psalm 102 is the prayer of an afflicted man, a prophet of God, when he is overwhelmed, and poureth out his complaint before the Almighty Ruler of all things, and calls upon the Lord to hear his prayer and listen to his cry in the time of his trouble.

The whole psalm is full of allegory : the weary prophet declares that "his days are consumed like smoke and his bones are burned as an hearth," that he is "like a pelican of the wilderness" and "an owl of the desert." The reason why he compares himself to a lone sparrow upon the housetop is, possibly, because it is an unusual thing

(1) Tristram, "*Natural History of the Bible*," p. 200.

for a sparrow to sit mourning alone, and, consequently, it attracted attention and made a forceful comparison. Such an incident only occurs when the bird's mate has been killed or its nest and young destroyed, and then this most cheerful of birds sitting lonely and dejected made a deep impression on the Psalmist who, in his hour of trouble and dejection, compared himself to a mourning sparrow seated alone upon the housetop. The Qurân declares "There is not a beast upon the earth, nor a bird that flies with both its wings, but is a community like unto yourselves (being created and preserved by the same Omnipotence and Providence as ye are). Nothing have we passed over in the Book (of the Eternal decrees): then unto their Lord shall they be gathered." (Qurân, Sûrah vi., "Al An'âm" ("Cattle"), v. 38. Revealed at Mecca).

Another exquisite song of the Psalmist describes the bird in its secure and happy hour :—

"Yea, the sparrow hath found her a house
And the swallow a nest for herself, where she may lay
her young,
Even thine altars, oh Lord of hosts,
My King and my God."

PSALMS 84, v. 3.

If the Psalmist could notice the sparrows on joyful conditions, would he not also be attracted by its mourning?

There is a reference to the widespread distribution of these birds in Palestine in Proverbs, xxvi., 2.

"As the sparrow in her wandering, as the swallow in her flying,

So the curse that is causeless alighteth not¹."

In the Talmud "zippor" is a generic name always designating a clean bird. It seems probable that in "New Testament" times sparrows were eaten, as is commonly the case in Mediterranean countries to-day. The following passages in the Christian Gospels support this view :—
"Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall to the ground without your Father.

(1) The Hebrew word rendered in the English translation as "swallow" is *deror* (Psalms lxxxiv. 4; Proverbs xxvi. 2.) The Hebrew word *sus* or *sis* is also translated "swallow" in two passages (Isa. xxxviii. 14; Jeremiah viii.) "Crane" would, however, be a better translation. In the Talmud *senunit* is the usual name for a swallow, and the Biblical *deror* is also used.

For the very hairs of your head are all numbered. Fear ye not, therefore, ye are of more value than many sparrows." Matthew x., v. 29-31.

"Are not five sparrows sold for two farthings, and not one of them is forgotten before God.

"But even the very hairs of your head are all numbered.

"Fear not, therefore; ye are of more value than many sparrows."—Luke xii., 6 and 7.

These passages surely must be a reference to the common custom in the Orient of catching small birds and selling them to be skinned and sold as little delicacies.

In the apocryphal book known as "*Thomas's Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus Christ*"¹ it is stated that the son of Mary (Sidna Issa-bin-Maryam, U.W.B.P.) made birds (*i.e.* sparrows) out of clay, and that by a miracle, these were given life. The following is Hone's translation of this passage:—

"When the child Jesus was five years of age. . . . he took from the bank of the stream some soft clay and formed out of it twelve sparrows; and there were other boys playing with him. But a certain Jew, seeing the things which he was doing, namely, his forming clay into the figures of sparrows on the Sabbath day, went presently away and told his father, Joseph, and said 'Behold, the boy is playing by the river side, and has taken clay and formed it into twelve sparrows, and profaneth the Sabbath.'

"Then Joseph came to the place where he was, and, when he saw him, called to him and said: 'Why dost thou that which it is not lawful to do on the Sabbath day?'

"Then Jesus, clapping together the palms of his hands, called to the sparrows, and said to them: 'Go, fly away; and while ye live remember me.'

"So the sparrows fled away, making a noise. The Jews, seeing this, were astonished, and went away and told their chief persons what a strange miracle they had seen wrought by Jesus."

(1) The Original of this apocryphal gospel, in Greek, wherefrom the above translation was made, will be found printed by Cotelerius, in his notes on the constitutions of the Apostles, from a MS. in the French King's Library, No. 2279.—It is attributed to St. Thomas, and conjectured to have been originally connected with the "*Gospel of Mary*."

There is another account of this incident given in the apocryphal work known as "*The First Gospel of the Infancy of Jesus*," which was first translated by Mr. Henry Sike, professor of Oriental Languages at Cambridge, and published by him in 1697. This "Gospel" was received, as authentic and inspired by the Gnostics, a sect of Christians in the second century of the Christian era; and several of its relations were credited in the following ages by other Christians, such as the ecclesiastical historian, Eusebius (270-338), Bishop of Caesarea about 313, who wrote an "Ecclesiastical History," the "Life of Constantine" "Evangelical Preparation" and other works¹; Athanasius (300-371); Epiphanius, a Christian Bishop, afterwards canonized, who wrote in Greek several religious works, the principal whereof is the *Panarion* or a treatise on heresies (340 (?)—403); Saint Chrysostom, the most eloquent of the fathers of the Christian church, and Bishop of Constantinople (354-407)² and others.

The ecclesiastical historian who flourished in the fifth century of the Christian era, Hermius Sozemenus ("Sozomen"), who was a native of Palestine, whence he passed to Constantinople, where he practised as an advocate and who wrote an Ecclesiastical History from 323 to 439, says in such work³, that he was told by many, and he credits the relations of the idols in Egypt falling down on Joseph, and Mary's flight thither with the infant Jesus, of Jesus making a well to wash his clothes in a sycamore tree, from whence balsam afterwards proceeded, and other stories found in this Gospel.

Chernitius, out of Stipulensis, who had it from Peter Martyr, Bishop of Alexandria, in the third century of the Christian era, refers to this Gospel, and says, that the place in Egypt where Jesus was banished is now called Matarea, and is situated about ten miles beyond Cairo; that the inhabitants thereof constantly burn a lamp in remembrance of it; and that there is a garden of trees yielding a balsam, which were planted by Jesus when a boy.

Monsieur Paul La Croix, a French litterateur (1806-1860), generally known under the pseudonym of "Bibliophile Jacob" cites a synod at Angamala, in the

(1) The best edition of his "Ecclesiastical History" is that of Cambridge, 3 vols. folio, 1720.

(2) His feast is celebrated by the Roman Church on the 27th January, and by the Greek Church on the 13th November in each year.

(3) An edition of this book was printed and published at Cambridge with Eusebius and Socrates in 1720.

mountains of Malabar held in 1599, which mentions this Gospel as read by the Nestorians in that country. Ahmad-ibn-Idris asserts that this Gospel of the Infancy was used by some Christians in common with the other four gospels. The work is referred to by many other writers including John Albert Fabricius (1688-1736) in his *Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*. This work contains two references (Chapters XV and XIX) to the making of figures of birds and particularly sparrows by Jesus. The first of these runs as follows : —

“ And when the Lord Jesus was seven years of age, he was on a certain day with other boys his companions about the same age, who, when they were at play, made clay into several shapes, namely, asses, oxen, birds, and other figures, each boasting of his work, and endeavouring to excel the rest. Then the Lord Jesus said to the boys, ‘ I will command those figures which I have made to walk.’ And immediately they moved, and when he commanded them to return, they returned. He also made the figures of birds and sparrows, which when he commanded to fly, did fly, and when he commanded to stand still, did stand still ; and if he gave them meat and drink, they did eat and drink. When at length the boys went away, and related these things to their parents, their fathers said to them, ‘ Take heed, children, for the future of his company, for he is a sorcerer ; shun or avoid him, and from henceforth never play with him.’ (Chapter XV, verses 1-7).

The other passage (Chapter XIX, v. 16-21) runs thus :—

“ On another day the Lord Jesus was with some boys by a river, and they drew water out of a river by little channels, and made little fish pools. But the Lord Jesus had made twelve sparrows, and placed them about his pool on each side, three on a side. But it was on the sabbath-day and the son of Hanani a Jew came by, and saw them making these things, and said ‘ Do ye thus make figures of clay on the sabbath ?’ And he ran to them, and broke down their fish-pools. But when the Lord Jesus clapped his hands over the sparrows which he had made, they fled away chirping. At length the son of Hanani coming to the fish-pool of Jesus to destroy it, the water vanished away, and the Lord Jesus said to him, ‘ In like manner as this water has vanished, so shall thy life vanish ’ ; and presently the boy died.”

In another of the early Christian Gospels, now regarded as apocryphal, known as *The Protevangelion* ; or “ An

Historical Account of the Birth of Christ, and the perpetual Virgin Mary, his mother, by James the Lesser, cousin or Brother of the Lord Jesus, chief Apostle and first Bishop of the Christians in Jerusalem," we find another allusion to the presence of sparrows in Palestine.

This Gospel is ascribed to James the Less. The allusions to it in the ancient Christian "Fathers" are frequent, and their expressions indicate that it, at the time of their writing, had obtained a very general credit in the Christian world. The controversies founded upon it chiefly relate to the age of Joseph at the time of the birth of Jesus, and to his being a widower, with children, before his marriage with Mary, the mother of Jesus. It is material to note that the legends of later ages affirm the virginity of Joseph, notwithstanding the fact that Epiphanius, Hilary (a father of the Church in the 4th century, bishop of Poitiers, and afterwards canonized), Chrysostom, Cyril, Euthymius, Theophylactus (Archbishop of Acheris, and Metropolitan of Bulgaria in the 11th century of the Christian era. He wrote Commentaries on the Gospel and Acts of the Apostles; also on some of the Minor Prophets and epistles), Occumenius, and indeed all the Latin Fathers till Ambrose (Archbishop of Milan, author of the hymn, *Te Deum laudamus*, and afterwards canonized, B. 340, D. 397), and the Greek Fathers afterwards maintain the opinions of Joseph's age and family, founded upon their belief in the authenticity of this book ("*The Protevangelion*"). It is believed to have been originally composed in Hebrew. Guillaume Postel ("Postellus"), a French mystic, sent by Francis I into the Orient, to collect manuscripts, and who wrote a great number of works on theology and the Oriental languages (B.1510 D. 1581), brought the manuscript of this Gospel from the Levant, translated it into Latin, and sent it to Oporinus, a printer at Basle, where Bibliander, a Protestant divine, and the Professor of Divinity at Zurich, caused it to be printed in 1552. Postellus asserts, that it was publicly read as Canonical in the Eastern churches, they making no doubt that James the Less was the author thereof. Nevertheless, it is considered apocryphal by some of the most learned divines in the Protestant and Catholic churches.

The sparrow is mentioned in the first verse of the third chapter of the work. In the prior chapter it is related how Anna, the wife of Joachim a rich man who was childless and very disconsolate in consequence thereof, mourned

her barrenness and sat under a laurel tree and prayed to the Lord saying "O God of my fathers, bless me and regard my prayer, as thou didst bless the womb of Sarah, and gavest her a son Israel!"

"And as she was looking towards heaven, she perceived a sparrow's nest in the laurel-tree."¹

On the strength of these quotations and with the fact before us of the existence of the custom in the Orient of catching, skinning and selling small birds, such as sparrows, as delicacies and the emphatic declaration in the Qurân that these tiny and common birds were "a people like unto yourselves," and that it is specifically declared in the Qurân:—"With Allâh are the keys of the secret things; none knoweth them beside Himself; He knoweth that which is on the dry land and in the sea; there falleth no leaf but He knoweth it; neither is there a single grain in the dark parts of the earth, neither a green thing, nor a dry thing, but it is written in the perspicuous book."² Can it be wondered that to a sincere and pious Muslim, such as Zu'n-Nûn undoubtedly was, his dream of the earth opening and a gold and silver plate, bearing grain and water thereon, appearing therefrom to furnish sustenance for a weak and tender sparrow-chicken, yet blind, who had fallen out of its nest to the ground and was apparently helpless, came as a Divine message to Zu'n-Nûn, that the God who would thus provide for a poor little sparrow ("five whereof" were sold for two farthings) would provide and care for one who would renounce the world and dedicate himself to a religious life?

Stories similar to the above, illustrative of Divine message and compassion, are not infrequent in Islamic history. The following is a quaint and pathetic example thereof:—Abû'l-Hasan Tâhir ibn-Ahmad ibn Bâbshad³ was the greatest grammarian of his time in Egypt; it is said that his family belonged originally to Dailem. He was the author of some instructive works, particularly the celebrated *Muqaddama*, or "Introduction to Grammar," to which he appended a commentary. He composed

(1) The Greek word thus rendered as "sparrow" is *strouthion*.

(2) Qurân, Sûrah VI., "Al An'âm" (Cattle). Revealed at Mecca, v. 59.

(3) Bâbshad is a word of Persian origin including in its meaning the ideas of joy and happiness. Compare Persian *shadi*, *shadmani*—joy: Turkish *sa'adet*—happiness: Arabic *sa'adat*—happiness. *Bab* in Arabic Persian and Turkish signifies a door. In Arabic a door-keeper is styled *bawwab*, and the place or office of a door-keeper *biwabat*.

also a commentary on the *Jamal* of Abn-Isbak Azzajjaji, and another on the *Osul* of Ibn-as-Sarraj ("the saddler"), surnamed al-Qârî al-Baghdâdî (the Qurân-reader of Baghdâd). During his retirement from the world, as hereinafter recorded, Ibn-Bâbshad compiled a copious treatise on grammar which, however, he left unpublished, it is said that a fair copy of it in manuscript would have formed nearly fifteen large volumes. The grammarians into whose hands it subsequently fell called it *al-taalik al Ghurfu*¹. It passed first from him to his disciple Abû Abdullah Muhammad-ibn-Barakat as-Saadi, the grammarian and philologist, who replaced him as a professor, it passed then to Ibn-Barakat's disciple and successor, the grammarian Abû Muhammad Abdullah Ibn-Bâri, and from him to his pupil and successor, the grammarian Abu'l-Husain, who was generally known by the opprobrious surname of *Thalt al-Fil* (elephant's dung)². It is stated that each of these persons left the work to his disciple with the recommendation to preserve it most carefully, and that students frequently endeavoured to obtain permission to copy it, but always without success. By his learning and writings, Ibn-Bâbshad was highly useful. He held a place at the Kanslariat (Chief Court of Justice), at Cairo, and no document was issued therefrom without being first submitted to his examination: if he perceived in it any fault of grammar or of style, he had it forthwith rectified by the clerk who wrote it out; but if he found it to be correct, he gave his approval thereto, and it was then despatched to its destination. For this service he received a salary from the Khazînah (Treasury), which was paid to him monthly.

He occupied this post for some time, but at length resigned therefrom. It is related that he was induced so to do from the following circumstance. Being one day, with some other persons, on the roof of the mosque at Old Cairo partaking of a collation, a cat came over to them and they gave it a piece of meat. The animal took it in its jaws and went off, carrying it thus. In a short

(1) This title means "Notes taken in the garret or attic." It will be seen, further on, that Ibn-Bâbshad took up his residence in an attic or small room on the roof of the mosque of Amr. The Turkish word for attic is *tawan-arassi*: Persian, *utak-i-beila*.

(2) The general name for "dung" in Arabic is *zibl*, but the language is so rich in its vocabulary that various words are used according to the particular animal to whom the excrement appertains. The same occurs in Persian, where the dung of cows is termed *sargin*, that of horses *pahin*, and so on.

time it returned again, whereupon they threw another morsel to it. This it carried off also, and it kept going and coming a great number of times, at each whereof it received from them another morsel. Struck with this singularity, and knowing that no single cat could eat all that they had given, they suspected something extraordinary, and followed the animal. They then saw it clamber over a wall on the roof and go down into what appeared to be an abandoned room. There they found another cat, that was blind, eating of the food which had been brought to and set before it by its companion. All of them were much struck with this, and Ibn-Bâbshâd recited *al-Fatiha* :—

Al-hamdu li-'llahî Rabbi 'l-'alamin,

Ar-rahmani 'r-rahim !

“ Praise be to God, Lord of all the worlds !

The compassionate, the merciful ! ”

and then added : “ Since Allâh, the merciful, the compassionate, has caused this poor blind animal to be served and fed by another cat, and has not withheld from it nourishment, how could He allow a human being such as I am to perish of hunger ? ”

He immediately broke off all ties which bound him to the world ; he gave up his official position, renounced his salary and shut himself up in a small chamber, where he pursued his studies in the full confidence that God would provide for him. His friends then took care of him and supported him until he died. On renouncing the world, as before mentioned, he collected his property and sold it all, except such articles as he absolutely required. The money realised by such sale he ordered to be distributed nine-tenths among poor persons and the remaining tenth in providing food for stray cats. His death took place on the evening of the third day of the month of Rajab (the “ honoured ” month) in the 469th year of the Hijrah (January, 1077 of the Christian era), in old Cairo, and his mortal remains were interred in the greater Karafa maqbara (cemetery). “ May his soul rest in eternal peace, Amin ! ”

This was not the only dream accredited to Zu'n-Nûn. It is related that one evening he dreamt that he was sailing in a small *karib* (boat) over a calm and tranquil sea, when suddenly a tempestuous storm arose and the little vessel was almost engulfed in the rolling billows (*tamarwajîn*), and every moment it would seem that the vessel would

be sunk, and its occupier drowned ; then Zu'n-Nûn had recourse to prayer and then, to quote his own language, " My prayer was answered, the *latifah*¹ came, the tempest ceased, and I steered my little barque into a calm and tranquil *mina* (harbour)."

This allegorical dream is believed to have been fulfilled under the following circumstances :—Having been denounced by his enemies to the Khalifah Ja'afar al Muta-wakkil, a grandson of the famous Hârûn al-Rashîd, and one of the monarchs of the House of 'Abbâs, who reigned, at Baghdâd, during the years 232 to 247 of the Hijrah (847 to 861 of the Christian era), Zu'n-Nûn was cited from Egypt to appear before that ruler. He was arrested and treated with much severity and carried prisoner to Arabia, and was dragged, handcuffed and fettered through the streets of Mecca (where the Khalifah was at the time) to the Matbak, or chief prison of that city, and as the people thronged round him, weeping and lamenting, Ishâq-ibn-Ibrâhîm as-Sarakhsi, who was present on the occasion and an eye-witness of all that occurred, states that Zu'n-Nûn was heard to exclaim : " This is one of the gifts and favours of Allâh ; all He does is sweet, right and good." He then recited these lines :—

" For thee, O my beloved, is a place ever reserved
in my heart ;

I despise all blame cast upon me for loving thee.

For thy sake I strive to fall thy victim ;

To support thy absence is an impossible task !

These lines, the mystic import whereof is manifest, the " Beloved " being here the Divinity, have been rendered into English verse thus :—

" For Thee, Belov'd One, art e'er in my heart

For my love of Thee can never depart.

All blame on me cast, I scorn and despise ;

Thou art to me all, whate'er may arise.

For Thy sake, belov'd, I yield up my all,

Content as victim for Thy sake to fall.

To love and to serve Thee, 'tis all I ask,

Endure Thy absence, impossible task !"

When brought into the presence of the Khalifah, Zu'n-Nûn addressed a pious exhortation to him, which had such a powerful effect on Ja'afar al-Mutawakkil that he

(1) The term "*latifah*" is used by Sûfî mystics for any sign or influence in the soul, derived from God, which has such a mysterious effect on the heart that mortal man cannot express it in language, just as a delicious taste in the mouth cannot be exactly expressed by the tongue.

shed tears and dismissed him honourably. And thenceforth, whenever men of piety were spoken of in his presence, the Khalifah would weep and say, "Speaking of pious men, let me have Zu'n-Nûn."

In these, its early stages, this Islamic mysticism was a potent element of good. It rebuked the passionate worldliness evoked by Fatalistic doctrines and the terrible uncertainty of life. The threatening, uplifted arm of unrighteous power, about to strike an innocent victim, was not unfrequently arrested at the rebuke of one of these pious ascetics.

Zu'n-Nûn was lean-bodied, of a sanguine complexion, and had not a grey hair in his beard. His master in the path of devotion was Shukran al-'Abid ("the devout"). One of his sayings was: "When hearts hold converse, the members of the body are in repose," meaning thereby that the service of the tongue is not required to express the thoughts of the mind, neither are signs necessary for the purpose when two hearts are in sympathetic communion.

"When heart doth speak to heart, then each one knows

What other feels, and tongue can have repose;

No word is utter'd from the lips to part;

No need for such, when heart doth speak to heart."

In a compilation containing some particulars concerning Zu'n-Nûn occurs the following passage.—"A certain Faqîr (*darvish*) named Isma'îl, who was one of his disciples, quitted him in Egypt and went to Baghdâd. He there attended a *zikr*¹, the religious ceremony or act of devotion, which is practised by the various religious orders of the Faqîrs, or Darvîshes, of the Mevlevec order, and when the brethren were excited and fell into ecstasy, he stood up and whirled about and hearkened to the music²; he then uttered a loud cry and fell to the ground and on being shaken by those present he was found to be dead. News of this having reached Zu'n-Nûn, he said to his disciples: "Get ready, that we walk to Baghdâd." So when they had finished their preparations, they set out for Baghdâd, and arrived there on the anniversary of the death of the unfortunate Isma'îl. Sheykh Zu'n-Nûn said, the moment he arrived in Baghdâd: "Bring that *nawbati* (musician) to me." When the *nawbati* was brought before him, Zu'n-Nûn questioned him upon the

(1) *Zikr*—literary "Remembering;" Hebrew, *Zukhur*.

(2) Music is played during the *zikr* of the Mevlevec darvîshes.

event, and the musician related to him all the particulars thereof. On this the Sheykh said: "Blessed be Allāh, and blessed be he (Isma'il) whom He has taken to Al-Jannat (the garden of paradise)!" Then he and his band of disciples commenced singing praises to Allāh, and, as they began, Zu'n-Nûn uttered a loud cry of *Ya Allah!* (O God!) and *Ya Hoo!* (Oh He!) in front of the nawbati, and on hearing this the musician immediately fell down dead — "*Maqtul linjl maqtul!*" (a slain!) said Zu'n-Nûn "vengeance has been taken for our companion's death!" Directly this tragic event had taken place, Zu'n-Nûn and his disciples at once left Baghdād and returned to Egypt."

Commenting upon this extraordinary incident Ibn Khallikan in his "Biographical Dictionary" says:— "A circumstance, similar to this, occurred in my time, and may be fitly related in this place. There was with us at Arbela ¹ a musician renowned for his skill and talent

(1) Arbela is now known as Arbil or Erbil, and is situated between 40 and 50 miles E.S.-E. of Mosul. The upper town is built on the top of a hill, and walled. The lower town is also walled. In 1905 the population of the town was about 4,000, whereof fully 3,700 were Muslims, the remaining 300 being either Nestorian or Armenian Christians, and about 50 Jews. The town contains some large mosques, baths and bazaars. It was near here that Alexander the Great obtained his final victory over Darius, in what is called "The Battle of Arbela," 331 B.C. The Persian monarch had selected for his battle-field an open plain between the Tigris and the Lycus or Greater Zab (By Xenophon styled by the native name of Zapatas), near a village called Gangamela. Strabo states that the name Gangamela signified "the house of a camel," the village having been assigned by Darius Hystaspes as the place of support for one of his camels that had done good service in his Scythian expedition (Strabo, xvi., i., sec. 3.) The exact site of Gangamela has not been determined; nor can this be wondered at. A large village in an open plain is not likely to have left any permanent vestiges, and no tradition remains to point it out. It is stated to have been situated about 600 stadia (50 Greek miles) from the city of Arbela, from which it was separated by the Lycus, the passage whereof was, however, secured by a bridge. The disciplined valour of the Macedonian troops asserted its superiority over the vast undisciplined hosts of the Persian monarch, and the battle of Arbela, as it was commonly named, was the death-blow of the Persian Monarchy. Darius fled in the first instance to Arbela, from thence without a halt across the passes of Mt. Zagros to Sebatana, leaving the direct route to Babylon and Susa open to the conqueror. The battle of Arbela was fought on the 25th or 26th September B.C. 331. We are enabled to fix the exact date from the occurrence of an eclipse of the moon immediately after the passage of the Tigris and eleven days before the battle (Arrian, *Anabasis*, iii., 7, S. 6; Plutarch, *Alex.*, 31). This eclipse attracted much attention in later times from the circumstance of its being observed also at Carthage; a fact of which Hipparchus made use in order to indicate the mode of determining the difference of longitude between two places.

whose name was Shujâ-'ud-dîn Jibril ibn-al Awani. Some time before the year 620 of the Hijrah (1223 of the Christian era) he went to a *zîkr* (I was then a boy not twelve years old, but I remember the circumstance quite well, my family and other persons having spoken of it at the time), and he there and then sang the melodious, high sounding and beautiful *Qasida* (or elegy) composed by the grandson of Ibn-al-Taawizi, which commences thus :—

“ May a spring-tide shower, gentle and bright,
As honey'd-dew, descend on thee by night ;
When the morn arise, may no evil eye,
With pestilent spell glance up at the sky,
The beneficent clouds to charm away,
That sweetly descend on thee in the day.”

He then came to the verses :—

“ The willow of the sand, that is unique and rare
Grown on ground reserved and e'er tended with care,
The fair maiden, whose form is pliant and slender,
Whose soul is e'er pure and whose heart ever tender ;
Such once my ambition and my heart's full desire,
With consuming passion and my soul all afire.
But alas for the change ! for nought charms me now,
What care I for the sand or the tree's swaying bough
The house is quite empty, and the bird from there
flown,
My eyes they are weeping and I only can groan ;
My friend has departed, such, alas ! is my fate,
My desire unfulfilled, and my heart desolate.
A house without inmate, that can ne'er be a home ;
Is the depth of the sea never more than the foam ?
It was friends and their thoughts that made the home
alive,
When departed the bees silent then is the hive !
The stones do not speak, they are silent and dead
Silent is the palace, when the monarch has fled.
In the days that are past, in the years now gone by
The fair moon and the stars bejewelled the sky,
In gardens were roses, and who could then tell,
On mountains, the number there were of gazelle ?
My mind was then dazzled, for such beauty was there ;
Now alas ! all is dark and my mind in despair.
Like silver the moon then shone so brightly above,
And a maiden, nymph-like, had encaptured my love ;
I remember the night, I can recall it well,

With what frantic delight, how my bosom did swell
 When the one that I lov'd, she the pearl I did prize
 With her well-moulded arm, and her lustrous dark
 eyes,
 Me handed the goblet, to the brim fill'd with wine ;
 Like her cheek it was blushing, and all seem'd divine.
 'Drink now,' she then bade me, 'that good health we
 enjoy,
 With long life to us both, to our love no alloy !'
 As loose as her garments seem'd her soul free of care ;
 Her ankles encircled with such choice jewels rare,
 In a setting of gold, in a well-fashion'd ring,
 Was it she, or the gold the most precious thing ?
 With love my heart teem'd. Alas ! hers was a void
 With my heart she but play'd, with my love she but
 toy'd ;
 A mere glance at her lips fervent love did inspire,
 And her languishing glance at once fann'd my desire ;
 If with rich youthful sap her fair veins all are fill'd,
 And her mind and her body still pure and unstill'd,
 From her lips how I long yet, with ecstatic bliss,
 Sweetest nectar to draw in one long, loving kiss.
 Her bright eyes and a sword to each other are kin,
 Each possesses a scabbard made of purest skin ;
 When the eyelids are clos'd then the eye underneath
 Is hidden and harmless like the sword in its sheath ;
 But when eyes are glancing and lancing in the day,
 No sword hath the power so to conquer and slay.
 It is for this reason that, in the tongue of man,
 The scabbard for the sword is call '*al ajfan*'¹."

When the musician, Shujâ'-ud-dîn, came to this verse, one of the audience arose and requested him to repeat it, which he did twice or thrice during which that person was ravished in ecstasy, and then uttered a loud groan and fell on the ground. The people thought him in a swoon, but discovering that his senses continued suspended, they examined him and perceived that he was dead. Shujâ'-ud-dîn, whose dramatic and affecting recital of the verses brought about the sudden death of the unfortunate man, stated that a similar event had occurred once previously at one of his recitals.

The poem wherefrom the previously quoted verses have been taken is of considerable length, and is a splendid

(1) "Al-ajfan" (plural of "jafn": eyelid), the eyelids. A scabbard is also called "jafn" (also "ghilaf," "ghamd," and "bayt as-sayf": "house of the sword").

specimen of Arabian poetry abounding in metaphors expressed in the choicest language. It was subsequently recited in honour of the Khalif un-Nazir-li-din Allah on the Festival of 'Idu'l-Fitr (literally "The Festival of the Breaking of the Fast," at the termination of the month of Ramadhan), on the 1st Shawall in the 581st year of the Hijrah (1206 of the Christian era).

It will be noted that in the poem quoted there is an allusion to the *Isabatu 'l-'Ain* or "Evil Eye." We shall have occasion to allude to the Arabian belief herein in a subsequent article.

It will also be noted how a young maiden with a slender and pliant waist is symbolised by the *safsaf* (willow). The figurative language of the Muslim poet is often difficult to be understood by Western peoples. The *narjis* (narcissus) is the eye; the feeble stem of that plant bends languidly under its flower, and thus recalls to mind the languor of the eyes. Pearls signify tears and teeth; the latter are sometimes called *baradin* (hailstones) from their whiteness and moisture; the *shifah* (lips) are *aqiq* (cornelians) or *yawaqit* (rubies)¹, the *Lahm assunan* (the fleshy covering of the teeth), the gums, are the flowers of the *rumman* (pomegranate); the dark foliage of the *as* (myrtle) is synonymous with the black hair of the beloved one, or with the first down which appears on the cheeks of youths at the period of puberty. The down itself is called the *izar*, or "headstall of the bridle," and the curve of the *izar* is compared to the letters *lam* and *nun*. A *zalif* (ringlet of hair) traces on the cheek or neck the letter *waw*. Ringlets are also called '*aqarib* (scorpions)², either for their dark colour or their agitated movements. In connection with this metaphor it may be mentioned that the author of the *Schola* on Thucydides³ remarks that the Greek word *skorprios* (scorpion) was employed to designate boys' curls. In Arabic poetry the *ain* (pl. *ayun*) (the eye) is a *saif* (pl. *suyuf*) (a sword), sometimes *sayf sarim* (a sharp sword); the eyelids, scabbards, as mentioned in the *qasida* herein quoted; the whiteness of the complexion is compared to *kafur* (camphor); and a *khal* (a mole on the skin, or beauty-spot) to *musk* (musk), which term

(1) "Shiffirat." lip (plural, "shifah"); "Yâqût;" ruby (plural "Yawaqît").

(2) Scorpion: "aqrab" (plural, "aqarib"); feminine, "aqrabat" (feminine plural, "aqrabât").

(3) Thucydides—A celebrated Greek historian. Born probably 471 B.C., died probably about 401 B.C.

also denotes dark hair. A mole is sometimes also compared to an ant (*namleh*, pl. *naml*) creeping on the cheek towards the honey (*usal*) of the mouth; a handsome face is both a full-moon (*badr*) and the day (*yawm*, pl. *ayyam* Hebrew, *yum*) black hair is night (*layl*); the waist is a willow-branch or a lance (*rumh*); the water of the face is self-respect; a poet sells "the water of his face" when he bestows mercenary praises on a rich patron devoid of every noble quality.

The poet Zu'n-Nûn died in Cairo, in the month of Zu'l-qa'da, in the 245th year of the Hijrah (February 860 of the Christian era), and his mortal remains were interred in the cemetery of the lesser Karafa. A mausoleum was built over his tomb, in which are also the graves of a number of other holy men

"Beneath that dome, in hallow'd ground,
Sheykh Zu'n-Nûn rests, his friends around.
I said they rest—I mean their clay
Lies there until the Judgment Day."

HAROUN M. LEON.

(*To be continued.*)

THE QUEEN OF SHEBA CAME RIDING

THE Queen of Sheba came riding
All veiled in purple vair,
With emeralds on her fingers
And jacinths in her hair.

Her camels were trapped with crimson,
Her slaves were tricked in gold
She rode across the desert
Most lovely to behold.

With peacocks, gems and spices,
With ape and almug tree,
With cassia, myrrh and incense,
With shawm and psaltery.

And through the gates of Zion
Rode the Lady of the South,
With eyes more calm and dreamy
Than the music of her mouth.

Yet when she rode forth from Zion
With all her splendid train,
Her eyes were red for weeping,
Her mouth was white with pain.

And she sang : ‘ The gold of Ophir
With all Tarshish and Tyre,
And the lily-work of Hiram
Are candles of desire.

‘ What are the linen of Egypt
And jewels of my shore,
If Suleimân, King Suleimân,
Beholds my face no more ?

‘ He prayeth aloft in his Temple,
I reign upon my throne.
He dreameth of God’s Majesty,
I dream of him alone.

‘ He is surrounded with glory
And spirits of the light.
I am a daughter of darkness,
My soul is lost in night.

‘ Oh, would that he bore no sceptre,
Would that he wore no crown,
And would that he would bear me
Far from this holy town.

‘ Oh, would that I were a dancer
Within his golden fane—
For then I could play before him
And kiss his lips again.

* * * * *

The Queen of Sheba went riding,
Clad in silver and black.
The King was watching from his tower.
She never once looked back.

REGINA MIRIAM BLOCH.

THE ARAB CONQUEST OF SIND

IF we are to study the history of Eastern institutions aright, we must carefully distinguish the abstract principles of creeds from the motives actually governing the lives of the mass of their followers. There are millions of Mussalmans, Christians and Buddhists who repeat every day—and with perfect sincerity—the moral lessons taught by the founders of their religions; and yet the prayer is hardly over, when the devotee returns to the actual business of life and, forgetting the words that were on his lips a moment before, acts according to the ideas of the country, class or profession. Here and there a troublesome spirit may be found bold enough to remind them that their customary and prudent lives are a constant violation of the fundamental principles of their religion, but the mass of the people are conscious of no such contradictions; and if ever any doubt or suspicion assails their minds, they comfort themselves with the reflection that the behaviour approved by the most respected or the most successful men around them cannot possibly be wrong. Among the sentiments, feelings and aspirations that guide the lives of men, religion is often only a factor of secondary importance; the prominence its *name* assumes in the war-cries of nations is due, not so much to the desire of the people to live up to the best ideals of their creed, as to the facility with which the religious sentiment—in itself a neutral force like love and hunger—can be perloited by politicians and misdirected by priests. There is nothing so pitifully tragic in the history of humanity as this exploitation of the principles of a creed by those who profess to follow it; that the exploitation is often unconscious only deepens the tragedy by proving it to be a part of our psychological nature, a hereditary taint of our blood.

“Hearken to my words, O Men!” the Arabian Apostle said in his last speech at Mecca, “for I know not whether I shall see you here another year.

“ All the customs of paganism have been abolished under my feet.

“ The Arab is not superior to the non-Arab ; the Non-Arab is not superior to the Arab. You are all sons of Adam, and Adam was made of earth. Verily all Muslims are brothers.

“ Your slaves ! Feed them as you feed yourselves and dress them as you dress yourselves.

“ The blood-feuds of the Time of Ignorance are prohibited, and, first of all, I forgive the blood of (my kinsman), Rabi' ibn-ul Hars.

“ The usury of the Time of Ignorance is prohibited, and, first of all, I remit the interest due to (my kinsman), 'Abbâs ibn 'Abdul Mutallib.

“ Remember Allah in (your dealings with) women. You have rights over them, and they have rights over you.

“ Verily, you should consider each other's blood, property and reputation inviolable unto the Day of Judgment even as this month (Zil Hijjah), day (day of Haj) and place (Mecca) are inviolable.....

“ Beware ! Go not astray after I have departed and cut not each other's throats ; for you have to meet your Lord and He will ask you concerning that which your hands have done.

“ Verily, a man is responsible only for his own acts. A son is not responsible for the crimes of his father, nor is a father responsible for the crimes of his son.

“ If a deformed¹ Abyssinian slave holds authority over you and leads you according to the Book of Allah, hear him and obey.

“ Verily, Satan has despaired of being again worshipped in this city of yours till the Day of Judgment, but you will be misled by him in matters you consider insignificant, and this will cause him delight.

“ Worship the Lord, pray five times a day, fast during the prescribed month, act as I have commanded, and you shall enter the Heaven of your Lord.

“ Harken to my words, O men, for I have conveyed my message to you and have left among you (two) things, which if you hold fast to them, will prevent your

(1) Literally, one whose nose has been cut off.

ever going astray—the Book of Allah and the example of His Apostle.

“Let those who are present inform those who are absent. Now, have I delivered my message?”

They answered, “Aye.”

“Be Thou my witness, O Lord”!¹

All the fundamental principles of the Muslim State are here. Racial differences are to count for naught; all are equal; all are brothers; neither law nor social opinion must make any difference between the high-born and the low. A man's rights to his person, to the produce of his labour and to the reputation his character has earned for him is as sacred and inviolable as the holiest of places; no alleged State-necessity, no fanatical prejudices or party interests can be allowed to infringe them. Civil war is to be abhorred. No monopoly of offices or power; no kings; no oligarchy; no priesthood—the humblest of slaves has as much right to be at the head of the State as the noblest of Quraish. A righteous government alone is entitled to the allegiance of its subjects; all else is usurpation and must be swept aside. There are to be no ‘pariah’s’ or low-castes; the slave is entitled to the same food and drink as his master and has the same political privileges as a freeman. The customs of paganism—blood-feuds, usury, the subjection of women—are abolished once and for all.

This is the message—simple and clear². And yet the history of Islamic nations, during the thirteen centuries

(1) Ibn Khaldûn; Maulâna Shibli, *Siratu'n-Nabi*, Vol. II, p. 118-132. Only a few sentences of the famous speech, probably those in which the Apostle had summarised his teachings, have survived.

(2) I would not be understood to mean that Islâm prescribes any particular *form* of government; that is a question for secular reason acting on the basis of experience. No one form of government can suit all people at all time. But Islâm does lay down quite definitely, the fundamental principles of social organisation and individual rights, and declares implicitly and explicitly that public affairs should be directed by public opinion (*Wa-Umrû hum shura bainahum*—and they settle their affairs by consultation and, *wa shawir hum fil amr*—You (Apostle) should consult them in your affairs). A single ruler may at times be a better representative of public opinion than an assembly, but the contrary is more probable. Monarchy as such is un-Islâmîc; for Islâm, while prescribing obedience to the Head of the State as a cardinal duty, never speaks of kings; and the early monarchs and their subjects, at any rate, were painfully conscious that the institution was not sanctioned by Islâm and violated its fundamental principles.

that have elapsed, has been a constant violation of every political principle bequeathed to them by the great Apostle. King-craft and priest-craft; wars of succession and orgies of slaughter; saint-worship and grave-worship; the rapacity of governments and the starvation of the peasantry: these, and the like, stain the pages of history from generation to generation, though every sect, creed and party pretended that it was striving to 'fulfil the law'. Spiritually, as well as politically Islâm was a revolutionary protest against the customs of paganism, but Lucifer, driven out of the front door, came back by the back window and began to beguile the faithful in matters 'they considered insignificant.' 'Umar the second Caliph (634-643 A.D.)—acknowledged on all hands as the greatest statesman Islâm has produced—carried on a relentless war against every form of religious obscurantism and political oppression. But the task proved too great for the generation that followed. His extensive conquests, moreover, created problems of bewildering perplexity. Victory often proves more demoralising than defeat. Two mighty empires lay prostrate at the feet of the conquering Muslims. What was to be the position and status of the conquered people—treated as equal to the victorious Arabs, or brutally suppressed as subject races? Would generals and politicians who in the course of a few years had established their authority over extensive territories, remain submissive to the dictates of public opinion or seek to consolidate their power as irresponsible and hereditary rulers? Hitherto the Caliph had been, directly or indirectly, elected by the people of Medîna and considered himself responsible to them; and so long as the caliphate was confined to the two holy cities or even to the Arabian desert, the procedure seemed quite fair. But what right had the people of Medîna—a small town in a desert, to elect the head of a government extending from Egypt to Khorasan and comprising a dozen races, great and small? Representative government in its modern form was not known; and, if known, would not have been practicable for an empire so extensive and heterogeneous. There were only two alternatives—hereditary monarchy or civil war. "Do not cut off each others' heads," the Apostle had said; and slowly, painfully and reluctantly the sanest Mussalmans consented to give their support to the Omayyad Caliphate which emerged from the smoke and dust of civil conflict. What else could they do? The continuation of internal strife threatened to ruin the future of their creed. In a situation somewhat similar Augustus Caesar

had, seven centuries before, established the Roman Empire on the ruins of the Republic with the active support of the middle classes in the provinces¹.

The Omayyad Caliphate was a compromise between Medina and Rome, with a strong tendency to incline more and more towards the latter. As in the early days of the Roman Empire, a semblance of democratic forms was preserved. The futile ceremony of *bai'at* (homage) was substituted for the free election which Muslim sentiment demanded. The legal validity of the Caliph's power depended on his having obtained the allegiance (*bai'at*) of the majority of the citizens; but as this allegiance was demanded after he had ascended the throne, only those who were prepared to face the consequences of rebellion

(1) The contemporaries of Amīr Mu'awiyah bīn Abī Sufyān, the first Omayyad Caliph (661-679), were confronted with the same difficulties as the contemporaries of Augustus. Medina, like Rome, had expanded from a city-state into an Empire; the government of the empire by the people of Medina or by a Caliph elected by and responsible to them, would have involved great hardship on the provinces, and was bitterly resented. It was probably in consideration of this fact that the Second Caliph directed the election of his successor by a Committee appointed by himself, instead of leaving it to the public of Medina. The animosities aroused by the struggle between 'Ali and Mu'awiyah have become the heritage of the Muslim world. But the political problem of the age is seldom understood. The Arab had an instinctive dislike of monarchy, and the dislike was further increased when monarchical power came into the hands of a family that had joined Islām at the last moment and represented the section of Quraish traditionally opposed to the Hashmi section to which the Apostle belonged. He himself had never preached the supremacy of Quraish or of the Arab; and neither of the first two Caliphs belonged to clans of the first rank. The principle of the Qurān itself is clear: 'Those who are most virtuous amongst you are most honoured by the Lord' (*Inna akramakum 'inda'llahi atqakum*); and so far as the State was concerned, the best person should have been chosen by public opinion of the leaders or the commonality. But the really important constitutional question was lost sight of, in the tension of civil war. Today, on a calm review of subsequent events, we can see that the Omayyad government was accepted by a large number of sane and honest Mussalmans for the simple reason that it was the sole bulwark between them and anarchy and continued the conquests of the Second Caliph by keeping the Mussalmans together. The division of the Empire into self-governing city-states, under the suzerainty of a Caliph elected by their delegates, would have probably been the best solution of the constitutional problem of the age. But anything like a 'federal sentiment' was entirely absent, and even the Khārijis, in spite of their revolutionary fervour, failed to recognise that a 'democratic caliphate' was a contradiction in terms except on the basis of local self-government. But nobody wanted federalism of any sort; a strong central government was considered the one thing needful; and the Omayyad Caliphate was the inevitable consequence.

could venture to withhold it. The mass of the people had to accept an accomplished fact. That the Caliphate should become confined to the House of Muawiyah was not, under the circumstances, a matter of surprise. But the re-action went further still, and the aristocratic Arab clans, whose predominance Islâm had sought to destroy, succeeded in monopolising all political power. The Arab aristocrat, whatever his other faults, yielded to none in the astuteness of his diplomacy and his valour on the field of battle. A liberal distribution of the revenues of the government and the spoils of war won for the Caliphate the support of the great Arab clans and made it one of the strongest, as well as the most extensive, governments the world has seen. The conversion of the missionary conquests of Islâm into an empire of the Arab clans, was, nevertheless a very serious degradation of the spirit of the faith. The conquered Persians were among the earliest to protest. The whole empire swarmed with sectarians, revolutionaries and conspirators; and the ninety years of the Omayyad Caliphate at Damascus were an unceasing series of bold rebellions brutally suppressed, but always breaking out afresh. The memory of the Apostle's message was fresh in many hearts. 'The Arab is not superior to the Non-Arab; nor is the Non-Arab superior to the Arab. You are all sons of Adam, and Adam was made of earth.'

That in spite of these difficulties, the Omayyad Caliphs succeeded in enlarging the extent of their empire is a singular tribute to their efficiency. The Arabs of Syria were steeped in Roman influences, and the Omayyads, at their best, combined the finest elements of Roman statesmanship and Arab valour. Whatever we may think of them in other respects, no one except 'Umer the great has contributed more to the expansion of Islâm than the Caliph al Walîd bin Abdul Malik (705-715) and Hajjâj bin Yûsuf Saqafi. Hajjâj had won his early blood-stained laurels in the effective suppression of rebellions in Arabia and 'Irâq; a 'Man of blood and iron' if ever there was one, the memory of his dark deeds sits like a nightmare on Muslim consciousness; but, if intensely hated, Hajjâj was implicitly obeyed, and his appointment by al Walîd, the strongest of the Ummayyad Caliphs, as 'governor of Khorasan and, in fact, of the whole of Irân and Tûrân,' led to the second great Muslim expansion in the east. The Second Caliph had brought the Persians within the fold of Islâm. Hajjâj brought the Turks and

the Tatars beneath his sway. 'Under the auspices' says Sir Henry Elliot, 'of the cruel tyrant, Hajjâj, who though nominally governor only of 'Irâq, was in fact ruler over all the countries which constituted the former Persian kingdom, the spirit of more extended conquests arose, which had hitherto, during the civil wars, and before the re-establishment of political unity under Abdul Malik and his son Walid, confined itself to mere partial efforts on the eastern frontiers of the empire. By his orders, one army under Kutaiba, after the complete subjugation of Khwarazm, crossed the Oxus, and reduced, but not without great difficulty, Bokhara, Khojand, Shash, Samarkand and Farghâna—some of which places had been visited, though not thoroughly subjected, at a previous period by the Muhammadan arms. Kutaiba penetrated even to Kashghar, at which place Chinese ambassadors entered into a compact with the invaders. Another army had, by Hajjâj's directions, already operated against the king of Kâbul, and a third (under Muhammad Kâsim) advanced towards the lower course of the Indus through Mekran.'

Hajjâj's eastern exploits show him at his best. He displayed in his quarrels with men of his own race a brutal ferocity and vindictiveness, which he laid aside in his dealings with non-Muslims. The zeal of an intolerant bigot was as alien to his mind as the revolutionary and democratic fervour of the Second Caliph, who had stubbornly refused to tolerate inequality in any form. His plain and simple object was the extension of the Omayyad Caliphate. If the conquered population, or any section of it accepted Islâm, well and good; if not, Hajjâj contented himself with levying the *jazia* and showed no undue anxiety for their spiritual salvation. He never thought that the principles of Islam obliged him to interfere with the religious and social customs of the idolators. He respected the vested interests of their higher classes and guaranteed even the most unjust of their class privileges. Purely secular and political considerations seem to have led him to this tolerant attitude. Every inch a conservative and an aristocrat, he did not like meddling with the established order of things, while his unfailing political insight convinced him that a strong government, which had no native Muslim population to support it, could only rest secure on the basis of religious toleration. He had not come to plunder but to govern and did not fail to see that a government which wishes to last must not be too irksome to the people, and should be able to win the active

support of a minority at least. He had in his earlier career a good opportunity of gauging the strength and force of popular fanaticism among his own people, and saw the wisdom of winning over—or of at least neutralising—the influence of the priests of the idolators by convincing them that a change of government would not interfere with their time-honoured perquisites and privileges.

Hajjāj was too masterful and domineering to give his subordinates *carte blanche*. Everything had to be reported to him and his orders obeyed. The substance, if not the form, of a number of his letters has been preserved, and gives us a strange insight into the mind of this statesman. The sight of blood never nauseated Hajjāj; he is one of the greatest murderers in history. But neither did it allure him, and he was entirely free from that morbid craving for the sight of human suffering in which alone, Chengiz and Timur could find their happiness. Countries cannot be conquered without war; and war means killing. Hajjāj was not loth to kill, but he saw clearly that his object would be best achieved by a mixture of conciliation and terrorism. His generals had orders to kill the soldiers of the opposing army ruthlessly, not only on the field of battle but even afterwards, if caught in arms; and seldom, if ever, was the rule relaxed. The object of these measures was to prevent the civil population of the country from dabbling in the profession of arms; and it certainly had the desired effect. On the other hand the mass of the people—the merchants, artisans and agriculturists, as the historian of Sind calls them—were never molested, and, on fortunate occasions, even received compensation for the losses they had suffered from the war. Hajjāj's conquests were, therefore achieved with a minimum of bloodshed. He regarded his flocks like a provident shepherd; if better tended, they would yield more milk and wool.

The dynasty, which governed Sind at the time of the Arab invasion, had been founded by Rai Chach son of Silaj, a Brahman politician, who seems to have ascended the throne in 632 A.D. on the death of his master, Rai Sahasi. The governors of the four provinces, into which Sind was then divided, naturally resented the power of the Brahman upstart; but Chach, in spite of his caste, was a notable warrior¹. He defeated the ruler of Chitor, who had been induced by the relations of Rai Sahasi to

(1) Ferishta's description of the Sindh expedition is short, confused and inaccurate. A brief account of it will, however, be found in many Arab chronicles of the early years of Islām and specially in the

march against him, and after four long campaigns brought the whole of the province from Sikka Multan to the sea-coast under his sway. Though later Persian writers knew little of Buddhism as a creed, and seldom refer to it by name in their accounts of Muhammad Qâsim's invasion, the Arab Chroniclers and the *Chach Namah* leave us in no doubt that Buddhism was then the prevailing creed of Sind. But Hinduism was gaining ground, and zealous Buddhist priests complained that the worship of Buddha was being abandoned. The exact relation of the two creeds, which was neither of neutrality nor hostility

Futuhul-Buldan of Ahmad ibn Yahya ibn Jâbir Al Baladûri, an extract from which is given in Vol. I of Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*. But by far the most detailed and reliable history of the period is the *Tarikh-i-Hind wa Sind*, generally known as the *Chach Namah*. It is a translation from an Arabic original, now lost, by Muhammad 'Alî bin Hamid bin Abu Bakar Kûfi, who lived in the time of Sultân Nasiruddin Kubacha. The internal evidence of the Persian text conclusively proves, that though the translator has added to it here and there, the original Arabic history was written at the time of the invasion and by a person—probably the *Qazi* appointed by Muhammad Qâsim at Alor—well informed as to the facts. The question is carefully discussed in Sir Henry Elliot's introduction to his extract: 'An air of truth pervades the whole, and though it reads more like a romance than a history, yet this is occasioned more by the intrinsic interest of the subject than by any fictions proceeding from the imagination of the author. The antiquity of the original work is manifest, not only from the internal evidence of the narrative, but from some omissions which are remarkable, such as the name of Mansûra, which must have been mentioned had it been in existence at the time. Now Mansûra was built in the beginning of the reign of the Khalif Al Mansûr, who succeeded in 753 A.D. It is evident that the work must have been written before that time. Again it is manifest that the mass of the people were Buddhists, which no author, especially a foreign one, would have described them as being, had he lived after the extinction of that religion in India. We read of *Samanis*, monks and a royal white elephant, which are no longer heard of at the later invasion of Mahmud of Ghazni. Again, some portions of the history are derived from oral testimony, received at second, third or fourth hand, from those who were participators in the events recorded, just in the same way as Tabari, who wrote in the third century of the Hijri, probably later than our author traces all his traditions to eye or ear-witnesses.' (Vol. I p. 136-137) I might add that the ideas of the author of the *Chach Namah* are the ideas of the seventh and not the thirteenth century; a book like it could not have been possibly written by a contemporary of Shahâbuddin Ghôri or Kubacha. We may, therefore, confidently, trust the *Chach Namah* as the safest of guides for the invasion, and, though not to the same extent, for the earlier history of Sindh. Elliot gives a long extract. The Persian text has not yet been printed.

nor love, is hard to define. Although Chach was a Brahman, there is no reason to suppose that he attempted to interfere with the then popular religion of Buddhism. Brahmanism is, indeed, so accomodating to anything that partakes of idol-worship, that Chach and Dahir might have made their offerings in a Buddhist temple, without any greater sacrifice of consistency, than a Roman was guilty of in worshipping Isis and Osiris, or than we witness every day in a Hindu presenting his butter and flowers at the shrine of Sheikh Saddhu, Ghâzi Mîan, Shâh Madar or any other of the apotheosized Muhammadan impostors of Hindustan. There is even no incompatibility in supposing that Chach, though a Brahman by birth, still continued a Buddhist in his persuasion, for the divisions of caste were at that time secular, not religious¹.

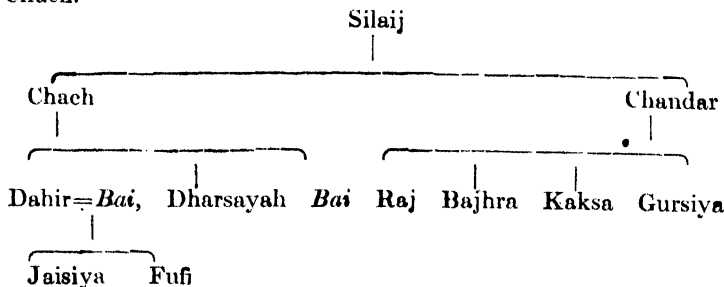
Rai Chach died after a prosperous reign of forty years and was succeeded by his brother, Chandar, who patronised the religion of the *Nasiks* (Buddhists) and monks and promulgated their doctrines. 'He brought many people together with the sword and made them return to his religion'. Chandar died in the eighth year of his reign and his nephew, Dahir son of Chach, mounted the throne at Alor, the capital of the kingdom². Raj, a son of Chandar, established himself at Brahmanabad, the most important city of southern Sind, but he seems to have been ousted by Dharsaya, another son of Chach, before he had ruled for a year³. *Bai*, a daughter of Chach, had

(1) *Elliot*, Vol. p. 505.

(2) Sir Henry Elliot gives the following dates on the basis of the *Chach Namah*.

The accession of Chach to the throne of Sind.....	10 A.H.
His expedition to Kirman, in the fourth year.....	14 A.H.
Mughaires attack, in the fifth year.....	15 A.H.
Chach's death after a reign of forty entire years.....	51 A.H.
Chandar's death, in the eighth year of his reign.....	59 A.H.
Dahir's death, after a reign of thirty three entire years	93 A.H.

(3) The following table gives the principal members of the House of Chach.



preferred to live with Dharsaya, who arranged for her marriage with Suban, the king of Bhatia in the country of Ramal and sent her to Alor on her way to her husband's territory¹. But Dahir scandalised friend and foe by marrying his sister, when she came to his court, because his astronomers predicted that her husband would be 'the ruler of Hind and Sind.' The incestuous marriage led to a war between the brothers; Dharsaya was slain and Dahir found himself in possession of the whole of his father's dominion. "He remained for one year in Brahmanabad in order to reduce the neighbouring chiefs. He sent for the son of Dharsaya and treated him kindly. He then went to Siwistan (Schwan) and thence to the fort of Rawar, of which his father, Chach, had laid the foundation, and ordered it to be completed²." The chiefs of Ramal were presumptuous enough to attack him, but Muhammad 'Allafi, an Arab adventurer who had entered Dahir's service, 'attacked them on all sides and killed and captured 80,000 warriors and 50 elephants.' The kingdom seemed as strong as it had ever been.

For centuries before the rise of Islâm, Arabian mariners had been navigating the Indian Ocean and had formed small settlements in Ceylon and the East Indian Islands. In order to ingratiate himself with Hajjâj, the king of Ceylon sent him as a present 'certain Muhammadan girls, daughters of merchants who had died there.' But the ship was seized by the Meds of Dewal (Thatta)³ before it

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(2) *Chach Namah*.

(3) The identification of the places mentioned by the *Chach Nama* and other histories seems a difficult, if not insuperable, task. An attempt to identify the more important places was made by Sir Henry Elliot (*Appendix I, Vol. I.*), but his learned conjectures are hardly convincing. Reference may be also made to two later works, Mr. Abbot's *Sind* and the *Indus Delta Country* by Sir Wolsley Haig. Mr. Abbot's small book is written in an exquisite style very pleasant to read, but it seems to me a work of literature rather than history. Sir Wolsley approaches the problem with the extraordinary grasp of facts, which one always finds in his works; and so far as the Indus Delta is concerned, he tells us all that we can at present expect to know. The historical geography of the rest of the province is still involved in obscurity. Rivers have altered their courses; many old cities have changed their names or disappeared, while new towns have arisen to perplex and mislead the too confident theorist. I have contented myself with indicating the main line of Muhammad Qâsim's campaign; the detailed references of the *Chach Namah* can only be explained by a writer acquainted with the geography of Sind and gifted with a genius for comprehending the moods and movements of its erratic river.

(See Footnotes on page 88.)

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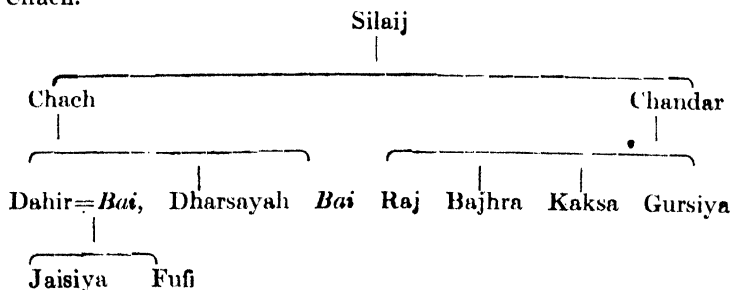
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could reach the coast of Mekran and an Arab woman of the tribe of Yabu cried out, 'O Hajjâj, Come to my help!' The great Pro-Consul was not a man to fail his subjects in their hour of need. 'Here I am'! he replied when the news was conveyed to him, and sent a message to Rai Dahir demanding the immediate release of the captives. Dahir replied that the act had been committed by pirates over whom he had no control. Hajjâj then sent a punitive expedition under 'Ubaidullah bin Nabhan against Dewal but the Mussalmans were slaughtered almost to a man, and a second expedition under Budail bin Tahya fared no better. Hajjâj was annoyed at the repeated defeats and applied to the Khalifah al Walid for permission to fit out a force, that would be strong enough not only to conquer Dewal but the whole of Sind. Al-Walid was reluctant and could only be induced to give his permission on Hajjâj's solemn assurance that, in case of failure, he would pay the expenses entailed by the venture out of his own pocket.

Hajjâj organised the expeditionary force with the greatest care and entrusted its command to his own cousin and son-in-law, Muhammad bin Qâsim¹, a brilliant youth of seventeen, who had already distinguished himself as governor of Faras. An advance guard under Abû'l Aswad Jahm was ordered to meet him on the frontier of Sind; Muhammad bin Hârûn, the governor of Mekran, joined him with the troops of his territory, while a squad-

Sir Henry Elliot identifies Armabel with the modern Bela of Mekran. Sir Wolseley Haig agrees with Ferishta in identifying Dewal (or Debal) with the town of Thatta, which still exists. Sir Henry Elliot's attempt to show the Dewal is the same as Karachi creates more difficulties than it solves. Nirun is generally believed to be the old name of Hyderabad, while the town of Sehwan is called Siwistan in all the Persian histories of the early middle ages.

(1) Muhammad bin Qâsim married Hajjâj's daughter after the commencement of the invasion, probably at Brahmanabad. Persian writers often substitute an *izafat* for the Arabic word *bin* (son of); thus Muhammad bin Qâsim and Mahmûd bin Subuktigin become Muhammed-i-Qâsim and Mahmud-i-Subuktigin. In popular parlance the *izafat* seems to have been dropped, and this is (I believe) how the present system of names among the Mussalmans of India has been derived from the clumsy Arab method in which, thanks to the extraordinary shortage of names, confusion could often be prevented only by giving a man's ancestors to the sixth generation. I have followed the later custom and called him Muhammad Qâsim. Faras, Pers or Fars is the south western part of Persia containing the well-known towns of Isfahan and Rây.

ron of boats carrying five *munjanigs*¹ sailed along the Persian coast and up the mouth of the Indus. Muhammad Qâsim marched with 'six thousand picked cavalry from Syria and 'Irâq, six thousand camel riders thoroughly equipped for military operations, and a baggage train of three thousand Bactrian Camels' from Shîrâz, through Kannazbur and Aramabel (Bela), to Dewal and laid siege to it as soon as his boats arrived. His cousin had 'carefully provided him with all he could require, not even omitting thread and needles.' He was in constant communication with Hajjâj; letters were sent and received every third day and took about a week to reach their destination. On the great temple of the besieged town floated a long, black flag, which the inhabitants credited with a magical power for protecting them. Muhammad Qâsim asked Ja'wiyah, his *munjanig-master*, to aim at

(1) 'A single catapult or *munjanig* required no less than five hundred men to work it. These heavy machines had been used by the Prophet in the siege of Taif, and had done effective service only a few years before at Damascus and Mecca, as well as in the reconquest of northern Africa; but they were so ponderous that they could be rarely used, except where the means of transport by water existed, or but a short distance by land had to be traversed.' (Elliot, p. 435). It is strange that machines depending on water for their transport should have done effective service at Damascus and Mecca. *Munjanigs*, like modern guns, were of different sizes, and in an age when gun-powder was unknown, they were often used in sieges. *Munjanigs*, *iradas* and *Maghrabis* are referred to in almost all medieval sieges, and were probably machines of the same general type but differing in details. The exact construction is not known, but roughly speaking a *munjanig* was like a cricket-bat moving on a pivot. The most powerful men of the army were selected to pull back one beam (or *palla*), so that the other beam moved forward and hit the ball. The *sang-i-maghrabi* or *munjanig-ball* was an artificially rounded piece of stone about the size of a football. I succeeded in discovering several such stones in the older part of the fortifications of Chitor; as the *munjanigs* had fallen into disuse by the time of Akbar, these balls must have been left there in the earlier operations of 'Alau'ddin Khiljî; many forts, moreover, kept large stocks of *munjanig-balls* in readiness. As to the problem of transport, I am inclined to think that the larger *munjanigs*, in any case, were constructed on the spot. The name *maghrabi* (Westerner) is significant. It does not appear from the *Chach Namah* that the forts of Sind were provided with *munjanigs*; but all types of the machine were to be found in plenty in the forts of Rajputana in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The Hindus had probably learnt their use from the Mussalmans just as the Mussalmans had probably learnt it from the Romans. In Indian sieges, at any rate, they were more showy than effective; a *munjanig-ball* might kill a man here and there but was powerless against the fortifications of a fort like Chitor and 'merely rebounded'—to borrow a simile from Khusrau—'like a nut thrown by a school boy at a wall.'

the flag, and it was knocked down in three shots. Consternation spread among the besieged. They attempted a sortie, but it was repulsed, and the invaders scaled the walls and captured the town. 'The governor of Dewal fled, and the priests of the temple were massacred.' A garrison of four thousand was left at Dewal and the Arabs moved up the river to Nirun (Hyderabad). The citizens of that town had with commendable foresight sent two *samanis* (Buddhist priests) to Hajjâj at the time of Budail's invasion and obtained a written promise of protection from him by undertaking to pay an annual tribute. Muhammad Qâsim had orders not to molest them. The Buddhist governor of Nirun was received with great honour, when he came to see the Arab general and undertook to guide him to Siwistan (Sehwan).

The Arab general had quickly learnt all he could of the religion and institutions of the people. The massacre of Dewal priests was a mistake he took care not to repeat. He was now anxious to assure the public that those who submitted to him would lose nothing while his hand was going to fall heavily on the recalcitrant. The privileges of the Buddhist and Brahman priests were repeatedly guaranteed; the common people were left free to worship as they pleased, provided they were willing to pay to the Arabs the same taxes they had previously paid to the officers of Rai Dahir. This policy had the expected effect, and as soon as his military superiority became evident the priests and the non-political masses decided to throw in their lot with him. Bajhra son of Chandar, the governor of Siwistan, was determined to defend his city with vigour, but the Buddhists refused to help him. They sent him a message: 'We are *nasik* (mendicant) devotees. *Our religion is one of peace, and fighting and slaying is prohibited as well as all kinds of shedding of blood.* You are secure in a lofty place, while we are open to the invasion of the enemy, and liable to be slain and plundered as your subjects¹. We know that Muhammad Qâsim holds a *firman* from Hajjâj to grant protection to every one who demands it. We trust, therefore, that you will consider it fit and reasonable that we make terms with him, for the Arabs are faithful and keep their promises.' When Bajhra, naturally, refused to follow this cowardly advice, they proceeded to make peace with

(1) Referring probably to the fact that Bajhra was in the fort of Siwistan, while his subjects had to seek shelter behind the weaker defences of the city.

Muhammad Qâsim. 'All the subjects, farmers, tradesmen, merchants and the lower classes,' they informed him, 'hate Bajhra and do not yield him allegiance. He does not possess any force with which he can oppose you or give battle.' Thus encouraged, the Arabs pressed on the siege with vigour. Bajhra fled after a week, and took refuge with Kaka son of Kotal, the Samani Chief of Budhiya, whose stronghold was Sisam¹, while the Arabs entered Siwistan unopposed. 'Muhammad Qâsim appropriated all the silver, jewels and cash (of the royal treasury). But he did not take anything from the *Samanis*, who had made terms with him.' The government of the city was placed in charge of civil officers, and Muhammad Qâsim started for Sisam after leaving a garrison in the fort. A force of one thousand Jâts, who had started for a night attack on the Arab camp, lost their way in the dark and again found themselves at the gate of Sisam in the morning. Kaka, who was personally inclined to desert the falling fortunes of Dahir, took this for a bad omen. 'You know full well that I am famous for my determination and courage,' he told his chiefs, 'I have achieved many enterprises at your head. But in the books of the Buddha it is predicted, upon astrological calculations, that Hindustan shall be taken by the Mussalmans and I also believe that this will come to pass.' He started with his followers for the Arab camp and was accorded a warm reception. 'I will be your guide in subduing and overpowering your enemies,' he assured Muhammad Qâsim, 'Be firm and set your mind at rest.' And then, according to 'the custom of his ancestors and of the Jât *Samanis*' he proceeded to bestow the highest honour on the Arab general by dressing him in a silk robe and tying a turban on his head. All the chiefs and headmen of the surrounding places now wished to submit to Muhammad Qâsim, probably because 'they were enemies of Dahir who had put some of them to death.' 'Hence they revolted against him, and sent ambassadors to Muhammad Qâsim, and agreed to pay a tribute of one thousand *dirhams* weight of silver and also

(1) 'It would appear that the old tract of Budh, or Budhiya, very closely corresponds to the modern province of Kach Gandawa, on all four sides except the northern, where it seems to have acquired a greater extension of which it is impossible to define the precise limits. It is worthy of remark that, in the very centre of Kach Gandawa, there is still a place called Budha on the Nari river, and it is possible that the Nari is also preserved in the Kakar tract of Bori, or Bura, forming part of the Afghan province of Siwistan. In the *Ain-i-Akbari* the town of Budhyan is mentioned as being on the northern frontier of sirkar Thatta, one hundred *kos* from Bandar Lahori.' (*Elliot*).

sent hostages to Siwistan. Muhammad Qâsim dispelled the fear of the Arab army from the minds of those who offered allegiance and brought to submission those who were inimically disposed.' Bajhra, now deserted by his friends, was driven away from Sisam, under the walls of which he had encamped; his supporters fled in all directions and an Arab lieutenant, Abdul Malik, was established in the territory to punish 'all enemies and revolters¹.'

While his garrisons were being overpowered and his subjects seduced by the enemy, Rai had been passing his time in ease and comfort at Rawar. He may have deluded himself with the hope that the invaders would retire after capturing Dewal and one or two other towns; if so, he was bitterly undeceived. Hâjjîâj had made up his mind to conquer as large a part of Hindustan as possible, and while warning Muhammad Qâsim not to take a single false step, kept urging him at the same time—to 'push on to China.' On returning from Sisam to Nirun, the general received orders to cross the Indus and put an end to the power of the somnolent Dahir, who had flatly refused the Arab proposal that he should become a Muslim and pay tribute. Moka bin Bisaya, a claimant to the chieftainship of Bait, a fort on the opposite (eastern) bank of the Indus, was captured and brought to Muhammad Qâsim, who received him with winning kindness. 'The country of Bait was given to him, a grant was written to that effect, and a hundred thousand *dirhams* were offered as reward. A green umbrella surmounted by a peacock, a chair and a robe of honour were bestowed upon him, while his *thakurs* were favoured with robes and saddled horses.' Guided by the invaluable Moka, the invaders built a pontoon over the Indus and drove away Rasil, a local chief whom Dahir had sent to defend the

(1) In spite of the difficulty of tracing in detail the route followed by Muhammad Qâsim, his general movement seems clear. He first marched up the Indus, and his big boats were helpful in keeping him in touch with his base at Dewal. From Nirun he proceeded to Siwistan and then westward to Sisam, his object being to subjugate the western bank of the Indus, *i.e.*, the tribes between the Indus and Mekan who had Kaka for their chief. This being accomplished, he once more returned to Nirun and prepared for an invasion of the eastern bank, which was still in the hands of Dahir. The fort of Rawar could not have been far from the Indus. Sir Henry Elliot needlessly confuses it with Alor, which was the old capital of Sind, whereas the construction of the fort of Rawar, as we are definitely told by the author of the *Chach Namah* was begun by Rai Chach and completed by Dahir. From Rawar he moved on to Brahmanabad, which is found in most maps. This completed the subjugation of southern Sind.

eastern bank. Rai Dahir, as later events proved, was a valiant soldier, who won the respect of the Arabs for the strength of his bow. But his generalship was puerile, and his irritable and over-bearing temper made it impossible for his officers to give him any sane advice. The crossing of the Indus at last awoke him from his untimely slumber into a blind fury that he slew the innocent chamberlain, who brought him the fateful news. It was high time to move. Dahir came out of Rawar and encamped by the side of a lake at some distance. But even now, instead of trying to maintain his power in the open country and attempting to cut the enemy's communications, he sat sullen and defiant in his camp while his chiefs, one after another, offered their allegiance to Muhammad Qâsim. The Arab general had marched to Bait from the Indus and, after depositing his heavy baggage there, moved towards Rawar. Reconnoitring parties were sent in all directions, and a force of five hundred horse was despatched to prevent any help reaching Dahir from his son Fufi, who was at Alor. Rasil, who was now guiding the Arab army in co-operation with Moka, took it to the lake on the opposite side of which Dahir's army lay encamped. Then, if we are to believe the *Chach Nama*, he ferried them across in a boat which could only carry three men at a time and landed them at Jewar (Jaipur) a village between the fort of Rawar and Dahir's camp, 'a suitable place for their encampment, for there they could attack Dahir both in front and rear and successfully enter his position and occupy it'. Muhammad Qâsim's object was at last attained. No help could now reach Dahir from Alor or Multân; if the Rai remained in his camp, his communication with Rawar would be cut; if he fled back to Rawar, he would have to stake his kingdom on the chance of a single battle or stand a siege with the resources of the country in the hands of the enemy. With incredible fatuity the misguided Rai had permitted the net of his astute antagonist to close around him. 'Alas! We are lost,' Dahir's minister, Sisakar exclaimed when he heard that the enemy had encamped at Jaipur. Dahir blazed forth with indignation at his minister's remark but, none the less, hurried back to Rawar.

There followed a five days' battle outside the fort. Dahir equalled the heroes of Indian mythology in his personal prowess. But it was the last flicker of a dying lamp. On the afternoon of the fifth day, after the field had been irretrievably lost, he was retreating to the fort

with the remnant of his broken army, when his attention was attracted by sounds of wailing coming from the left. 'I am here! Come hither,' he shouted, thinking that it was a body of stragglers. 'O King! We are your women¹, who have fallen into the hands of the Mussalmans. We are captives!' The Rai was too chivalrous to seek the safety of the fort while his women were in the hands of the enemy. 'I live as yet!' he replied, 'Who captured you?' He ordered the driver to turn back his white elephant and drove it straight against the Mussalmans. 'It is your opportunity', Muhammad Qâsim told the naphtha-throwers as soon as the Rai was within reach. A powerfully shot naphtha-arrow struck the Rai's *howdah* and set it on fire. The frightened elephant, in spite of the efforts of its driver, ran to the water-side, and plunged into the stream; the Mussalmans followed close on the heels of the flying animal while the Hindus rushed forward to rescue their Rai. The driver at last managed to bring the elephant out of the water and 'a dreadful conflict ensued such as had never been heard of.' An arrow hit Dahir in the breast and he fell down from his elephant; but though weak and bleeding, the Rai continued to fight till an Arab struck him with a sword on the very centre of his head, and 'cleft it to his neck.' Thus, after a reign of thirty-two years, died Raja Dahir of Sind at sunset-time on Thursday, the 10th Ramazan, 93 A.H. (June, 712 A.D.). Arrogant and self-willed, lacking in diplomatic tact and political insight, but bold and fearless in the face of death—he was of the stuff from which the heroes of national tragedies are made.

Jaisiya, the ablest of Dahir's sons, succeeded in taking his defeated forces to the fort of Rawar and was joined by many stragglers next morning. He desired to come out and die fighting like his father, but Sisakar and Muhammad 'Allafi induced him to fly to Brahmanabad. But Bai, the widow and sister of Dahir, refused to accompany him and took the command of the men, about 15,000 in number, who were still left. When the Arabs had undermined the walls, and no hope remained, she collected her women in a house and set it on fire. Muhammad Qâsim slew six thousand fighting men whom he found in the fort, and despatched the head of Dahir to Hajjâj along with the spoils.

(1) Meaning, probably, the wives of his soldiers or subjects. It does not seem likely that any of the Rais wives would not have been taken to the fort for safety

The Arabs then moved towards Brahmanabad but their advance was delayed by the forts of Bahrur and Dhalila, which lay on the route and could only be reduced after protracted sieges. Jaisiya wisely decided to remain outside Brahmanabad, which he had placed under the charge of sixteen selected officers, four for each gate. Every day a skirmish took place, but the garrison consisting of 40,000 soldiers defended their city with courage while Jaisiya kept harrassing the besiegers and cutting off their supply of fodder. The siege dragged on for six months; Muhammad Qâsim grew pensive and asked Moka for help. The astute Hindu saw that Jaisiya was the real obstacle; an expedition led by him shattered the latter's force and compelled them to fly from Sind. The fate of Brahmanabad was now sealed. But the officers and soldiers, knowing that the Arab general would show them no mercy, persisted in continuing the useless struggle, while the civil population longed for peace. Four leading merchants of the town met to decide the question. "They had neither power nor wealth to enable them to fight the enemy. If he stayed a few days more, he would at last be victorious, and they would have no ground on which to ask for protection. If they could get any assurance, it would be better to make terms and surrender the fort to him, for if peace were made, those found in arms would be slain, but all the rest of the people—the merchants, the handicraftsmen and the cultivators—would find protection." To this opinion they all agreed and sent their messengers to Muhammad Qâsim; the latter was quite willing to guarantee the life and property of the civil population, and a plot was formed to deceive the soldiers. On a day fixed beforehand with Muhammad Qâsim the people came out to fight and, according to their pre-arranged scheme, left the gate of the city open. The Mussalmans entered the town, but Muhammad Qâsim ordered them to kill none but those who showed fight. 'Protection was given to the artificers, the merchants and the common people, and those who had been seized from these classes were all liberated; but he sat on the seat of cruelty and put all those who had fought to the sword. It is said that about six thousand fighting men were slain, but, according to others sixteen thousand were killed and the rest were pardoned.'

MUHAMMAD HABIB.

(To be continued.)

‘URFI OF SHIRAZ

‘URFI was one of the Persian Poets who composed verses in the six popular Persian forms namely (1) Qasîdah (Poem) (2) Ghazal (Ode) (3) Masnavi (double rhymed) (4) Rubâ’î (quatrain) (5) Qita’a (fragment) (6) Musammat, and he left only one unpopular form namely Mustaza’d but his Qasîdah far excelled his other forms of poetry. Contrary to his wish, which was to become a second Sa’dî or Hâfiz (as he says :—

قصیده کارهوس بیدشگل بود عرفی

تو از قبیلۀ عشقی و ظیفرات عزل است

“Qasîdah is the hobby of selfish people O ‘Urfi, thou belongest to the tribe of love and Ghazal is fixed as thy duty”), he became a second Anwarî or Zahîr.

‘Urfi was born in 963 A.H. at Shîrâz, his name being Sayyidi Muhammad and his title Jamâluddîn. The word Sayyidi (my master) was a part of his name and does not mean that he was a Sayyid (a descendant of the Prophet) as the later biographers thought, for in that case he would be called Sayyid Muhammad not Khâja Muhammad and Sayyid ‘Urfi not Mulla (ملا) ‘Urfi as he was named by his patron Hakîm Abû’l-Fath (حکیم ابو الفتح) in his letter to Khân Khânân (خان خانان); and his father would be Sayyid Zainu’d-dîn ‘Alî instead of Khâja Zainu’d-dîn-‘Alî as recorded by biographers.

He assumed the pen-name ‘Urfi in allusion to his father’s service in the ‘Urf (Government current laws not taken from religion as opposed to *Shara*, Laws taken from religion) Department, as his father was a Collector in the suburbs of Shîrâz at one time and at another time Assistant Commissioner of Police.

Being a son of a respectable official he was educated carefully according to the ideals of his age, studied Arabic and Persian literature and the Sciences, and was a good hand at Naskh (نسخ), calligraphy. According to his

حزانه عماره در حیا نی کیلا نی (1)

natural inclination he began composing verses in Shîrâz at an early age ; but, thinking India a better field for his literary activities, he departed thither when he was quite young. The date of his arrival in India is not known.

He was welcomed first by Hakîm Abû'l-Fath, an officer of Akbar the Great Mughal, in whose praise he composed a great number of panegyric poems. In the literary circle of the Hakîm were other prominent poets, but he soon excelled them all and was deservedly introduced by the Hakîm to the great patron of letters, 'Abdu'r-Rahîm Khân Khânân.

The Hakîm died in 997 A.H., when 'Urfi repaired to Khân Khânân's literary durbar where he spent the short remainder of his life. Though he had access to the Mughal court and composed Qasîdahs in praise of the Emperor and Prince Salîm, he was too proud to become a proper courtier and put up with all the salutations, forms and ceremonies incumbent on each member of the court. Many members of the court were Persians, for whom the ceremonies were new and hard ; but worldly gains made them acceptable to them. That was not the case with 'Urfi. Even today, when Indian court ceremonies are modified, newcomers from Persia, where court etiquette has always been simple, find it hard to perform them. However, 'Urfi's arrogance was overcome when at the invitation of the young prince Salîm he presented himself before His Highness and helplessly made many Taslîmât even more than was necessary, as he says :

ازین سخن سر و دستار من گلستان شد ز بس که چیدم و بر سر زدم گل تـسـلـیم
(By these words my head and turban became a rose-garden, as I plucked so many roses of Taslîm and placed them on my head). In this very Qasîdah the first couplet of which is

صبح عید که بر تکیم گاه ناز و نعیم گدا گدا نمدم کج نهاد و شاه دیدم
(On the morn of the festival when on the cushion of pride and ease, a beggar leaned with cap awry and a king with crown awry), 'Urfi gives a full description of his reception by the Prince Salîm and how favourably he was struck by his appearance which is the sole source of the story mentioned by some of his later biographers that he fell in love with the prince. That is a mere historical blunder, as it is common with the Persian poets to represent their patrons as the Beloved in their poems.

A similar story is told of Hâfiz, who is described as the warm lover of a dancing-girl named Shâkh-i-Nabât (شاخ نبات) only on account of his couplet :

این هم قند و شکر که سخدم می ریزد / اجر صد ریست کزان شاخ نباتم دادند
(All this loaf-sugar and sugar which drops from my words, is the reward given to me for my patience in the separation from that Shâkh-i-Nabât—lump of sugar-candy i.e., sweet-heart), when poor Hâfiz as a pure love-poet did not mean by the expression “شاخ نبات” anything else than an imaginary beloved, sweet as sugar-candy. In the authentic and original sources of ‘Urfi’s biography—*Maasir-i-Rahimi* (تذکرہ عرفات اوحدی), *Tazkirah-i-Arafat-i-Awhadi* (عناثر رحیمی) and the preface to his works (د یاد چہ کلیات عرفی) we do not find any thing mentioned about his love for anybody.

Even before the death of Hakîm Abû’l Fath, ‘Urfi was patronised by Khân Khânân who had received him and many others, among them Nazîri (نظیری) of Naishapûr, as his students. ‘Abdu’r Rahîm Khân was a poet maker as well as a poet and a scholar; and many poets, among them ‘Urfi and Nazîri, became masters of the art of poetry by being trained in his audience. Before ‘Urfi went to India he was an ordinary poet. All his fame is due to his two patrons—Abû’l Fath and Khân Khânân—and all his poems that have come down to us were composed in India. For this reason he should be considered *Indian-made* and India will always be proud of this great poet. Among all his Qasîdhas which were certainly written in India, there is only one about which there can be a doubt as to whether it was composed in India or at Najaf. That Qasîdah contains twenty-nine couplets in praise of the tomb of ‘Alî, of which the first couplet reads :

این بار گاہ کیست کم گویند بے هراس / کلاو چ عرش سطح حضیض ترا مماس
(Whose palace is this about which people boldly say, that the Zenith of the ninth heaven touches the lowest point of this). The word این (this) seems to indicate that the Qasîdah was composed at Najaf before his coming to India, but it is very doubtful whether ‘Urfi could have then composed such a masterly poem and the word “this” might have been used to show the vividness of his poetic vision as if the holy tomb were actually present before his eyes.

‘Urfi died at the early age of thirty-six, in 999 A.H. (1590 A.D.) a natural death and the assertion of some of

his later biographers that he was poisoned by his enemies and rivals or by his beloved, is quite unfounded. He was buried in Lahore but his bones were sent to Najaf after some years by a generous compatriot of his. Correct information about his life can be obtained from *Maasir-i-Rahimi* and *Tazkirah-i-'Arafat-i-Awhadi*, the descriptions in both those sources being based on those of eye-witnesses; but I have gathered my information also from a third source, the preface to the works of 'Urfi (د یباچم کلیات عرفی) written when his various pieces of poetry were collected and arranged in book form. As mentioned in the preface 'Urfi's first *Dīwān* (works) consisted of six thousand couplets and was lost in his life-time. He composed the following lines expressing his sorrow for its loss. —

غزل

عمر د ر شعر بسر کرده و د ر باختم ام عمر د ر با ختم را بار د گر با ختم ام
ساقی مصطبه لطفم و می ریختم ام طائر باغچه قد سم و پر با ختم ام
العطش میروند از تشنگی هر مویم که قدح های پر از خون جگر باختم ام
شاید ا ر تلخ کنم ناله زحرمان سخن طوطی گر سنه ام تنگ شکر باختم ام
ر صد شرع هنر چون نشود معذوم من شش هزار آیت احکام هنر باختم ام
گفتم گر شد ز کفم شکر که ناگفتم بجاست از د و صد گنج یکے مشقت گهر باختم ام

‘I have spent my whole life and wasted it for poetry and now I have lost that which I had gained by wasting my life.

“I am the cup-bearer of the tavern of bliss but my wine is spilt; I am the bird of the sacred garden but I have lost my wings.

“Every hair on my body craves for water because I have lost bowls-ful of my liver-blood.

“It is becoming if I groan bitterly for my poetry of which I am deprived, I am a hungry parrot who has lost his bag full of sugar.

“How could not the observatory of religious virtues be destroyed when I have lost six thousand texts of virtuous ordinances!

“If I have lost whatever I had composed, thank God that that which I have not composed as yet is safe. Out of two hundred treasures I have lost only a handful of pearls.”

It seems that all his poems composed in the beginning of his career were lost along with that *Dîwân*. In the year 996 A.H. (1588 A.D.), only three years before his death, he compiled another *Dîwân* consisting of eight thousand couplets containing in all twenty-six *Qasîdahs*, two hundred and seventy *Ghazals* and seven hundred couplets of *Qita's* and quatrains combined, but the number of *Qita's* and quatrains was not mentioned. The last hemistich of the following quatrain written by him after the arrangement of the *Dîwân* is the chronogram of the date of compilation, and also gives the number of his works in various styles of poetry :

این طرفم نکات سحری و اعجازی چون گشت مکمل بر رقم پروازی
مجموعه طراز قدس تاریخش گفتا اول دیوان عرفی شیرازی

"When these wonderful, magical and miraculous points were completely written the heavenly decorator of this collection said for its chronogram: *The first Diwan of 'Urfi of Shiraz*".

The¹ total of all (numerical) letters of the chronogram (996) is the date of the compilation, the total of the unit letters (26) is the number of *Qasîdhas*, the total of the letters numbered tens (270) is the number of *Odes*, and the total (700) of the letters numbered hundreds is the number of the couplets in its *Qita's* and *Ruba'is*.

On his death-bed he had sent the above-mentioned *Dîwân* to his patron to be copied and published after his death, and this was done twenty-five years later, in 1024 A.H., the copy being taken from the patron's library and entrusted to Muhammad Qâsim (with the pen-name of Sirâja) son of Khâja Muhammad 'Alî of Isfahân to publish. Khân Khânân ordered Sirâja (سراجا) also to include in the *Dîwân* as many poems of 'Urfi as he could collect from the public, and he succeeded in collecting six thousand couplets more, to make it a *Dîwân* of fourteen thousand couplets.

(1)	و	د	و	ا	ز				
Unit letters of the Chronogram	7	1	1	6	4	6			
	ل	ی	ن	ع	ف	ی	ی	ی	ی
Its tens	80	10	50	70	80	10	10	10	10
	ر	ش	ر						
Its hundreds	200	300	200						

'Urfî's *Dîwân*¹ printed in India contains his *Qasîdahs*, *Ghazals*, *Qita's*, *Quatrains* and a *Masnavî* (*Majmû'l Abkar*) the name of which is not mentioned, while in manuscripts there is an addition of another *masnavî* named *Ferhad-u-Shirin* (فرهاد و شیرین) and a small prose tract named *Risala-i-Nafsia* (رساله نفسیه). I have seen several manuscripts of the works in Persia and India, and only one in my library contains the preface. It was copied only a few years after the compilation of the *Dîwân*. Even this most complete copy contains about nine thousand couplets only and we know nothing about the remainder of the fourteen thousand couplets collected by Sirâja, as mentioned in the Preface. In the extant works of 'Urfî there are about five hundred and seventy *Ghazals* while in the book sent by the poet himself to his patron there were only two hundred and seventy; thus we find that about three hundred *Ghazals* more were collected by Sirâja from outside. If any scholar goes through the *Ghazals* he will soon discover that the original *Ghazals* of 'Urfî in the *Dîwân* are not more than two hundred and seventy, and the remaining three hundred are spurious and cannot be attributed to any good poet at all. It seems as if Sirâja tried to find out those six thousand couplets lost by the poet in his life-time and to add them to the eight thousand in order to make a *Dîwân* of fourteen thousand. He thought that he had succeeded at last and he did indeed succeed so far as the *Qasîdahs* are concerned, which in the *Dîwân* compiled by the author himself were twenty-six in number, and in the extant copies are fifty one, but all of equal rank and eloquence.

It appears that Sirâja succeeded in collecting *Qasîdahs* from those in whose praise they were sung by 'Urfî, but in the case of the *Ghazals* he failed and what he did collect were odes of mere beginners in Persian poetry. Sirâja's poetical taste may well be doubted, and presumably Khân Khânân, being much engaged in government affairs, could not have spared sufficient time to supervise the compilation.

To prove that many of the *Ghazals* attributed to 'Urfî are not his, I have quoted four *ghazals*, the first two being his own, and the other two spurious.

(1) In Persia the word *Dîwân* is used for the collected works of a poet while in India it is used for a collection of odes only.

غزل اول

بدیر از حرم صوفی که می برقع کشود اینجا
 از آنجا آنچه میخواستی به میخواستی بران نمود اینجا
 همان زنگی که آنجا در دل اسلامیان بینی
 مغان را نیز بود اما صفا می زدود اینجا
 محبت شمع بزم قدس و ما پروانه از بیرون
 نمیدانم چه حال است این چراغ آنجا زدود اینجا
 بیدار زمره رندان به بسته باکی و می درکش
 که بد مستی نمیداند بجز فریاد عود اینجا
 بهر سو میروم بوی چراغ کشته می آید
 مگر وقتی مرار کشنگان عشق بود اینجا
 نوا به نغمه منصور عرفی غز میانی
 و لے تن زن که خاموشند ارباب شهر اینجا

"O Sûfi, leave Mecca for the Zoroastrian temple as wine has unveiled itself here. Whatever you aim at there is shown to drinkers here.

"Whatever rust you observe on the heart of Musalmans there, Magians also had, but it was removed by the purity of wine here.

"Love is a candle in the godly audience, while we are moths outside; I know not what is the matter that the flame is there and its smoke is here.

"Come to the circle of the drunkards boldly and drink wine. Because no one makes a noise, except the noise of the plate here.

"Wherever I go I smell the smell of an extinguished lamp. Was this place ever a graveyard of love-martyrs?

"O 'Urfî, you know well the tune of Mansûr's songs. But keep thyself away from it as those who have seen God are silent here."

غزل دوم

در باغ طبیعت نفشر دیم قدم را
 چیدیم و گذشتیم گل شادی و غم را
 در بحث دل و عشق تصرف نتوان کرد
 در خون کشد این مسئله برهان حکم را
 اما س بود طعنه شنو از جگر ما
 بیهود به زهر آب مدد تیغ ستم را
 در روضه چو با این دهن تلخ بخندم
 بس غوطه که در زهر هم باغ ارم را

ما سجدہ بر سایہ دیوار گذشتیم
 از بستان پر حرم گاہ صنم را
 عرفی غم دل گر طلب جان کند از تو
 ز نهار بر افشان و مرنجان دل غم را

"We stood not still in the garden of nature, but plucked the flowers of joy and sorrow and passed away.

"None can interfere in the discussion of heart and love. This problem sheds the blood of philosophic arguments.

"Even a diamond is reproached by our liver, so do not in vain temper thy sword of cruelty with poison.

"When with this bitter mouth I laugh in the garden, I plunge in poison even the garden of Aram.

"We worship the shadow of the temple-wall, About the idol's sanctuary ask the mannerless folk.

"O 'Urfi, if the grief of heart demands thy life, Take care to give it and do not offend the heart of grief.

غزل سوم
 دل چوبہ غم شان زیست مهر و وفا زو طلب
 غم چر گوار افتاد برگ و نوا زو طلب
 یا بدعا غیر درد از در بردان مغوا
 یا به طلب گر خوشی ترک دعا زو طلب
 چون روش عہد ما کردہ فلک واژگون
 تشنہ رسی چون بہ خضر زہر فنا زو طلب
 آن کہ کشد یک شراب زو مطلب درد و صاف
 و آنکہ خورد نوش زہر درد و دوا زو طلب
 از چہ روی نزد شیخ جانب عرفی شتاب
 مطلب اگر ہاے و ہوست خیز و بیا زو طلب

"When the heart is happy with sorrow then ask it for kindness and faithfulness. When the sorrow is agreeable ask for wealth from it.

"Either do not ask for anything except pain at the door of God or if you are happy with a demand, ask Him to accept your giving up the prayer.

"As the manner of our age is perverted by the firmament, when you meet Khizr ask him for destructive poison.

"One who drinks wine once, ask him not for pure or impure wine, and one who drinks the antidote like poison, ask him for pain as well as medicine.

“Why do you go to the priest, haste towards ‘Urff
If your aim is to raise the hue and cry, rise ! Come and
ask him for that.”

غزل چہارم

صد قول بہ یک زمزمہ طی میکنم امشب
مستی نہ بہ اندازہ می میکنم امشب
مجنون ترا قبلہ اجابت زدعا برد
ہنگام دعا روی بہ حی میکنم امشب
آن خندہ کہ دی ساغر جم داشت بہ خورشید
برجام جم و مجلس کے میکنم امشب
گشود درگفت و شنیدم بہ مشایخ
آن داد و ستد بادف و نی میکنم امشب
ہمہ نہ متاعی است کہ ارزد بہ تقاضا
ابن زمزمہ با حاتم طی میکنم امشب
عرفی لب من درد بہ افغان نگشود است
این نالہ بہ فرمودہ نے میکنم امشب

“I finish a hundred sayings with a low utterance
tonight. My intoxication is more than what is due to
my drinking tonight.

“Facing Mecca deprived your lover of the accept-
ance of his prayer, I face thy tribe in my prayer to-
night.

“Last night the cup of Jamshîd laughed at the sun,
likewise I laugh at the cup of Jamshîd and the audience
of Kâikhusrû tonight.

“The door of my conversation is not open to priests,
I do this bargain with the drum and the flute.

“Resolution can not be sold on demand, I utter this
to Hâtim Tâi tonight.

“O ‘Urff, pain did not open my lips to cry. These
groans of mine are by the order of the flute.”

Now any person of moderate knowledge in Persian
can decide that the poet who composed the first two
Ghazals, which are of a very high diction, cannot be ac-
cused of writing the next two Ghazals which are of a very
low order ; and the poet who was capable of composing
the third and fourth Ghazal could never be expected to
rise to the height of the first and second. The first two
are a good specimen of poetry in the real sense, and may

be called in Persian *Sh'ar* (شعر), while the other two are ordinary ideas presented in metre and rhyme called in Persian mere *Nazm* (نظم), devoid of high ideas and feeling which are the chief characteristics of high poetry. To indicate the difference between *Sh'ar* and *Nazm* I quote here a couplet from Sâib (صائب) which is full of pure poetic feeling and a couplet attributed to 'Urfi, which is mere *Nazm*. Sâib :—

بم زکوٰۃ حسن بگن ر سرے گلستان کہ گلہا
ہمہ با کف کشا دہ زپئے د عا نشدہ

(“As an alms-giving for your beauty, go towards the garden as all the roses are in prayer with uplifted hands.”)

Urfi :—

زد عا چہ کار جویم کہ میان تڙگ د ستان
بہ ہزار نادر ادا ی اثر د عا شدہ

(What benefit can I derive from prayer because its effect has sat down among the poor, with a thousand disappointments). Generally, when the poetry of a poet is collected after his death, spurious poems find their way into it, as happened in the case of Hâfiz too. He did not compile his own *Dîwân* and after his death his wealthy pupil Muhammad Gulandâm (محمد گل اندام) collected all his poems from the public with the result that at the present time we find several spurious poems in the extant *Diwan-i-Hafiz*, such as the *ghazal* whose first couplet runs :—

بنویس د لا بیار کاغذ از عا شفی بیقرار کاغذ

(O my heart, write and bring a letter. Bring a letter from the impatient lover).

It is no wonder if there are numerous spurious odes in *Diwân-i-'Urfi*, when we find in India that a whole spurious *Dîwân* is attributed to a great poet such as *Diwan-i-Zahir-i-Faryabi* (دیوان ظہیر فاریابی) printed in Neval Kishore press, which is indeed composed by an Indian beginner in poetry, of the same pen-name, who tried in vain to follow the style of Sâib (صائب) as he himself has mentioned at the end of a *ghazal* in his *Dîwân*, while

Zahîr of Fâryâb flourished six centuries before Sâib. **Zahîr** of Faryâb was an eminent writer of *Qasîdah*, and composed only a few masterly odes, but this Indian **Zahîr** wrote numerous *Ghazals* which, all taken together, can not vie with a single verse of the original **Zahîr**.

Some Indian editions of *Diwan--i-Hafiz* even, have ridiculous *Ghazals* added in India. For example the edition of Bombay (1828 A.D.) has an ode, a couplet of which runs :—

از رنگ برک پان و سیاهی و چونه شد
دندان آن نگار سپید و سیاه و سرخ

“By the colour of the betel-leaf, nut-meg and lime the teeth of that beloved turned out white, black and red.”

Hâfiz never came to India, never saw the Indians chewing *pân* (پان) and his beloved *Shâkh-i-Nâbat* (شاخ نبات) never chewed *Pân* to make her teeth red for him.

A question may arise here whether ‘**Urfi**, being a writer of *Qasîdahs*, cannot be a master poet in *Ghazals* too, as **Anwarî**, **Khaqânî** and **Zahîr** were, whose odes can not rank with their *Qasîdahs* in point of diction and elegance. The reply is that a poet who has spent most of his time on a certain form of poetry and specialised in it, cannot in any way be a mere beginner if he tries other forms, though his performance in the latter may not be as good as in the former.

The *Ghazals* of **Anwarî** and **Khaqânî** may not be as good as their grand *Qasîdahs*, but no-one can deny their merit in point of lucidity and eloquence. The *Qasîdahs* of **Sa’di** and **Hâfiz** are good specimens of high Persian poetry, though they are not as masterly as their *ghazals*; but the odes attributed to ‘**Urfi** are mostly rotten pieces composed by some beginners in poetry. If any critic, after much thinking and due deliberation and comparison, decides to prefer **Anwarî**’s *Qasîdahs* to those of ‘**Urfi**, he must be very cautious in revealing his bold decision, while any scholar can easily and safely prefer the odes of any good poet to those of ‘**Urfi**. On the other hand, if any scholar inclines to consider the *Ghazals* of the *Qasîdah* poets such as **Khaqânî**, **Zahîr** and **Qaânî**, to be lower in rank than those of the masters of *Ghazal*, it will be considered an injustice to them, and in the same way those critics who degrade the *Qasîdahs* of the masters of *Ghazals*

such as Sa'di, Hâfiz and 'Irâqi will not be regarded as just ; but such is not the case with the Ghazals attributed to 'Urfî, which are mere *Nazm* and void of poetic feeling and beauty.

Another argument for the spuriousness of 'Urfî's Ghazals is his imitation of the Ghazal-writers and his total failure in that attempt, while in Qasidah he imitated the most prominent writers and proved himself equal if not superior to them. In a Qasidah which he sang in Khân Khânân's praise whose first couplet runs thus :—

اے دا شتم در سایہ ہم تیغ و قلم را
وے سا ختم آرا ئش ہم فضل و کرم را

("Thou has kept both the sword and the pen in each other's shade. Thou hast made knowledge and generosity adorn each other.") he has imitated Anwarî and Abû'l Faraj (ابوالفرج) and has successfully followed them, though he himself considers his far superior to theirs as he says:—

انصاف بد، انوری و ابوالفرج امروز
هر چه غنیمت نشما رند عدم را
بسم الله ز اعجاز نفس جان ده شان باش
تا من قلم اندازم و گیرند قلم را

("Do justice, why should not Anwarî and Abu'l Faraj appreciate non-existence today? In the name of God revive them by the miracle of thy breath, so that I may throw down the pen and they pick it up.")

Zahîr of Fâryâb has a well known Qasîda, beginning :

سپید دم چو شد مہر مہر سراسر روز
شنیدم آیت تو بوالہی للہ ازل و حور

("Early in the dawn when I was confidentially admitted to the house of happiness I heard the text "Repent and turn towards God" from the lips of a Hourî.") In imitation of this 'Urfî wrote a Qasîdah in praise of the Prophet, a few verses of which are quoted here :—

سپید دم چو ردم آستین بہ شمع شعور
شنیدم آیت استفتحو از عالم نور

("Early at the dawn when I put out the candle of my sense (I was transported to the spiritual world) I heard the text 'seek for admission' from the world of light.")

بدل ز شاہد بزم ازل ندا آمد
کہ اے تمام وفا از رضاے ما بس دور

(My heart heard the voice of the eternal beloved, saying "O pure faithful, thou art far from the delight of our presence".)

زهی اطاعت و حسن ادب خهی طاعت
کم با اطاعت ما می ز وصل ما مهجور

(Hail to thine obedience, good manners and worship, that in spite of thine obedience thou art deprived of my union.)

زیاد ازین نم حلال است دوری از برما
اگر به حوصله ناری در آیم بزم حضور

(More than this thy separation from us is not lawful. If thou art proud of thy capacity, enter the audience of my presence.)

Though this Qasîdah of 'Urfî is not as grand as that of Zahîr, yet it is also a masterly piece.

Anwarî's famous Qasîdah which begins with. —

چرم خورشید چو از حوت در آید به حمل
اشب روز کند ادم شب را ر جل

("When the body of the sun enters the sign Aries from the Pisces, the grey-horse day, makes the black horse night, whitelegged (blemished)" i.e. when the sun enters the sign Aries the day becomes longer than the night) is imitated by 'Urfî in a poem which is sung in praise of Hakîm Abû'l Fath, the first couplet of which is. —

چهره پرداز جهان رخ کشد چو به حمل
شب شود نیم رخ و روز شود مستقبل

("When the decorator of the world (Sun) proceeds to Aries, the night becomes half-faced and the day full-faced") and 'Urfî in this Qasîdah is not in any way inferior to Anwarî.

Of his imitation in odes I am going to give some examples. In *Diwan-i-Hafiz* there is a Ghazal of which some lines are given here and then 'Urfî's Ghazal in imitation. —

آن یک نامور که رسید از دیار دوست
آورد حرز جان ز خط مشکبار دوست

("That brave courier who came from the beloved's city brought hither a musk-scented letter which is an amulet for her lover's soul.")

جان دادمش به مژده و بخت همی برم
زین نقد کم عیار که کردم نثار دوست

("As a reward for the good tidings he brought, I gave him my soul, but I am ashamed of sacrificing my little valued soul, for my beloved.")

سیر سپهر و روز و قمر را چه اختیار
د ز گردش اند بر حسب اختیار دوست

("What power the revolution of the firmament and the rotation of the Moon have, they are going round, according to the wish of the Beloved.")

'URFI.

جز در پناه وصل و دل استوار دوست
کس عافیت گمان نبرد در دیار دوست

("No one can expect peace in the city of the beloved, except under the protection of the union with her or in her strong heart.")

قاتل چنین خوش است کم بیدر حم تر شود
از التماس دشمن و ز زینهار دوست

("That murderer is preferable who becomes more hard-hearted at entreaties made by enemies and requests of friends for protection.")

صد تن شهید شهرت یک تن شهید عشق
این هم به سعی غمزه مردم شکار دوست

("A hundred martyrs are for fame while one is for love, and even this by the efforts of the man-hunting coquetry of the beloved.")

هرگز بها لطف و خیران ستم نبود
د ربوستان غمزه مردم شکار دوست

("There was neither a spring of kindness nor an autumn of cruelty in the garden of the man-hunting coquetry of the beloved.")

بر سر کلاه عورت عشقم حرام باد
گر وقت صحبتش نه نمم بر کنار دوست

("It may be illegal for me to put on love's cap of honour if I do not lay it down at her side, when in her company.")

عرفی به حال نز عرسیدی و به شدی
شرمت نیا مد از دل امیدوار دوست

(O 'Urfî thou wert almost dead, and hast recovered. Art thou not ashamed of the beloved's hopeful heart?")

Another Ghazal of Hâfiz which a so-called Urfî imitated:-

کذون کم در کف گل جام باد صاف است
به صد هزار زبان بلبلش در او صاف است

("Now when there is a cup of pure wine in the hand of the rose, the nightingale has been praising it in a hundred thousand expressions.")

بخوراه دفتر اشعار و رو به صحر اکن
چم وقت مدرسم و بهت کشف کشان است

("Ask for a book of poems and proceed towards the plain. This is not the time for school, discussions and explanation of the book *Kashshaf*.")

فقیه مدرسم دی مست بود و فتوی داد
که می حرام ولی به زمال اوقاف است

("The lawyer priest was drunk last night and gave this decree that though wine-drinking is unlawful yet it is better than embezzling sacred endowments.")

بدرد و صاف ترا کار نیست دم در نش
که هر چه ساقی مار یخت عین الطاف است

("You have nothing to do with the pure wine or its dregs, be silent as whatever our cup-bearer has poured in, is the very kindness of her.")

بهر ز خلق و ز عنقا قیا س تا ر بگیر
کم صیت گوش نشیدان ز قاف تا قاف است

("Keep thyself aloof from people, and guess by what 'Unqâ (a fabulous bird) did, because the fame of recluses is from the East to the West.")

حدیث مدعیان و خیال همکاران
همان حکایت زرد وز و بوریا باف است

("What you hear about my rivals and the ideas of my colleagues is the same story of the embroiderer and the mat maker, when compared to mine.")

خموش حافظ و این نکته هاے چو زرسرخ
نگاهداری که قلاب شهر صراف است

("O Hâfiz, be silent and preserve these points which are as precious as red gold, because the deceiver of the city has become its banker.")

Now hear "Urfi" :—

می مغانم که از درد شور و شراف است
بم معتسب ندھی قطره که ا سراف است

("The Magian wine is free from the dregs of clamour and mischief. Don't give a drop of it to the religious Police Inspector, because it will be a mere extravagance.")

امام شهر ر سر جوش خم نم پڑھیز د
نزع بر سر تم شیشم ها ناصاف است

("The head priest of the city agrees with the pure wine, but the quarrel lies about the impure dregs.")

لباس صورت اگر واژگون کنم ببیند
که خر قه خشم جا مے طلا باف است

("If I turn over my outward dress it will be seen that my rough cloak is a brocade.")

خیال مغبجہ می پرم که غمزہ او
بلاے صومعہ داران قاف ناف است

("I am thinking about a young Magian whose coquetry is a calamity for priests in the monasteries of the whole world.")

اگر فتم ا نکه به شتم د هند به طاعت
قبول کردن و رفتن نه شرط انصاف است

("Suppose that I am offered heaven without any worship, my accepting and entering it is mere injustice.")

اگر به صحبت عرفی به سهر بدشینی
بگوش پذیر فر و نه کم سر به سرالافاست

("If you happen to sit in 'Urfi's company by mistake, turn a deaf ear to what he says as he is a boastful man.")

The readers can judge that the odes of the so called 'Urfî, quoted above, by no means approach the high standard of the Ghazals of Hâfiz.

Another argument to prove my claim that the Ghazals attributed to 'Urfî are not his, are his Tashbîbs (تشبیب) or Ghazal-like beginnings of the Qasîdah, which are in many of his Qasîdahs far superior to the Ghazals ascribed to him.

Some of the Tashbîbs are quoted below. —

Tashbîb i.

بیایم باد لم آن میکند پریشانی
که غمزه تو نکر دست با مسلمان
زدیده رفتی و مردم همان نفس فریاد
که به تو مردم وانگه چین به آسانی
کسی که تشنم لب ناز تست میداند
که موج آب حیات است چین پیداشانی
نه هشت غمزه اسلام دشمنی کرد و روز
صحبت تو کنم جمع با مسلمان
ترحمی نکند حسن برد لم گوئی
که در زمانه یوسف نبود زندانی

1. "Come, O Beloved, for the distress (of separation) causes my heart

"What even thy (infidel) blandishments have not done to Islâm.

2. "I expired the moment thou didst disappear from my sight ; Alas !
"That I should have died without thee, yet so easily.
3. "He who is thirsty for thy blandishment knoweth well
"That the wrinkle on thy forehead is but a wave of the Water of Life.
4. "Thy blandishment, which is an enemy to Islâm, did not let me
"Combine thy love with Islâm even for a couple of days.
5. "Beauty has no mercy on my heart just as if Beauty itself had not been a prisoner in the time of Joseph."

Tashbîb ii.

چون گرد باد آه ز خاکم کشد علم
بر فرق روزگار فشانند غبار غم
چون دل به جامه خویش بود کنز نهیب زد
زین آشیان طائر آرام کرده رم
اے طور و عده توفرا موشی وفا
وے طرز غمزہ تو هم آغوشی ستم
بخشد هزار کشته چشم ترا حیات
لعلت لطیفه کم برون آرد از عدم
گیرد بهر دودست سر خود اجل ز بیم
جانے کم غمزہ تو کشد خنجر ستم
هم خود بگوروا بود اے بیوفا کم من
مهر و م با شم از تو واغبار محترم

1. "When the whirlwind of sighs uplifts its banner from my dust
"It spreads a cloud of sorrow on the forehead of Time.
2. "How can the heart have peace when, for fear of pain,
"The bird Repose has flown away from this nest.
3. "O thou, whose manner of making a promise is to forget its fulfilment ;
"And whose way of dalliance amounts to torture.

4. "Thine eye's glance quickeneth a thousand dead ;
"Thy lips have a charm which brings one forth
from nothingness.
5. "Death itself, for fear, holds his head in both
hands,
"When thy blandishment unsheathes the dagger
of oppression.
6. "Say, thine own self, O faithless, is it right that
I
"Should be repelled from thee while rivals are
preferred."

Tashbib iii.

دل من باغبان عشق و حیرانی گله قاتلش
ازل درواریه باغ و ابد حد خدایانش
گلی زین باغ اگر چینی بدو در ستیز بپوش
که نقش لوح محفوظ است بر اوراق اغصانش
نثار مهران بزم عشق آیا چها باشد
که در دوداغ میریزد بر بیرون نشیدانش
فشاندم در ازل گردی ز دامن این زمان بینم
که نامش عالم است و میبشد در دید و خالقانش
اگر طفل دلم را دایه حور آید و گر مریم
به هنگام مکیدن زهر میجو شد ز پستانش
صفا میجوید از قصر دایه معموره جنت
که انواع خرابیها بود معمار ایوانش

1. "My heart is the gardener of love and Bewilder-
ment the garden ;
"Eternity the gate, Infinity the hedge thereof.
2. "If thou wouldst pluck a flower from out this
garden
"Know that the pages of its petals bear the
marks of the Tablet of Destiny (لوح محفوظ)
3. "What must be the plight of the councillors of
Love's Assembly
"When wounds and grief are the lot of those
sitting outside.

4. "The dust which I brushed off my skirt in Eternity is, I now find,
"What is known as the World, and even the Monarch is proud to apply that dust to his eyes (*i.e.* feels proud to have it).
5. "If a Virgin of Paradise or even Mary herself, come to nourish the babe of my heart,
"Poison would bubble forth from her breasts at the time of suckling.
6. "The City of Paradise seeks purity from the edifice of such a heart,
"Whereof the architects have been different kinds of evils."

The following Ghazal of 'Urfi is in the same metre and rhyme as the third *Tashbib*, and the reader will easily discern that it cannot have been written by the author of the three *Tashbibs*. —

غزل

چو تیرا ز دل کشم کوشش بر بقی از لعل خندا نش
 که با هوش آیم و در سینہ وز دم نیش بیکاش
 بدامن چشم از خوناب حسرت پاک میسازد
 و لے گوید کہ خون گرنی تبسم ہاے پدھا نش
 حریم دل بود منزل گئے دلہا و لے عارف
 دلش در کعبہ و همسایہ دیر است ایما نش
 بہ زجرے کشتہ آن غمزه گردیدم کہ از خجالت
 شہادت نامہ ہا شستند در کوثر شہید انش
 بہ گاہ خواب سر بر زانوے خسرو نهد شیرین
 وایکن استقین کوہکن باشد ممکس رانش
 چہ منت ہا کہ بر خوبان نهد در پرشش معشر
 چونا حق کشتگان خویش را بیدند حیرانش

1. "Where is the drink of His ruby lips at the time of plucking forth the arrow from my heart,
"That I may regain my senses and be rid of the pain of His arrow in my heart.
2. "He wipes off with His skirt the tears of grief from my eyes,
"But His hidden smiles say 'shed more (tears of) blood.'

3. "The sanctuary of the Heart is the abode for hearts, but not in the case of the holy one .
"Whose heart is in the Ka'bah and his faith close to the temple.
4. "I laid down my life for the charm of His threat
"Whereat His other martyrs for shame, washed out their claims in the waters of Kauthar.
5. "While sleeping Shîrîn puts her head in the lap of Khusrû ;
"But it is the sleeve of Kohkan which acts as a fly-flap.
6. "How much obliged the fair should be to Him when, on the Day of judgement.
"They find that those they had slain for nothing were, in fact, struck by His glory."

'Urfî had no original style of his own, as the style he employed was in vogue a long time before and after. It may be called the style of the middle poets (متوسطین) as there are altogether three established styles in Persian poetry, the first being that of the old poets (متقدمین), the second belonging to the middle poets (متوسطین) and the third pertaining to the Moderns (متأخرین). Poetry was introduced in the Persian language in the second century A.H. as an imitation of Arabic poetry, but then it was composed in easy language with popular ideas so that the similes, metaphors and other rhetorical figures used were of common understanding ; and special attention was paid to the eloquence and lucidity of the language. Rûdakî (رودکی) Daqîqî (دقیقی) and Firdausî (فردوسی) wrote their poetry in this style, which continued to exist till the fifth century A.H. and paved the way for a more elegant and sublime style as a real taste for poetry became rooted in the people's minds. Nizâmî and Khaqânî are the two pioneers of the middle style. They wrote most of their poetry for scholars only and not for the public. In this middle style much attention is paid to subtlety of meaning and elegance (بلاغت), contrary to the old style in which words and eloquence (فصاحت) were the aim. In the seventh century A.H. (13th Century A.D.) we again see another change in Persian poetry, as many of the great poets like Imâmî, Majd, Sa'dî

Heman and others returned to the old style and made the art of poetry so popular and easy that neither the poet nor his readers required high literary knowledge. This continued till the ninth century A.H., though during the time several poets imitated Nizâmî and Khaqânî also and composed poetry for the learned only. But they were the exception and the style of Sa'dî and Hâfiz prevailed. The Persian language was benefited more by this style than by the other, as it made poetry accessible to all the classes and thus kept the Persian language unchanged for the last eleven hundred years. Towards the end of the ninth century, again, we see the poets, weary of the common poetry, aiming at a more elegant style, adorned with complex similes and metaphors which made their poems more or less obscure; this was at first begun by Jâmî (Born 817 A.H. 1414 A.D.) and the literary audience of Amîr 'Alî Shîr whose pen-name was Nawâî, (نوائى). This middle style was so firmly established in all the literary centres of Persian that it lasted for several centuries, and its extreme form, riddle and enigma, was a common subject of the poetry of those days, producing a whole class of literature, while in the present age, we see that it is entirely discarded. After Jâmî and Nawâî, the middle style was practised by the poets of India, Tûrân and Persia, among them Fughani of Shîrâz (925 A.H.) being the most prominent in Ghazal, and his contemporary Ahlî of Shîrâz in other forms. After these, we find another group of poets such as Lisânî (لسانى), Sharîf of Tabrîz, Yahyâ of Lahâjan (يحيى لا هيجى) Muh-Sasam of Kaâsh (محتشم كاشى), Zamîrî of Isfahân (زحشى باقى) and Wahshî of Bâfq (وحشى باقى). Soon after these came Mirza Kuli Mailî (مرزا قلى مىلى), Khâja Hussain Sanâî (ثنائى), Valî Dasht Biâz (ولى دشت بياضى), Sâlihî (صالىحى), Qâzi Nûru'ddin of Isfahâm (قاضى نور الدين اصفهانى), Fahmî (فهمى) Hâtîm (ملى و مىروالى) of Rashan, Malik Mir Wâlihî (ملک و مىروالى) of Kum, Sabrî (صبرى) of Sara, Huzurî (حضورى) of Kum Rûzbahân (روزبهان) and Halâkî (هلاکى) of Hamadân who wrote their poetry in the middle style, but with much exaggeration, until 'Urfî of Shîrâz, appearing in India, added a great lustre to the style and introduced such novelties of expression in poetry as absorbed the attention of all the scholars and poets of all the centres. The result

was that all the poets of the time such as Faizî, at Delhi, Rukva and Shaf'âi at Isfahân and others, were proud to imitate later poets, the most prominent writer of Ghazal in this style, being Ghaib of Tabrîz who happened to write most of his poetry in India.

Towards the middle of the twelfth century A.H. a catastrophe so great befell Persia that it not only brought about the downfall of those great and generous patrons of letters, the Safawî dynasty, but also utterly destroyed the poets and the nation's taste for poetry. The Afghans invaded Persia and laid waste a great part of the country including the capital, Isfahân. There was such disorder in the whole country that no one had sufficient peace of mind to think of poetry, and Persian literature would have been deprived of the fine works of 'Alî Hazin (Born 1103 A.H.), the last relic of the middle style, if he had not escaped to India. The Afghans stayed in Persia and after a period of twelve years were driven out by Nâdir, when the Persian nation under his leadership became busy in conquests and thus could not pay any attention to literature and poetry. At the end of the twelfth century A.H., which marks the beginning of the Zand dynasty, Persians began to resume their former peaceful life and naturally inclined towards literature; but the poets preferred the old style to the middle one. The great poets who flourished under this dynasty such as Hâtif of Isfahân (هاتف اصفهانی) Sabâhî of Bîdgul (صباحی بیدگل) Lutfî 'Alî Baig Azar (لطف علی بیگ آذر) and others, followed the old style, and mark the beginning of the modern style which is altogether a copy of the old, with some improvements. Later on the literary durbar of Fath 'Alî Shâh Khajar (A.C. 1212 A.H.) pursued the same modern style which is continued to the present day. But in India, which was not subject to any calamity like that of the Afghan invasion of Persia, the middle style has been maintained and its great poets like Faizî, 'Urfî, Nazîrî, Bîdil, Sâib, Nâsir 'Alî, Ghanî and others, are more appreciated by Indians than the present Persians.

The poets of the middle style, in trying to devote themselves to elegance of meaning, have very often neglected beauty of words; but 'Urfî is an exception, as his poetry is a very good combination of the eloquence of the old with the elegance of the middle style. To illustrate this for the reader's benefit, some of his couplets are quoted below. —

i. Qasidah in praise of God.

اے متاع درد در بازار جان انداختم
 گوهر هر سود در جیب زبان انداختم
 نور حیرت در شر اندیشه اوصاف تو
 بس همایون مرغ عقل از آشیان انداختم
 اے به طبع باغ کون از بهر برهان حدوث
 طرح رنگ آمیزی از فصل خزان انداختم
 سرعت اندیشم را افکنده در دامن تیر
 عادت خمیازه در جیب کمان انداختم
 طعمه عشق ترا از مغز جان آورده ام
 آن هما تا سایه بر این استخوان انداخته
 اے مذات را روانی داده در بازار عشق
 عزت و شان را از اوج عروشان انداخته
 هر کجا تاثیر غم را داده اذن عموم
 شادئی راحت فشان را تا توان انداخته
 در ثنایت چون کشایم لب که برق ناکسی
 منطقم را آتش اندر خان و مان انداخته
 مست دوق عرفیم کر نغمه توحید تو
 لذت آوازه در کام جهان انداخته

1. "O thou who hast invested the treasures of Pain in the market of Life.
 "And thrown the jewel of every gain in the pocket of Loss.
2. "On the night when (people) were pondering over thy qualities, the Light of Surprise
 "Threw down many a fine bird of wisdom from the nests.
3. "O God, in the nature of the garden of universe, as a proof of its transience,
 "Thou hast, by means of autumn, laid the foundation of change.
4. "Thou has flung the speed of thought in the skirt of the arrow,
 "And put in the loop of the bow the habit of stretching.
5. "I have brought food for Thy love from the very pith of life,
 "From the time when the phoenix (*i.e.* Thy love) cast its shadow over these bones.

6. "O Thou who hast made contempt lawful in the market of Love,
"Bringing honour and dignity down from the heights of grandeur and excellence.
7. "Everywhere Thou hast made sorrow the mode,
"And left pleasure-giving happiness forlorn.
8. "How can I open my mouth in Thy praise, for the lightning of worthlessness
"Has set fire to the house of my eloquence.
9. "I am drunk with the taste of 'Urfî who, by the song of Thy Unity,
"Has left the taste of fame in the mouth of the World.

ii. Qasîdah in praise of the Prophet (Peace be upon him).

اقبال کرم میگزدار بآب هم را هم نغور د نیترا لا و نعم را
از رغبت دنیا الم آشوب نگردم زین باد پریشان نادم زاف الم را
نقرم به سیاست کشد از مسند هم در چشم وجود آرند هم جاء هم را
این جوهر ذات از شرف نیست آبا است سودا ست به ابر این در اگر چه سویم را
هر چند که در کشمش جاء و مناصب گمنام نمودند هم دو د فام را
از نقش و نگار در و دیوار شده اند آثار پدیداست صدا د ید عجم را
المنتم لله کم نیا زم به نسب نیست اینک به شهادت طلبم اوج و قلم را
اقبال ساند ر به جهانگیری اعظم برداشت بیک دست قلم را و علم را
نوبت به من افتاد بگوئید که دوران آرا یشی از نو بگذر مسند جم را

روز یکم شمرند عدد یلمش ز محالات قاریخ تو لد بنو شقند عدم را
تقدیر بیک ناکه نشا آید و محمل سلمه لے حد و ث تو ولایه قد م را

1. "To accept charity is hard for the high-minded
"For magnanimity cannot endure the sting of the lancet of "no" and "yes."
2. "I do not attach myself to the world, and hence suffer from no affliction ;
"I do not dishevel the locks of sorrow with this wind (of desire).

Some couplets of his famous Qasidah called Tarjumatu'l-Shauq (ترجمه الشوق), written in praise of 'Ali are given here to illustrate the two prominent merits of his poetry, mentioned above.

جهان بگشتم و در نایب هیچ شهر و دیار / نیافتم که فروشد بخت در بازار
 کفن بیاور و تابوت و جامه نبش کن / که روزگار طیب است رعایت بیمار
 زمانم مرد مصاف است مومن رساله دلی / کنم بهم جوشن تدبیر و هم دفع مضار
 ز منجذیق فلک سنگ فتنه می بارد / من ابلهانم گریزم در آبگیمه حصار
 عجب که دشمنم این کارگاه میدانی / که شیشم خالی و من در لجاجتم ز خمار
 چنین که ناله ز دل جو شد و نفس ز تنم / عجب صدای گریه تشنه آورم چو چنار
 ز دستان منافق چنان میدهد لم / که پیش روی زالماس میکشم دیوار
 یقین شناسم که منصور از انالحق زد / که وارهد ز زمانم بدستگیری دار
 شب گذشتم به زانو نهاده بودم سر / که از فتاد خود را بدین ذریه گذار
 بدید و گفتم به عالم مباد چون تو کسی / جهان به خودیش آراست و خویشتن بیزار
 مرض به بین و سبب جوت و هود معالج کن / طیب کیست فلاطون اگر شود بیمار
 بگریه گفتمش از می طریق عقل این است / و لیک جانب انصاف هم نگم میدار
 کسی چگونم به ساهان در آوردن سر / که گرز زانو بهر دشت کوفت بر دیوار
 بخندد گفت سرا سیم گیت گم دارد / و گرنه های این راه تو بود هموار
 رشت نما یم و بر خویشتن نهم صنت / که نقد های مرا جز تو نیست کس معیار
 تفری کن از همرا ندیش خطا و بزم / بخاک مرقد کحل الجواهر بار

1. " I travelled through the world but Alas ! nowhere,
in country or town
" Did I find Fortune sold in the market.
2. " Get the shroud (کفن) and dye the coffin and
the clothing blue, (i.e. put on mourning clothes)
" For (cruel) Time is the physician, Health the
patient.
3. " Time is bent on fighting and I in my simplicity,
" Have thought to avoid battle with the armour
of diplomacy.
4. " Stones of mischief are coming down from the
battering-ram of the sky,
" I am foolish enough to seek refuge in a glass
fortress.
5. " It is no wonder if I break this glazed Pavilion
(i.e. the universe) to pieces ;
" For the glass is empty and in my drunkenness
I am still craving.

6. "Be not amazed if, because the heart is seething with lamentations and I am silent, I give out flames like chinar.
7. "I am so disgusted with hypocritical friends
"That I draw a diamond wall (*i.e.* Death) in front of me.
8. "Believe that Mansûr uttered the cry "I am the Truth,"
"In order that he might be relieved of the world by the help of the gallows.
9. "Last night, as I sat with head resting on my knees,
"Wisdom happened to come to this treasure-house.
10. "He looked and said 'None like thee in the world,
"For thou adornest the world with thy presence and art disgusted with thyself.
11. "Diagnose the disease and find out its cause and attend to it thyself,
"For who will be the physician if Plato falls ill?"
12. "I answered, weeping, "True. This is according to Wisdom,
"But look to thy justice as well.
13. "How can one get control of this head,
"When, if lifted from the knees, it hits against the wall?"
14. "Wisdom laughed and said, 'Thou art wise through confusion of mind,
"Otherwise, thou hast always been the leader on this path.
15. "I show the path to thee freely,
"Because none other is the measure for my wealth.
16. "Discard all useless thoughts
"And apply to thine eyes the collyrium of the dust of grave.'

After many couplets in praise of 'Ali's shrine and his own, he expresses his keen desire to proceed on a pilgrimage to Najaf, and makes it more emphatic by the addition of many oaths in sixty-two couplets of which some are given here, as I think he is the only great poet who suc-

cessfully maintained the elegant and forceful continuity of so many oaths in a single Qasîdah. —

بدان خدا که در شهر بد امکان نیست متاع معرقتش ندیم در هر روز بازار
 به کذا و کم تعجب شد گران مایه ازین کم کردن ز درکش نبی به عجز اقرار
 به عشوه کم ز لیغابرید از و کف دست به فتنه کم میخاکزید از و سر د ر
 به برقع کم کنعان کم بود حسن آباد به حجله گاه ز لیغاکم بود یوسف زار
 به آن متاع کم کوهر فروش کذعانی به مصبرد و لبالب ز چشم شد بازار
 به آن دروغ کم فرهاد از آن شهادت یافت به آن ترانه کم منصور را کشید بد ار
 به تیشتم کم در اطراف صورت شیرین هم که شمع ترا شید و بر بخت در کهسار
 به ندیم قطره سرا بی که باز می ماند پس از پیدا کم کشید بد به صافرا ز لب یار
 کم گر شود ره کوه تر جمه نشتر خیز کنم به مرد مک دید طلی نشتر زار

1. "By that God, who is not confined within the city-walls of possibility,
 "Our hoarding of His knowledge is but half a particle in the market.
2. "By His essence, it is not surprising that the sense of wonder did not profit us
 "For the Prophet himself, in spite of his nearness to His Court acknowledged his lowliness (in that respect)
3. "By that dalliance for which Zulaikha cut the palm of her hand ;
 "By that sin which caused Christ to cherish the Cross ;
4. "By the veil-garment of the moon of Kinân (*i.e.* Joseph) which was all Beauty ;
 "By the Chamber of Zulaikha, which was all Joseph.
5. "By that treasure which the Jeweller of Kinân (*i.e.* Joseph)
 "Took to Egypt, whereupon the whole market was crowded with eyes.
6. "By that lie which took the life of Farhâd ;
 "By that melody which got Mansûr hanged ;
7. "By that axe which all round the figure of Shîrîn
 "Engraved beautiful carvings and adorned the hills with them.
8. "By that half-drop of wine which remains
 "In the cup after the beloved has drunk from it ;

9. " Even though the way to thy street be all strewn with knives.

" I will traverse that knife-strewn road on the pupils of my eyes.

Besides the *Qasîdahs*, *Ghazals* and *Ruba'is* mentioned above, 'Urfî also, like many other great poets, tried to follow the *Khamisa* (the five *Masnavi* books) of Nizâmî, but he only wrote *Majma 'ul-Abkar* (مجمع البحار), of about fourteen hundred couplets, beginning with —

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم موج نخست است ز بهر قدیم

" In the name of Allah, the Beneficent, the Merciful is the first wave of the Old Ocean " (*i.e.* the *Qurân*), and *Farhad O Shirin* (فرهاد و شیرین) of about four hundred couplets, beginning with —

خداوند ادام بستم نور تنگ است دل من لنگ و کوه طور سنگ است

" O God ! my heart is very gloomy without the Light

" My heart is lame and Mt. Sinai is rocky."

in imitation of Nizâmî's *Makhzanu'l Asrar* and *Khusrau Shirin* respectively. He would have written the remaining three of them, if his life had not been cut short. Though he was not as successful in *Masnavi*, as in *Qasidah*, yet his two *Masnavi* books are good specimens of poetry written in the middle style.

His only prose work, the small tract *Risala-i-Nafsi* consisting of about ten pages, is of an ordinary diction. If 'Urfî had not died in the prime of his youth, but had lived as long as Firdausî or even Sa'dî, he might well have become the greatest poet in the Persian language.

AGHA MUHAMMAD ALI.

NOTES ON THE AFGHAN PERIODICAL PRESS

It is an established fact that the daily press plays a very prominent part in the life of a nation. Should we go as far back as its very origins and try to follow its gradual evolution, we would find that it generally passes through several more or less distinct stages of development. At its dawn it generally evolves out of some hand-bills affixed to the walls of a city or some circulars distributed amongst the population by which some kind of intelligence is imparted to the latter by the authorities. With the passing of centuries the life of the nation grows more and more complex and the distribution of such circulars becomes more and more regular. It gradually becomes necessary not merely to acquaint the population with the decisions taken by their leaders, but also to explain the application of the same. Here we come to the second phase where some *teaching* is imparted to the population by means of periodical publications. Little by little the decretory part of the same is superseded by its doctrinal section, the former being partly relegated to its original form of hand-bill,—and the periodical publications in question begin to take more or less the shape of a newspaper as known to us.

At the next stage some information about daily events in the interior of the country are added to the two first mentioned categories. As life progresses and the intercourse with its neighbours begins to influence the life of the country, events happening outside its borders begin to be registered by the periodical press. Yet, the doctrinal section of the newspaper is still supreme and forms its essential part.

In a rather later stage a newspaper becomes a medium for private advertisements, and it is only in its most developed stage that it begins to combine (happily or otherwise) all the above elements.

These stages do not necessarily succeed each other in time, but may evolve, side by side.

Another aspect of the evolution of the periodical press in a country is that of the intervals at which a periodical publication appears. At first no regularity at all is noticed in that respect, later certain rules as to the periods of its appearance are laid down (although hardly ever strictly followed), then those periods become more frequent and in consequence more regular until the periodical publication finally grows into a daily newspaper.

The Afghan periodical press is at the present moment struggling towards the final stage on both planes of its evolution.

If we take into consideration that the first periodical publication worthy of that name appeared less than 17 years ago¹, we shall realize how rapid has been the growth of the Afghan periodical press.

At the present moment some ten periodical publications (newspapers and reviews) appear in Afghanistan, all of them only since the beginning of the reign of the present ruler (March 1919).

The ancestor of all the present periodical publications in Afghanistan was the *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* (سراج الاخبار) "*The Luminary of Chronicles*" or with its full title سراج الاخبار افغانستان ("*The Luminary of the Afghan Chronicles*"), which was founded during the reign of the late Amîr Habîbullâh Khân in 1911 A.D. (1329 A.H.)

The *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* was an illustrated fortnightly newspaper of 16 pages, published in Kabul 14×11 inches in size, each page divided into two columns. Each number enclosed in a pale-yellow cover with some occasional advertisements printed on the same. The journal was founded by Mahmûd Tarzi², who remained its "manager and editor" (مدیر و مدیر) throughout the nine years

(1) We do not mention here the *Kabul* which appeared during the last six months of the reign of Amîr Shîr 'Alî (end of 1878), after which there was no periodical publication in Afghanistan for more than 33 years.

(2) Mahmud Bek Tarzi, the present Afghan Minister of Foreign Affairs (actually on leave in France since 1927 for the sake of his health), was born at Ghaznî in 1870 (A.H. 1285). His father Ghulam Muham-

of its existence². Its offices occupied a part of the "Mâshînkhâna" (Government factory)³ of Kâbul. The

mad Khan Tarzi was a descendant in direct line of Sardar Rahmdil Khan, brother of Amir Dust Muhammad Khan, and his mother was of the Sadû Zây clan. During the reign of Amir 'Abdurrahman Khan Ghulam Muhammad Khan was accused of conspiracy and high treason and exiled with his whole family. They established themselves in Damascus, where Mahmud Tarzi, quite a young man at that time, married a Syrian lady of noble origin. That union was blessed with a numerous progeny (twenty children in all, of whom five daughters and five sons only remain at present). After the death of Ghulam Muhammad Khan Tarzi, pardon was granted by Amir Habibullah Khan to the members of his family, whereupon Mahmud Tarzi returned to Kâbul. A man of great literary attainments and thoroughly conversant with five Oriental languages (Pashtû, Persian, Arabic, Turkish and Urdu), Mahmud Tarzi not only founded and edited the *Siraj-ul-Akhhbar*, but also found time to translate (from the Arabic and Turkish versions) several novels by Victor Hugo and most of the novels by Jules Verne. Of his original works we may mention here : روضه حکم ("The Garden of Wise sayings") ; از هر چمن سبزی ("From every mouth a word from every meadow a flower") (and گندمه ("Stray verses"), an illustrated *diwan* of his poems.

Of his children the Colonel (کزدک مشر) 'Abdut-Tawwab Khan Tarzi, after having for several years followed the courses of the military school of Saint-Cyr in France, has been recently appointed instructor in the Military School of Kâbul. Another son of Mahmud Tarzi, Abdul Wahhab Khan, is still continuing his studies at the University of Oxford.

Mahmud Tarzi's eldest daughter is married to Sardar Inayatullah Khan Murin us-Saltana, the eldest son of the late Amir Habibullah Khan. His third daughter is H. M. the Queen of Afghanistan.

After the accession to the throne of H. M. the King (then Amir) Amanullah Khan, Mahmud Tarzi was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1919. He was appointed Afghan Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris and in Belgium in 1922. Appointed for the second time Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mahmud Tarzi returned to Kâbul in 1924 and is still holding officially that post though the state of his health has necessitated a protracted leave since 1927.

(2) Until the assassination of Amir Habibullah Khan near Jalâlâbâd on the 20th of February 1919.

(3) Originally a foundry for guns and factory for rifles and munitions in the days of Amir 'Abdurrahman Khan, the Mashinkhana of Kâbul has become during the reign of Amir Habibullah Khan and even more so during the present reign, a centralized general factory producing in its different workshops most of the things necessary for the army such as cloth, leather, boots etc. A special workshop, under the direction of Brigade-General (گندم مشر) 'Azizullah Khan, a Bengal Muhammadan, attends to every kind of mechanical tasks including repairs of motor cars.

yearly subscription in the capital itself was of eight Kâbulî rupees¹; in the provinces—post free fourteen² Kâbulî rupees; in foreign countries post free ten rupees Indian (روپیہ انڈیائی); single copies in Kâbul—one *abbasi*³. Six months: in Kabul—five rupees Kâbulî; in the provinces—eight rupees Kâbulî; in foreign countries—six rupees Indian; no subscription for less than six months was accepted.

Advertisements were inserted at the following rates:

In the body of the newspaper itself, for a line 3½ inches long,—one Kâbulî rupee; if repeated more than five times—half a rupee per line; on the front leaf of the cover—half a rupee a line; if repeated more than five times,—3 Shâhî⁴ a line; a yearly advertisement on the last page of the cover —2 Shâhî⁴ a line, payable in advance for the whole year.

Agents abroad through whom one could subscribe to the journal were: At Peshawar: Mîrzâ Ghulâm Haydar Khân, the Afghan Postmaster⁵. (سررشته دار (د افغانستان); At Mashhad: ‘Abdullâh Khân, the Afghan Commercial Agent (کاردار تجارت دوله عليه (افغانستان); At Bokhara: Hâjî Ghulâm Nabî Khân, Afghan Agent for the sale of lambskins. (مامور فروش پوست قره قلی.⁶

(1) A Kâbulî rupee was worth in those times between eight and twelve annas Indian. It has since then considerably depreciated and ranges at present between six and seven annas Indian. v. my monograph on “*The Metric System in Afghanistan*” (“*The Visva-Bharati Quarterly*,” July 1928).

(2) The great difference in the rates of subscription was due to the extremely high postal rates under the then current postal system of Afghanistan which was a non-Union country. Afghanistan has since been admitted into the Universal Postal Union (from the 1st of April 1928).

(3) One third of the Kâbulî rupee (see above).

(4) One shâhî is one-twelfth of the Kâbulî rupee (see above).

(5) Under the old postal system a special Afghan Postmaster was appointed by the Afghan Government to Peshawar by whom the Afghan mails were transmitted to and received from the Indian Posts. For the up-mails Afghan stamps were affixed by him to the correspondence, payment for the same being claimed from the addressees on delivery. The down-mail correspondence had to bear both Afghan (valid to the frontier) and Indian (for the rest of the transit) stamps.

(6) One of the monopolies of the State, as, in fact, all the foreign trade of Afghanistan.

The outward appearance of the *Siraj-ul-Akhbar* as far as type, paper and illustrations are concerned, was extremely neat and trim and has not been surpassed by any of the later publications of a similar order.¹ All the illustrations were photozincographed reproductions either of contemporary photographs taken in the country itself² (photos of prominent Afghan officials, groups of the Amîr's *entourage*, views of streets and buildings in Kâbul, Kandahar, Herat, Ghazni, Mazâr-i-Sharif etc.,) or photos and pictures borrowed from foreign (mostly Turkish³), journals.

The language of the *Siraj ul-Akhbar* was very simple and did in fact very little differ from the ordinary colloquial Kâbulî Persian, except in being a little more elaborate and a little more literary, as every written language will be as compared with ordinary speech. The style of it was (quite naturally) rather pleonastic and prolix abounding in unnecessary (from our point of view) details and explanations. To quote but one or two examples, where in our newspapers the word, ("*Rates of Advertisements*") would be considered quite sufficient the text in the *Siraj ul-Akhbar* runs :

(1) The reign of Amir Habibullah Khan (and certainly not without the instrumentality of Mahmud Tarzi) was an epoch of great achievements in the domain of typography in general : all the features found in the *Siraj ul-Akhbar* can be also perceived in all the books published at that period. Though on a far smaller scale, that epoch can be compared with the period of the literary revival in Persia during the reign of Nasir ud-Din Shah the xylographs of whose time still remain unsurpassed. We have also to take into consideration that the types used for all these publications in Afghanistans were still brand new at the time we are speaking about which accounts for the neat appearance of all the books printed at that time.

(2) Late Amir Habibullah Khan was very interested in photography which was his particular hobby and he was a first class amateur-photographer himself. It was during his reign that the photozincographic art was introduced in Afghanistan, one of the first endeavours (though not a very successful one) in that direction being the publication of a photozincographic reproduction of the manuscript of Sa'di's "*Bus-tan*" written by the great Persian calligrapher Mir Imad.

(8) Which was only natural, if we take into consideration the thorough acquaintance of the editor of the newspaper in question with the Turkish language, Turkish life and all things Turkish in general which he was bound to accumulate during his long sojourn in countries under Turkish rule.

(شرایط درج کردن اعلاناتها)

سوداگرانی که مال تجارتی و صنعتگرانی که صنعت خودشانرا در سراج الاخبار افغانستان اعلان و اشتهاار کردن میخواهند و یا دیگر هر رقم اعلان و اشتهاار یکم باشد از قرار شرایط درج و شایع میشود: الخ

i.e., "Conditions for the insertion of advertisements. "Should any merchants and craftsmen be desirous to "advertise and to make known through the *Siraj ul-* " *Akhbar Afghaniyya* their merchandise or their craft, "or should it be an advertisement or a notification of "any other kind,—it will be inserted and made public "on the following conditions:" etc.

Now, the whole of this long preamble is absolutely superfluous and could be very well dispensed with, since the short heading already explains whatever there is to be explained.

Taking at random another example from the text proper of the *S. A.*, we shall quote here the beginning of an article from No. 10 dated the 1st of Rabi-ul-Awwal A.H. 1332 (28th January 1914).

مالیه

یک تشبیه بسیار نافع

از قرار یک خبر گرفته ایم جناب میرزا محمد حسین خان مستوفی الاموالک نائب سالارملکی و نظامی که یکی از رجال مهم دولت علیّه متبوعه ماست و از سالهای بسیاری در خدمات و اموریتهای مختلفه دولتی حسن خدمات و کارگذاریهای صادقانه شان سبقت نموده و مظهر توجهات جهات درجات خاص ذات قدسیت صفات اعلی حضرت سراج الملة والدین گردیده از چند سالست که بعد از نظارت جلیلّه مالیه یعنی "مستوفی الاموالک" ممتاز و سرافراز میباشد - دو هفته پیش از این مرکب از همه ما مزرین و سروردهای دفاتر مختلفه دولت علیّه یک مجلس مشاوره تشکیل داده اند در آن مجلس در باب ساختن یک "بودجه" عمومی یعنی یک جمع و خرج بزرگ دولت مشاوره شده است اگر چه جمع و خرج مالیات دولت در هر ماه وایر بصورت مدظم موجود بوده است ولی جناب مستوفی الاموالک در بنبار خواسته اند که این بودجه یعنی جمع و خرج را بیک طرز و اصول جدیدی که ایلی انحصار قیصر تعدد و پوریهای ذات شوکت سمات اعلی حضرت هما یونی باشد بسازند - الخ

i. e. :

MINISTRY OF FINANCE.

A very useful decision.

"According to what we hear, His Excellency Mirza Muhammad Husain Khan, Mustawfiy ul-Mamalik,¹ "Civil and Military Na'ib-Sâlâr,² who is one of the important men of our high and revered Government, who has during many years of Government service³ in different capacities distinguished himself by meritorious services and a faithful discharge of his duties, and, having attracted the favourable royal attention of the sacred person of His Majesty Siraj ul-Milla wa-d-Din has been for several years in charge of the inspection of the Ministry⁴ of Finance, that is to say holding the appointment of Mustawfiy ul-Mamalik,—has convened a fortnight ago a meeting in which all officers and heads of different departments of the high Government took part. In that meeting the question of establishing a 'General Budget'⁵ that is to say a grand total account of the receipts and disbursements of the Government, was debated and discussed. Although the receipts and disbursements in all the Government departments did exist in a perfect form, still His Excellency the Mustawfiy ul-Mamalik was desirous to establish that Budget, i.e., an account of receipts and disbursements on new lines which would be worthy of this age of progress favoured by the progressive mind of the exalted person of His August Majesty," etc.

We have placed in the above quotation in Italics that part of it which deals with real facts (making even allowance for the necessity of a definition of the French word "بودجه" (*budaja*) ("Budget")). All the rest has really nothing to do with the subject treated in the article.

(1). The *Mustawfiy ul-Mamalik*, which title is generally translated as "Comptroller of the Realm" is an official in charge of the control of the expenses connected with the supply department (of the army) and other expenses of a similar nature.

(2). The *Na'ib-Salar* is the highest military rank in the Afghan army and is usually translated as "General."

(3). خدمات و ماموریتها—lit. "services and missions."

(4). وزارت جملیله مالیہ instead of جملیله مالیہ

(5). The first General Budget worthy of that name was, however, established only as recently as in 1924.

That prolixity, however, as illustrated by the above two passages from the *S. A.* (of which hundreds might be easily found) must not be entirely attributed to some special Afghan mentality. Quite on the contrary, the Afghan mind seems to be fully open to a certain conciseness, if we only judge by the abridgements of titles introduced in Afghanistan during the present reign. That digressive mode of expression is certainly due to a great extent to the innate diffuseness of the Persian language itself, but also to various minor causes. One and the most important of these causes was the fact that the *S. A.* was a *fortnightly newspaper*. Strange as such a name might sound, still the *S. A.* had all the outward characteristics of a *newspaper* (except, perhaps, its yellow cover), but used to appear only twice a month. The news that reached Kâbul at that period from abroad was scarce and always belated, the local events were never abundant, so that there never arose the question of being short of space in the pages of the *S. A.*; rather the reverse was probably more often the case. From what we are witnessing during the last years of the present reign, we may foresee a very near future when such prolixity in an Afghan newspaper will be a thing of the past : that is bound to happen directly after the now published Afghan periodicals become *daily* newspapers.

As regards the contents of the *S. A.*, they fall, roughly speaking, under the following rubrics :

(1) A leading article on some political, philosophical or religious subject ;

(2) Home events (حوادث داخلی)

(3) Foreign news (حوادث خارجی)

(4) The literary section (ادبیات) represented by short poems by local poets ;

(5) The scientific section (مقالات علمی), borrowed from foreign (Turkish, English, Urdu or Persian) newspapers or journals ;

(6) The *feuilleton*, mostly some foreign novel translated into Persian,

and (7) Divers small communications.

With the accession to the throne of H. M. King (then Amīr) Amanullah Khan in 1919, the editor of the *S. A.*, Mahmud Bek Tarzi, was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs and the newspaper died a natural death, only to reappear shortly afterwards under the name of *Aman-i-Afghan*¹ ("The Afghan Peace.").

Aman-i-Afghan is a weekly newspaper of 8 to 12 pages of the same size as its predecessor the *S. A.* During the first four years of its existence it was printed on yellow paper; lately, however, the paper used is ordinary white paper of good quality. The rates of subscription are: for Afghanistan—yearly 12 Kâbuli rupees, 6 months—8 Kâbuli rupees; for foreign countries—10 shillings; 6 months—7 shillings. Students and schoolboys (طلاب و محصلین) pay only half-rates; Schools and libraries in Afghanistan receive the *Aman-i-Afghan* free of charge, Secretaries of State and other high Government officials are expected to pay what they deem to be convenient, according to their liberality. The *Aman-i-Afghan* is sent *without demand* to all good Afghans who are considered worthy of it (از ابناءى وطن هر که اهل دید و شد بدون (خواهش جرید و را یش فرستاده میشود). The price of a single copy varies from one *abbasi* to one *qiran*².

(1) The *Aman-i-Afghan* inherited the size, as well as the types and the presses of *Siraj ul-Akhbar*, and, what is more important, its general direction. It is in fact the same newspaper under another name and with a new editor at its head, but still the same semi-official mouth-piece of the Government, more especially now of the Afghan Foreign Office, as might be easily understood. The change of its name was only natural: during the reign of late Amīr Habibullah Khan (whose title was *Siraj ul-Milla wa-d-Din*) everything that was in some way connected with his person endeavoured to derive its name from his title. Thus, *Jabal us-Siraj* was the name very appropriately given to a hill where the hydro-electric power-station giving electric light to Kâbul was built by the late Amīr. Certain buildings received in his time the name of "*Siraj ul-Imara*," and so on. Hence, — *Siraj ul-Akhbar*. Under the new sovereign the same tendency produced names derived from his name Amanullah Khan or his title "*Ghazi*" ("The Victorious"). A school founded in the time of Amīr Habibullah Khan, still bears the name of *Habibiyya*, but the new French School in Kabul founded a few years ago is called "*Amaniyya*," and the German School of the same period is "*Maktab-i-Amani*." An old irrigation dam in Ghazni bears the name "*Band-i-Siraj*," but a similar new dam constructed by the present King near Kabul (at Butkhâk, on the road to Jalâlâbâd) is called "*Band-i-Ghazi*". The new capital, still under construction was given the name of "*Dar ul-Aman*" ("The Abode of Peace"). Likewise, the *Aman-i-Afghan*.

(2) A *qiran* is the name of half a Kâbuli rupee.

The first editor of the *Aman-i-Afghan* was one Sayyid Muhammad Qasim, who remained in that office for about six years, when he was replaced by one Ghulam Ahmad (early in January 1927), who is still holding the post.

As the presses of the "*Mashin-Khana*" of Kâbul where the *Aman-i-Afghan* was printed like its predecessor, are also used for printing all the books (school-books, laws etc.), published by the Government, special new types and printing-machines were ordered in Germany for the exclusive use of the newspaper in question. They arrived in Kâbul some time in 1926 and were started in 1927. At that moment an endeavour was made to change the size of the paper used for the *Aman-i-Afghan* and make it more similar in shape to European newspapers. That first endeavour, however, seemed to fail, as after a few weeks the *Aman-i-Afghan* returned once more to its former shape. A second effort in the same direction was more successful, and the size of the *Aman-i-Afghan* has been definitely established at present at about double its former dimensions.

The *A. A.* is supposed to "*discuss every kind of scientific and political questions and things of interest to the Government and the nation*" (از هر گونه علوم و وقایع سیاسی و منافع)
دولتی و فوائد ملی بحث میشود

The *A. A.* is a *weekly* newspaper, in the sense that during a year fifty two numbers are issued. But it does not at all mean that a number of it appears every week. On the contrary, at the beginning of the year (21st. and 22nd. March) the *Aman-i-Afghan* appears at great intervals, a fortnight or even three weeks elapsing between the appearance of two successive numbers. Towards the beginning of the winter it begins to appear almost regularly every week, and during the last three months of the Afghan solar year it is issued twice, sometimes even three times a week to make up for the deficiencies of the beginning of the year.

On the other hand, the dates printed on the first page of each number must not be taken too literally : a number is often issued a month or more later than the date it bears. To quote a few examples : No. 241 dated 15th of September 1926 was issued towards the end of November of the same year ; No. 257 dated 16th November 1926 was issued on the 10th of March 1927 ; No. 267 dated 22nd January 1927

was issued on the 14th of February of the same year ; No. 268 dated 29th January 1927 was issued on the 20th of February of the same year¹. These examples could be multiplied *ad infinitum*, as there hardly ever was a number of it that appeared on the date it bears. But, as aforesaid, that deficiency will disappear when the *A. A.* becomes a *daily* newspaper.

As regards the contents of the *A. A.* they are more varied than those of the *S. A.* For one thing, the establishment of several wireless stations (the government's and the receiving station of the French Legation have been functioning now for several years, and other more powerful stations are being erected all over the country) has permitted Kâbul to receive daily the news of Reuter's Agency and of several German (Nauen), French (Bordeaux, Saigon) Italian (Asmara Rome) Soviet (Jashkent) and other wireless posts. Some of this news was communicated by the Foreign representatives in Kâbul to the Afghan Government and have been incorporated in the *A. A.* from as early as 1924.

Communications appearing in the English newspapers published in India (especially *The Pioneer* and *The Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore) are much noticed.

Persian newspapers are very largely made use of, and whole articles are reprinted from the *Hablul-Matin* of Calcutta, from the *Shafaq-i Surkh* of Tehran and so forth.

Other newspapers like *The Statesman* of Calcutta, *The Spectator*, *The New York Times* are occasionally quoted, though chiefly with the object of refuting some communication regarding the state of things in Afghanistan.

To show the distribution of the literary material in the *A. A.* we may take at random the contents of any of its numbers. Thus, the contents of No. 268 dated 29th January (issued on the 20th February 1927) are as follows :

The leading article : "The laws are sacred". Four columns on the importance of laws.

"An absolute lie". Refutation of an article published in *The Statesman* regarding the vexations which fell to the lot of a German woman who had married an Afghan.

(1). For simplicity's sake the dates of the Muhammadan *solar* year actually printed on the corresponding numbers of the *A. A.* have been here reduced to European dates.

Local news : "Inauguration of an electric station at Herat."

"A grant of five thousand to a hospital at Mazar."

"The valour of the Mexicans" (reprinted from the *Habl ul-Matin* of Calcutta.)

Reuter's news from 4th to 9th February.

Feuilleton : "The Life of Napoleon" (continued). "Bokhâra". A geographical and historical description, (reprinted from the *Shafaq-i Surkh* of Tehran).

Before turning our attention to the provincial newspapers of Afghanistan, we shall briefly mention another newspaper of Kâbul, which was, however, published *ad hoc* only for a few months in 1924 during the Mangal insurrection.

That paper was the *Haqiqat* ("Truth") and was issued by the Afghan War-Office in order to check the unfounded rumours circulated in the bazars with regard to the events connected with the above mentioned civil war and to give to the population a more or less truthful exposition of the real state of things on the theatre of the war.

The *Haqiqat* appeared every second day in Kâbul and was sent to the provinces with every outgoing mail, i.e., twice a week. It was lithographed in quite legible *nasta'liq* characters, on white paper of medium quality. Its size was about 13 by 8 in. and it contained only four pages, of which the last one was often printed in letters of twice the size of the rest, especially when that page was occupied by some poem devoted to the questions of the civil war. Such poems were sometimes also published in Pashtû.

The rates of subscription were : in Kâbul—9 Kâbulî rupees per annum ; 6 months—5 Kâbulî rupees ; in the provinces—11 K. r. per annum ; 6 months—7 K. r. ; abroad—15 and 8 *Kabuli* rupees. The rates for the Afghan Ministers and the Foreign Representatives in Kâbul were : 20 K. rupees per annum, 11 K. r. for 6 months. Half rates were allowed to sayyids, scholars and students.

The newspaper was sent free of charge to its contributors and to libraries throughout Afghanistan. The price of one number was one *Shahi*.

The Contents of the *Haqiqat* were exclusively concerned with the events of the civil war.

The provincial newspapers are quite naturally mere replicas on a reduced scale of the *Aman-i-Afghan*. The greater part of their contents are simply reprints either from the *A.A.* or from each other, the minor part being devoted to local events which are apt to be scarce. That state of things accounts for a greater regularity in the appearance of these newspapers, the composition and the printing of which is thus much simplified.

The city of Jalâlâbâd possesses one newspaper only. That is the *Ittihad-i-Mashriqi* ("The Eastern Union") the name of which is derived from the province ("Samt-i Mahsriqi"—"The Eastern Part" of Afghanistan) of which Jalâlâbâd is the chief town.

The *Ittihad-i-Mashriqi* appears since 1919, twice a week. Its size is about $9\frac{1}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{4}$ in. It was originally lithographed in legible *nasta'liq* characters on white paper of a rather indifferent quality.

The rates of subscription are : Jalâlâbâd and its province (سمت مشرقی)—4 K. rupees per annum, $2\frac{1}{2}$ K. rupees per 6 months; other parts of Afghanistan—5 and 3 Kâbuli rupees; foreign countries—5 and 3 rupees Indian. The price of a single number is not given.

Each number bears on its first page the motto :

خوش بگو شیدای مسلمانان برای اتحاد
میزند شاهنشاه افغان ندای اتحاد
فارغیم از انتظار سایه بال همای
تا بسرداریم خورشید لوی اتحاد

i.e., "Work hard for union, O Muslims! The Afghan King of Kings is calling (us) to union. We are free from waiting for the shadow of the wing of the Huma¹, as long as we have over our heads the sun of the banner of unity!"²

(1) *Huma* (هما) the phoenix of Eastern tales, is a legendary bird supposed to be always flying in the air without ever touching the ground and whose shadow is supposed to bring a crown to the person on which it falls.

(2) The metre of this versified motto is
 - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - | - - - - - |
 فاعلان فاعلان فاعلان فاعلان فاعلان

The first editor of the *Ittihad-i-Mashriqi* was Burhanud-Din Kushkaki who was, however, called to Kâbul in autumn 1924 to edit the *Haqiqat* (v.s.). His place was taken by one Muhammad Bashir who remained in office up to 1926, when the present editor Muhammad Amin Khugyani succeeded. It was at that period that the *Ittihad-i-Mashriqi* discarded lithography and began to be printed typographically.

To illustrate by an example what has been said above with regard to the contents of the provincial newspapers in general, I quote the contents of a double number, (8-9) of the *Ittihad-i-Mashriqi* dated 3rd/7th of the Taurus 1306¹ (=23 to 27th April 1927) which are as follows :

The leading article : "The departure of His Majesty and the journey to Turkistân " (reprinted from the *Aman-i-Afghan*).—"The programme of the journey of His Majesty to Turkistân together with the time-table of His Majesty's occupations " (reprinted from the *Aman-i-Afghan*).

"An amendment to the Penal Code " (official notice).—

"Medical officers transferred" (official notice).—

"Retirement from service " (official notice).—

"A review of the troops of the Southern army" (continued from the preceding number).—

"Concerning the Economical Society " (reprinted from the *Faryad* of Herat).—

"Telegraphs and their importance in the life of a country" (reprinted from the *Faryad* of Herat).—

"A motor accident to H. E. the Governor of Herat " (reprinted from the *Faryad*).—

"The return from a journey of the Commander of the troops of the province of Herat " (reprinted from the *Faryad*).—

"The enlargement of the area of the bazars of Herat" (reprinted from the *Faryad*).—

"The construction of the road to Awbih " ² (reprinted from the *Faryad* of Herat).—

(1) The Afghan official year is a solar one beginning at the vernal equinox, with twelve months bearing the names of the signs of the Zodiac (for details see my article on "*Afghan Weights and Measures*" in the *J.A.S.B.*, 1929.)

(2) Awbih (اوبه) is a village near Herat.

The city of Herat possessed at one time two newspapers : the already mentioned *Faryad* ("The Clamour") and the *Ittifaq-i-Islam* ("The Concord of Islam") the latter was, however, discontinued early in the autumn of 1924.

The *Ittifaq-i-Islam* was a weekly newspaper and used to appear every Wednesday. It was lithographed in a more or less legible *nasta'liq* on white paper of a rather indifferent quality. Its size was $13\frac{1}{2}$ by $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. A number comprised four pages of three columns each.

The rates of subscription were : for the city of Herat and its district—5 K. rupees ; for other parts of Afghanistan—6 K. rupees ; for foreign countries also 6 Kabuli rupees ; for 6 months both in the interior of the country and abroad— $3\frac{1}{2}$ Kabuli rupees. No subscription for less than 6 months was accepted. The price of a single number was 7 *paysa* ¹.

The *Ittifaq-i-Islam* was published under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Instruction, its editor-in-chief was the Director of Public Instruction of the province of Herat (at that time one Salih ud-Din Saljuqi), its editor was the Secretary of Public Instruction (one Dust Muhammad) and its offices were in the Education office at Herat.

The *Faryad* was published at first from the same offices as the *Ittifaq-i-Islam* and typographically, its size being $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$ in. In the summer of 1924, for reasons unknown, lithographed *nasta'liq* was substituted for the original *naskhi* type and certain of the numbers of the *Faryad* were even issued on a paper far larger in size ($13\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$ in., like the *Ittifaq-i-Islam*) later, however, its original size was restored.

About that time the offices of the *Faryad* were transferred to the "National Library" (کتابخانه ملی) of Herat, and one Abudullah Haravi became its editor.

A newspaper published in Qandahar is the *Tulu'-i-Afghan* ("The Afghan Sunrise") which was originally a weekly newspaper appearing every Saturday and became about three years ago bi-weekly being issued on Wednesdays and Saturdays. Its size is about 14×9 in., and it comprises four pages of two columns each lithographed in bold though somewhat uncouth *nasta'liq* characters on white paper of medium quality.

(1) A *Paysa* was one-sixtieth part of a Kâbuli rupee (see my article on "The Metric System in Afghanistan").

Its front page bears on its right side the design of a banner with two crossed swords under a royal cap, with the rising sun behind executed in white on the dark-red field of the banner. The legend underneath the crossed swords runs : *هر که آب از دم شمشیر خورد نوشش باد* which we may translate freely : "May the glory you derive from the edge of your sword be sweet to you!"¹

The rates of subscription were, at first for the city of Qandahar—5 K. rupees per year, 3 K. rupees—per $\frac{1}{2}$ year : for other parts of Afghanistan—6 and 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ K. rupees ; abroad --5 and 3 rupees Indian ; price of a single number in Qandahar—7 *paysa*.

Since the beginning of the solar year A.H. 1306 (22nd March 1927) the rates of subscription are quoted in the new Afghan monetary unit and are as follows : for the interior of the country (no special rate being given for the city of Qandahar)—5 *Afghani*² per annum ; 3 *Afghani* for 6 months. The rate for foreign countries remains unchanged. Price of a single number 5 *pul*³.

A concession of half the price is granted to scholars (*علماء*), sayyids and students. The editor of the *Tulu-i-Afghan* from the very beginning (that is for the last seven years) has been one Abd-ul'Aziz.

To give an idea of the general trend of the newspaper under discussion let us quote the contents of No. 43 dated 10 of the Taurus A.H. 1306 (30th of April 1928).

The Leading article : "A lesson in social life (A living nation)". Translated from the Turkish newspaper *Mahshar*.—

"Child mortality" (in Turkey).

"Overcoat and hat stolen" (in Constantinople).

"A Hospital for animals" (in Constantinople).

(1) Literally : "Whoever drinks water from the edge of the sword may it be sweet to him !," the pun being based upon the different meanings of the word *آب* .

(2) The new Afghan monetary unit is the silver *Afghani* equal in value to one French *gold franc* (for details see my article on "The Metric System in Afghanistan" in the July issue 1928 of the "Visva-Bharati Quarterly," Calcutta).

(3) A *pul* is one-hundredth part of the *Afghani*.—7 *paysa* being equal to 10 *pul*, the price for a single number has thus been reduced by half.

“The new Turkish alphabet (Latin alphabet introduced for the Turkish language by the Soviet Central Executive Committee in Azarbayajan).

“Interdiction of the use of the word *efendi*” (by the Soviet authorities in the Caucasus).—

“An archæological discovery near Ganja” (in the Caucasus).—

All the above small communications are translated from Turkish, being borrowed from the above-mentioned “*Mahshar*.”

“The name of the Beloved of God written in the sky.” (Translated from the *Zamindar* of Lahore).

“Arrival” (at Qandahar of the brother of the local Governor).—

“Divers” (translated from the *Zamindar* of Lahore).

The city of Mazar-i Sharif had once two newspapers—the *Ittihad-i Islam* (“*The Union of Islam*”) and the *Bidar* (“*The Wakeful*”) of which the former is at present extinct.

The *Ittihad-i Islam* was a weekly lithographed newspaper of four pages of two columns each, $13\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. in size. The rates of subscription were: local—5 and 3 Kâbulî rupees; for the interior of the country—6 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ K. rupees; for foreign countries—6 and $3\frac{1}{2}$ rupees Indian. The price of a single number was 7 *paysa*.

The *Bidar* is also a weekly lithographed newspaper of the same shape and size and at the same rates of subscription as the *Ittihad-i Islam*. The price of a single number is not indicated.

The *Bidar* is supposed to publish articles of scientific, literary and ethical contents (مقالات علمی، ادبی، اخلاقی).

At its beignning (1921 A.D.) this newspaper seemed to be under the control of the local Education Department, its editor-in-chief at that time being Muhammad Ja'far, the Director of Public Instruction of Mazâr-i Sharif.

Since 1926, however, it seems to be published under the auspices of the Governor of Turkistân, as its offices are at present situated in the Government House. The present editor is one Gulam Hasan Ghaznavi.

The contents of a number chosen at random (No. 5 dated the 30th of the Ram A.H. 1306=20th April 1927) of the *Bidar* are as follows :

The Leading article : "Magic and witchcraft. Shrapnels and machine-guns." Reprinted from the *Aman-i-Afghan*.

"Regarding the annual agricultural fair." (official notice issued by the Ministry of Agriculture).

"The day of the arrival of H. M. the King in Mazar-i Sharif." (Official notice issued by the Governor of Turkistân.)

Besides the above discussed newspapers the capital of Afghanistan has also got a few monthly or bi-monthly journals of a certain importance. One of such journals is the illustrated monthly *Majmu'a-i-Askariyya* ("The Military Magazine"). It exists since 1901 and is published by the Afghan War Office. No name of editor is mentioned on its cover, but a small notice on the same informs us that the "Second Section of the General Staff is in charge both of the editorial part and of the management of the journal." (امو رتحر یر ید وادار مشعبہ دوم ریاست ارکان حربہ)
(عمومیۂ اجرا میشود)

Up to 1926 the annual rate of subscription was 6 Kâbulî rupees, and the price of a single number was one *qiran*.¹ Since 1927, however, the rate of subscription and the price of a single number are expressed in the new monetary unit, the figures remaining the same, which means that the rate has been raised by 10 per cent. No half-yearly rates or rates for foreign countries are mentioned.

Every number of the *Majmu'a-i-Askariyya* bears on its cover a statement as to the number of copies printed, which ranges from 500 to 700.

Although the *M. A.* is supposed to appear once in a month, two or even three numbers of it are mostly joined under one cover and appear at irregular intervals.

(1) *Vide* foot note p. 134.

The size of the *M. A.* varies between $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ and 8×6 in. The number of pages in a single number ranges from 24 to 70, double numbers do not exceed as a rule the latter figure, and copies containing three numbers in one average 100 pages in general.

The magazine under discussion is entirely devoted to matters military in the strictest sense of the word. The great bulk of the contents is borrowed from foreign, chiefly Turkish, but also Russian, German and English sources, and only a small part of the same are original contributions. In the case of borrowings, if not always the actual source, the language from which the article was translated is mostly indicated together with the name of the translator. Sometimes short prefatory notices precede such translations, for example :

وزیر حرب همسایه شمالی ما (وارا شیلوف) در کنگره چهارم
شورائیان کل اتحادیه نطق مفصل اطرافداری که نسبت با حوال
خود و سایر دول سرحد بدان مینماید غرض ته ماسکولاکرا سیندیا زوز ۱۵
ستاره سرخ در شما ۹۹ مورخه ۱۳۰۰ پریل هذا السنه (Sic !) ۱۹۲۷
اشاعه میدهد ما هم ذکر همچو بدین یلک صاحب مذهب برزک عسکری
اردوی همچو ار را برای استغاده ضابطان درج مینمائیم

(*Majmu'a-i-'Askariyya* No. 12, September-October 1927, p. 1).

i.e., "The Minister of War of our Northern neighbour Voroshiloff, has delivered at the Fourth Congress of the Soviets of all the Union a detailed discourse on the defence of the frontiers, both of his own and other countries. That discourse is published in No. 96 dated 30 April 1928 of the Moscow newspaper *Krasnaia Zvezda* ("The Red Star"). We reprint here for the benefit of our soldiers that statement made by such a prominent officer in the army of our neighbour."

Or else that mention might be quite brief, for example

هندوستان و حرب مستقبل- مهور : هم-ژ- مار تین لند که شر از اردوی
انگلیز در هندوستان مترجم قوماندان قول اردو نائب سالار
سید محمود سامی پاشا -

(*M. A.* No. 5-6, February-March 1926), India and the future war. Author : H. Y. Martin, Colonel in the

British Army in India—Translator : Sayyid Mahmûl Sâmi Pâsha, General Commanding the troops of the capital.

Generally, however, merely a short mention :

اقتباس از مجلهٔ عسکریه ترکیه (Borrowed from the Turkish 'Army Magazine') or simply : نقل از ژنرالی ترکی ("Translated from Turkish") is prefixed. Certain of the articles were contributed in German by German officers attached to the Afghan War office¹ and translated into Persian by the translators of the War Office.

Original articles on military questions are from time to time contributed by some of the young Afghan soldiers who are completing their education in European military schools (in France, Italy or Soviet Russia).

Last but not least, descriptions of various ceremonies and functions connected with some special event—inaguration of a new building, seeing off a batch of young soldiers going to Europe, reception of such young men at their return from Europe,—all these, together with the addresses delivered on such occasions, give ample material for the *Majmu'a-i-'Askariyya*.

We have already mentioned that the *M.A.* was an illustrated monthly. The illustrations referred to are either group—photographs taken on some festive occasion or drawings of a purely military character (different kinds of machine-guns, horse-shoes, topographical plans and the like.)

To show the distribution of the material in the *M.A.* we shall quote the contents of a double number—No. 8-9, Virgo-cancer 1306 A.H. (=22 May to 13 July 1927) :

"An analysis of military action in hilly localities." Translated from Turkish. pp. 1-10—"The influence of poisonous gases on animals." Translated from the Turkish *Army Magazine*. pp. 10-17. With two illustrations.—

(1) In contradiction to the Versailles Treaty. None, however, of the Allied Governments protesting, these German officers remained in the Afghan service up to 1927 when they were dismissed and their posts were given to Turkish officers who are at present the sole instructors in the Afghan army, with the exception of the Afghan Air Force which has been from the very first superintended by Soviet airmen,—

"A general outline of the military history of Persia." Translated from the Turkish *Army Magazine* pp. 18-38.—

"On the art of topography." Contributed by an Afghan officer studying abroad pp. 39-46.—

"Good manners in conversation." Translated from Turkish. pp. 47-52.—

The organ of the Ministry of Public Instruction is the *Ayina-i-'Irfan* ("The Mirror of Knowledge"). It is a monthly review of about the same size as the military journal just discussed and is chiefly devoted to questions of education. It is published under the auspices of the Publication Department (نظامت) of the Ministry of Public Instruction and its editor, one Hashim Shaiq¹ is the Director of the said Department. Besides the *A.I.* more than a hundred textbooks for Afghan schools have been published by the above Department since 1923, the year in which the *Ayina-i-'Irfan* made its first appearance²."

A publication of a quite recent origin (it appeared in May 1927) is the fortnightly *Anis* ("The companion"). A number consists of 12 pages, of two columns each, $11\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$ in. in size. It is printed in typographical characters on white paper of good quality and every number is enclosed in a gaudy-coloured cover.

The rates of subscription are: in Afghanistan—10 *Afghani*³ per annum; abroad—12 shillings per annum. Price of a single number—half an *Afghani*. A reduction

(1) Hashim Sha'iq Efendi arrived in Kâbul in the quality of the first (and only) envoy extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the short-lived independent Bokhara-Republic proclaimed at the beginning of the Russian Revolution and shortly afterwards destroyed by the Bolsheviks. At the fall of the government which he represented, Hashim Sha'iq Efendi remained in Kâbul and entered the service of the Afghan government in his present capacity. A man of great literary attainments, he is besides the author of a manual of history for secondary schools (مکاتب شریف), a bulky volume of more than three hundred pages.

(2) Having lost during his travels his copies of the *'Ayina-i-'Irfan* and being unable to procure a new set of the journal in question at a very short notice, the writer preferred the alternative of confining himself to the above summary mention of that interesting journal rather than to omit it altogether in the present sketch.

(3) One *Afghani* is equal to one gold franc. v. s.

of 50 per cent. is granted to students in the interior of the country. No half-yearly rates are mentioned. The manager and editor is one Muhiy ud-Din.

The *Anis* is supposed to be a "scientific, juridical, social and literary review" (مجموعه علمی قانونی اجتماعی ادبی). Its programme is exposed in detail in its first number (dated 15th of Taurus 1306 A.H.=5th of May 1927) as follows :

هوالمستعان

انيس طفلک نو ز اديست در عالم مطلوبعات ميخواهد در اوقات فراغ ندريم در ساعتهای کار معاون در امور مشکله مشاور در حالات غم و اندوه سمير و الهاصل در حيات فکری و عملي عموم خاصه فریق مامورين مونس و خدمتگار گردد..... الخ

انيس روريکه بعالم وجود آمدن داشت و فريضه خدمت را بجامعه درک کرد هر چند ميخواهد که بتمام اهل جامعه مونس و خدمتگار باشد ولی نظربيسي اسباب لازم شده که خدمت خود را خاصه با مامورين حکومت بيشتر سازد اهمتر از همه اينکه صاحب امتيازش مامور و مقرر آن مامور متکفل حيات و ضرورياتش مامور از اين دو لازم شده که مخدومينش نيز مامور باشند - - - الخ

"i. e.,

"To Him we look for help !

"*Anis* is a new-born child in the world of publicity. It wants to become a friend in times of recreation, a helper during the hours of work, a counsellor in matters of difficulty, a comforter in circumstances of sorrow and grief, and, in general, a companion and a servant in the intellectual and material life of everybody, especially of the class of Government functionaries.....etc."

"On the day when *Anis* makes its appearance in the world, although it wants to be a companion and a servant for all the members of the community, still, owing to many reasons, it becomes necessary that its services should be more especially devoted to the interest of Government officials. The chief point is that its owner is a Government official, its editor—a Government official, the person responsible for its life and its needs is a Government official. It is only reasonable that it should serve the interests of Government officials etc."

In conformity with the above statement, the journal proposes to publish in every issue one or more articles dealing with questions connected with the life of Government officials both in their official capacity and in their private pursuits.

The contents of the *Anis* are further specified as falling under the following categories :

1. *Leading articles.* This section will comprise articles having a bearing upon the spiritual and social life of Government officials.

2. *Law.* This section falls into the following subdivisions : administrative laws ; learned dissertations on law ; the philosophy and the origins of law ; the art of exposing laws, the principles of the explanation of laws ; the rules for comparing laws, and other dissertations regarding both the fundamentals and the interpretation of laws.

3. *Parliamentary news.* This section will be devoted to the exposition of new laws ratified by the Government.

4. *Scientific and literary news.*

5. *Divers.* This section falls under following rubrics : internal organization ; new appointments of Government officials ; important political news ; local and foreign accidents and events (حوادث ووقایع مختلفه داخلی وخارجی) and various other matters.

6. *How to arrange your home.* This section contains useful hints regarding lodging, sanitation, food, clothing, education of children etc.

A novel feature in the *Anis* is that every second number of it contains an additional leaflet in receipt-book form, on which the readers can enter their monthly and daily income and expenses.

The ready-printed rubrics on the leaflet in question are not without interest, as they give a glimpse of the essentials of the domestic life of the middle-class Afghan or at least convey an idea of what they ought to be in the mind of the editor of the *Anis*,

The receipts on the form under discussion are labelled as follows: salary; permanent income; rent received; commerce; income from land (حاصلات); extraordinary (فوق العاده); presents (هدیه).

The monthly expenses are indicated in the following order: rent paid; taxes; wages of servants; cleanliness (تنظیفات); domestic necessities (لوازم بیدیه); education of children; health (مصارف معیبه)¹; clothes.

The above group bears a general heading of "Necessary expenses" (مصارف ضروریه). The next group is entitled "Education of the mind" (تربیه فکریه) and comprises expenses on books and newspapers. The last group, that of "Supplementary expenses" (مصارف علاوه) contains the rubric of: adornments (زینت); tips (بخشش); charities (خیرات), and expenses on carriages (مصارف نقلیه).

The daily expenses are divided into four groups: 1. food; 2. beverages; 3. fuel. 4. light. Those are again subdivided into the following items:

1. Bread; meat; fat (روغن)²; eggs; cheese; vegetables:

2. Tea; sugar (?!); water.

3. Firewood; coal.

4. Kerosene-oil; electric light.

A special rubric is devoted to "Recreations" (تفریح), which is further defined (in the text of an explanatory article preceding the leaflet under discussion) as "airings" (میوه جات: sic) and "fruit" (هوا خوری).

That table of expenses is certainly very incomplete³, but rubrics in blank are left to be supplemented by the subscriber himself.

(1) "The doctor's bill," so to say.

(2) Drippings from mutton-tail fat.

(3) Rice, for instance, which is the chief food of the Afghan, is not found under the heading of foodstuffs.

Another innovation introduced by the *Anis* is the prize-competitions. These start on a very modest scale, the awards being either books or small sums of money (80 *Afghani* in one case). The subjects of the questions to be answered have however, nothing of the frivolity of the usual present-day puzzles of our weeklies : they are of a quite serious character and combine *utile dulci* in their composition, containing generally some points of national interest, as, for instance :

..... ۱. نيس از مشترکين خود سوال آتى را مينمايد : ۱. همترين
ميزات و موسسات و مذاق احماسى که در افغانستان درد و رامينى
آنها را نائل شد چيست

i.e., "The *Anis* asks from its subscribers the following question : what are the most important reforms and institutions of fundamental utility by which Afghanistan has benefited during the present reign ? "

The 1st prize for the best answer is "a book on the rise of the Anglo-Saxons" (کتاب نفوق انگلو ساکسون) : the 2nd prize — "a book on the great War" (کتاب جنگ بين الملل) ; the 3rd prize "a novel in Persian" (يکرومان فارسى).

To quote but one other example :

جائزۀ ۸۰ افغانى براى کسىکم بزرگ ترين عدد از نامداران
تاريخ افغانستان با همترين کارنامه ها که سبب بزرگى آنها باشد
نشان بدهد

i.e. "A prize of 80 *Afghani* is offered to the reader who will be able to name the greatest number of persons famous in the history of Afghanistan together with the records of their most important deeds by which they became famous."

One more novelty introduced, for the first time in Afghanistan, in the pages of the *Anis* is its section of "Anecdotes and Jokes" (لطائف و قضايات).

To give an idea of the Afghan humour, we shall quote one or two such anecdotes.

بيدى و نوکر نو

بيدى : از خانۀ که پيشتر نوکر بودى چرا برآمدى

نوکر : یکدفعه چوچه مرغ مرده به 1 خورادن 2 دکه 3 دفعه کو سفید
مرد از گوشه خوراندنم 4 این دفعه بیدی کلان نا جور شد از نرس
گر یختم

i. e. "The mistress and the new servant. *Mistress* : Why didst thou leave the house where thou wast servant before this ? *Servant* : one day a chicken died,— they gave it me to eat. Then a sheep died,— they fed me on its meat. Then the grandma fell ill..... I took fright and ran away."—

مادر به پسر خود : احمد ! تو و ساله شدی حالا باید از طرف شب
جدا بخوابی
پسر : اگر مرگله بم کلانی باشد با با از من کلا نترست
اورا هم باید از اطاق خود بکشی

"*Mother to her son* : Ahmad ! now that thou art 9 years old thou must sleep in another room.

"*Son* : If it is a question of age, then father is older than I and thou must drive him away from thy room as well."

Neither the anecdotes nor the above described competitions appear in every issue of the *Anis* : on the contrary they occur in its pages only every three or four months.

Having discussed in detail the different features of the *Anis*, I need not quote the contents of any of its issues in order to note that this particular journal is a publication of the doctrinaire type mentioned in the introductory part of the present essay : its chief object being to *teach* and its teaching has in view only a certain class of society.

These are the principal⁵ newspapers and journals constituting the Afghan periodical press of today. With

(1) Popular Kâbuli inst. of به من

(2) Inst. of : خوراندن

(8) Inst. of : دیگر

(4) Inst. of : خوراندنم

(5) The writer has been unable to secure any copies of the *Irshad-i Nisvan* ("The Guide for Women") mentioned in the anonymous booklet *L'Afghanistan Nouveau* published in 1924 by the Afghan Legation in Paris. Nor has the *Nasim-i-Sahar* ("The Morning Breeze"), mentioned lately by some English newspapers in India, been accessible to him. The *Tarjuman-i Sarhadd* ("The Frontier Interpreter"), though published partly in Persian and partly in Pushtu and dealing with Afghan questions, is outside the scope of the present sketch, as it is published in Rawalpindi.

a population of $4\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 millions, of which about $2\frac{1}{2}$ millions are nomads who have no use whatever for newspapers, the results achieved during the last seventeen years by the Afghan press cannot but be considered tremendous. There is certainly no lack of private initiative and remarkable personalities¹ responsible for the literary revival of Afghanistan, yet that mighty achievement is chiefly due to the enlightened efforts of the present Afghan Government by whom *all* these journals are *subsidized*².

Taking into consideration the ever increasing number of new primary and secondary schools opened during the present reign in Afghanistan, we may foresee a very near future when newspapers will be accessible to all classes of the population of the Afghan cities. Then the growing demand for newspapers, coupled with the multiplicity of new interests arising in connection with the evolution of the country in all other domains, will result in all fortnightly journals becoming weeklies and the present-day newspapers assuming the form of self-supporting daily publications.

(1) 'Like Mahmûd Tarzi and many other Afghan literary men mentioned in the present sketch.

(2) '*Tous ces journaux reçoivent des subsides.*' (*L'Afghanistan Nouveau*, p. 43).

L. BOGDANOV.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

IN his Preface to "*The Cross in the Crucible*," Mr. Haldar writes :¹ "The *insouciance* of the educated Hindus in their religious concerns is pathetic. Few of them have yet realised the great danger which confronts them. Crying as one in the wilderness a Hindu councillor from Madras said in 1914 in the Imperial Council Chamber at Delhi. 'What are we doing to stop the annual drain upon Hindu society caused by the proselytising activities of Christians and Mussulmans?' Speaking in the holy city of Benares, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya said in 1923: 'If the Hindus did not realise the situation, in course of time they would slowly be converted by the Christians and the Mahomedans and become an extinct race.' Another great Hindu leader, Lala Lajpat Rai said in Calcutta in April 1925 that he 'viewed with deep regret the fact that lakhs of Hindus were being converted into other religions owing to ignorance, misapprehension and allurements.' Mr. J. T. Marten, I.C.S., who was in charge of the last Indian Census, referred in a paper read before the Society of Arts in April 1925 to the decline of the Hindus not merely in numbers but in influence, and to the strong tendency of other religious systems to encroach upon the ground occupied for centuries by the Hindus. So far as Christianity is concerned, the educated Hindu is obsessed with the notion that that religion with all its faults embodies a very high ethical ideal and as long as missionary effort is mainly directed to the conversion of the lower orders and finds response only from the illiterate classes it deserves our sympathy if not our active support."

This deluded notion of the educated Hindu Mr. Haldar sets out to demolish in this book by reviewing the crime-sheet of Christendom, by showing that the ethics taught by the Bible are not of a high order, and by declaring that

(1) *The Cross in the Crucible*. An Inquiry based upon Biblical Ethics. By S. Haldar, Ranchi, India. 1928.

this is demonstrably the consequence of that. His purpose, we conclude, though we can find it nowhere clearly stated, is not merely to discredit Christianity, a task which, to judge from the quotations in this volume, can be left to the Christians themselves, but also to point out to Hindus the fact which has been noted by many of the greatest thinkers both of the East and the West : that the great Eastern religious communities have really nothing to learn from Europeans in the religious sphere possessing superior ideals of their own if they would but emerge from contemplation and the fog of superstition, which always accompanies inertia in the religious sphere, and just practise those ideals. Probably Mr. Halder thinks of his community, what we think of our own, that it possesses truths and possibilities of value to making, which would be lost for ever if it were wiped out and that it is capable of evolving a modern civilisation at least equal to that of the West—in short, that the cultured East has much to learn from the Europeans in natural science, which we have neglected to our bitter cost, and organisation, which has been ruined in the course of our political misfortunes ; but that in the religious sphere Asia is still supreme. It would have interested us if Mr. Halder had but indicated his conception of the way of progress for Hinduism—possibly he may do so in a future work—his preference for scientific European thinkers making it difficult for us to imagine how he can reconcile such opinions as those expressed in their attacks on Christianity with the continuance of anything like the present structure of Hinduism. His sympathy with the downtrodden and with animals is also evident. He refers to the cruelty to animals in Southern Europe with disgust and shows that it proceeds from the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church and of the Bible. It may be that the terrible cruelty to animals which we see daily practised by the poorer Hindus is against the spirit of the Hindu Scriptures ; but that is not the belief of the Hindus who inflict it. Mr. Halder puts Judaism, Christianity and Islam together under the heading “Semitic religion” and refers to Hinduism as “Aryan religion”. Historically, it may be, the Brahman has more in common with the European Christian than is generally recognised, and the Hindu “Depressed Classes” etc., might be held to balance many of the charges brought with so much justice, force and energy by Mr. Halder against Aryan Christendom. Judaism, from the time when the Israelites ceased to be nomadic till the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, was much less exclusive

than Mr. Haldar gives us to suppose, as a close perusal of the books of Kings and Chronicles would have informed him, as well as the existence of an Alexandrian School of Judaism strongly tinged with Greek idealism, in the time of Jesus Christ (on whom be peace!) Of Islam Mr. Haldar writes with more sympathy, but with much less knowledge, for he has written :

“ Each of the three great Semitic religions—the Jewish, Christian and Moslem—claims the privilege of exclusive salvation. Islam rejects the ‘sin-innate’ theory which is held by the other two. Lord Headley, who has embraced Islam, wrote in the *Islamic Review*: ‘I remember once being informed by a rather bigoted religionist that I was born in sin and was a child of wrath. I was only a small boy at the time, and I remember resenting the accusation with all the ardour of youth.’ That is all right. But we find the noble lord, as a Moslem adhering to the old Semitic belief in a Devil who has set himself up to undo all the good works of God. ‘It is the devil who seems to have great power just now’, writes Al-Haj Lord Headley.”

Apart from the absurdity of introducing Lord Headley as an authority, there are two serious errors in the passage above quoted. It is one of the outstanding points of Qurânic teaching that salvation is not the perquisite of any religious community. The meaning of the following verses is unmistakable. —

“ Lo ! those who believe (*i.e.*, the Muslims) and those who follow the Jew’s religious rule and Christians and Sabaeans—Whoever believeth in Allah and the Last Day *and doeth right*—Surely their reward is with their Lord, and there shall no fear come upon them, neither shall they suffer grief.”

“ And they say : None shall enter Paradise unless he be a Jew or a Christian. Such are their vain desires. Say : Bring your proof (of that which ye assert) if ye are truthful.

“ Nay, but whosoever surrendereth his purpose to Allah while *doing good*—surely his reward is with his Lord, and there shall no fear come upon them, neither shall they suffer grief.”

“ Each hath a point towards which he turneth his face in prayer : but vie with one another *in good works*,

Wheresoever ye may be Allah will bring you all together. Lo ! Allah is able to do all things."

"Unto Allah belong the East and the West and wheresoever ye do turn your faces, there is Allah's purpose. Lo ! Allah is All-Inclusive, All-Knowing."

We could multiply such quotations in disproof of Mr. Haldar's statement that Islam, as a religion, "claims the privilege of exclusive salvation." And as for the "old Semitic belief in a Devil," the Devil in the Qurân is shown to be subservient to Allah's purpose for mankind, just as evil also plays its part in man's salvation.

"Say : I seek refuge in the Lord of the Daybreak from the evil of His creating."

The power of the Devil is only that which men's deeds give to him, just as Hell is a presentment of the consequence of men's ill-deeds. That part of the Holy Scripture which treats of such matters is simply a transcendent exposition of the inexorable Law of Consequences which according to the Qurân, is one of the evident proofs of the existence of a Just and Beneficent Supreme Being. Much of the abhorrence often expressed by modern critics for such terms seems to be due to lack of understanding of Semitic phraseology, and—if we may say so—lack of the imagination necessary to bear a much more penetrating vision than our own. Upon the whole "The Cross in the Crucible" is a powerful and well-sustained indictment. But all the while we know that there is much that could be said upon the other side. Christendom, even in the Dark Ages, had its better aspect though it was very seldom visible to those who were regarded as outside the pale of Christian charity. It is, of course, quite true that the present civilisation of the West has risen in despite of Christianity and against the efforts of the churches, but the influence of Christianity itself has not been all for evil as Mr. Haldar seems to suppose ; and when he reflects upon the personality of Jesus Christ (on whom be peace !) no Muslim can, of course, agree with him. The book is written in remarkably good English and we notice very few errors. We are not quite sure whether the "Twenty-nine articles" mentioned more than once in connection with the beliefs of the Church of England, is to be counted among such, or whether the number of the Articles has been reduced by ten since we were last in England.

Mr. Haldar seems to us, on one occasion, to strain the meaning of a verse in the New Testament and there are one or two other minor criticisms we could make. We doubt the usefulness of all such diatribes, preferring the Qurân's injunction to the warring sects to

“ Vie one with another in good works.”

ABU'L-QASIM SA'D ANDALUSI.¹

In his *Tabaqatu'l-Umam*, the only work of this great Spanish Muslim writer which has come down to us, and of which the Arabic text has been published both in Cairo and Beyrût, the learned Qâdî Abû'l-Qâsim divides the peoples of the earth into two main categories—those which have contributed to the growth of human knowledge and civilisation, and those which have not. Among the former he ranks the Indians, the Chaldaeans, the Old Egyptians, the Greeks, the Romans and the Arabs; among the latter, the Chinese, the Turks, the Slavs and other northern peoples, and all negro races. Of the Indians he observes that though their hue inclines to blackness, they have none of the grossness of the negro but are among the most intelligent and subtle of mankind, a fact which he attributes to God's mercy towards them. As if to apologise for his relegation of them to the second category, he accords to the Chinese an absolute supremacy in artist-craftsmanship and to the Turks an absolute supremacy in all the arts concerned with war and government; but, having done so, he gives no more thought to them, being interested only in those nations past and present which have produced philosophers and learned men, he proceeds to discuss the peoples of his first category carefully and one by one, beginning with the learning of Ancient India. Coming to a later age he points out the error common among even literate Arabs in confusing the terms Rûm and Yûnân—a confusion which arose largely from the fact that the Greeks at the height of the Arab civilisation predominated in the Eastern Roman Empire. Abû'l-Qâsim reviews the whole history of first the Greek and then the Roman civilisation accurately, and even gives to the Greeks (or Eastern Christians) praise for their help in building up the Muslim civilisation, which at the

¹ An Urdu translation of “*Tabaqâtu'l-Umam*” (طبقات الامم).

By Qâdî Abû'l-Qâsim Sa'd b. Ahmad Andalusî, in which is the history of the Arts and Sciences of the various peoples of the World, by Qâdî Ahmad Mian Akhtar of Junagadh. Matba'-i-Ma'ârif, 'Azamgarh.

epoch when he wrote hard not its equal in the world. It is when he comes to the learning of that civilisation that the author becomes most interesting, his treatment of the learned men of other dispensations being evidently but a preface to his account of the Muslim sages. "The learning of the Arabs" is the title of his longest section and it is extended by a section on the "The learning of Andalus" in which the Spanish Muslim writers receive separate treatment, a peice of patriotism which strikes us as unusual in this sort of work.

Tabaqatu'l-Umam is a book worth reading and therefor worth translating, at the present day. It was particularly worth translating into Urdu on account of the preeminence here given to the Indian learning and the sympathy herein expressed for Indian character. Qâdî Ahmad Mian Akhtar of Junagadh is to be congratulated on a clear translation and an introduction which contains as full an account of the Arab Author and his other works as can possibly be put together at the present time. The *Ma'arif* Press may also be congratulated on the Urdu printing, though the work deserves to be presented to the Indian public in a more enduring form than that in which it came to us.

ARCHÆOLOGY IN HYDERABAD.¹

We are at a loss to know why the reports of Government Departments in these Dominions should be so often in arrears and we sympathise with the remark of Nawab Zoolcader Jung when introducing the report of the Archæological Department for the year 1335 Fasli (published at the end of the year 1337 Fasli): "It is hoped that in future it will be submitted in due time." Part of the report of the Director, Mr. Ghulâm Yazdâni deals with the great mosque and other ancient buildings at Gulbarga which have already been described for readers of '*Islamic Culture*' by the same erudite and practised pen. The report also gives an account of restoration work at Ellora, Ajanta, Bhongir and Warangal Forts, coins found in the Nizam's Dominions or presented from outside and added to the Archæological Department's already fine collection. With regard to the Hyderabad Museum project, Mr. Yazdâni writes :

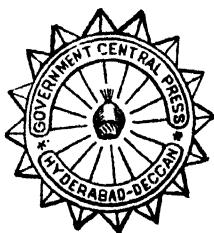
¹ Report of the Archaeological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions 1335 F. (1925-26 A.C.). Calcutta, Baptsit Mission Press.

“The Museum scheme is still under the consideration of Government and, as in the review for last year”—meaning, presumably 1334 Fasli (1924-25)—“they were pleased to observe that it would receive every favourable consideration. I am sanguine that something tangible will be done to meet the obvious need of such an institution at Hyderabad which is not only the capital of the premier Native State of India, but perhaps the biggest city in the East so far as Oriental life and culture are concerned.”

Precisely because the life and culture of Hyderabad are still Oriental, the “obvious need” is felt only by Mr. Yazdânî himself and the few European inhabitants who happen to be interested in antiquities. It has always been the habit of the East with very rare exceptions, to let the dead past, bury its dead. Therefore in our opinion it is not enough for the Director of Archaeology merely to be sanguine of the apparition of “something tangible” in the way of a Museum; if he desires to see one built and fitted in his day he will have to work for it with the zeal of a Mujâhid and the endurance of a galley-slave. Everyone is willing to give favourable consideration to the thought but it will take a lot of propaganda to make the obvious need of such an institution felt in Hyderabad.

It was a shock to us at first to read in Nawab Zoolcader Jung's foreword that “the expenditure on the conservation of monuments amounted to O.S. Rupees 29,146” during the year, while “the expenditure on the maintenance of the Department amounted to Rs. 42,851”, until we realised that under maintenance expenditure the purchase of books for the library and coins and other curiosities for the desired museum was probably included; but even the proportion seems to us inverted. In a land which abounds in fine old buildings falling to decay the restoration budget might well run to lakhs; and in a land where the instinct of the rich inhabitants is to build new buildings rather than repair old ones, the whole burden of such restoration work devolves on Government. The international tourist resorts—the storied caves of Ellora and Ajanta—have received the lion's share of the Department's bounty in the past. But the grand ruins of the fort of Bidar cry for its attention and so do other monuments throughout the Nizam's Dominions, even in the very neighbourhood of Hyderabad itself. A much larger annual expenditure is called for if many of our ancient

monuments are to stand for another generation, or else some law to force landowners to restore them. Among the appendices is a very interesting short article on "Human Artefacts and Fossilised Bones found in the Godavery Valley, Hyderabad State" by Mr. L. Munn and a learned description of the ancient Hindu coins received during the year, "Silver coins of the Western Chalukyas" by Mr. T. Streenivas. The report is furnished with an index and illustrated with plans and some fine photographs of the buildings described. It is well printed and got up.



ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE

HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

Edited by

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

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JUDÆO-ARABIC RELATIONS IN PRE-ISLAMIC TIMES

THERE has been much speculation as to the original home of the Semites, *i.e.*, those tribes, whose ancestors spoke languages belonging to the Semitic group, and the opinion most favoured is, that this home was Arabia. It is true that some of those who tried to solve this question by means of purely linguistic arguments pointed out that the Semitic languages possess no common word for "mountain" and that therefore the home of the Semites must have been a country consisting entirely of lowlands, such as Babylonia. But this does not prove anything, since common words for "moon" "man" etc., are equally missing. The linguistic proofs on the positive side are of much greater weight, showing us as they do, that at the time when the various Semitic tribes were still living side by side in their original home, they must have been acquainted with agriculture. Since parts of Arabia, such as the south-west, are agricultural countries, this does not speak against Arabia as the original home of the Semitic people¹.

Most probably, then, it was from Arabia that the people speaking Semitic dialects spread north and eastward, and this applies more especially to the Hebrews. The Hebrew vocabulary shows, as has lately been shown by Professor Margoliouth², many affinities with the language of the South Arabian inscriptions. But even more important are the connections between the Hebrews and the nomad population of the north of Arabia. According to the traditions contained in the Old Testament, the forefathers of Israel came from the Arabian desert to take possession of Palestine and although Ur of the Chaldees is given as the home of Abraham, even of this city it can be said that it lay on the very edge of the settled country,

(1) See Bauer-Leander, *Historische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache*. (Halle a. S. 1922) Vol. I, 9 seq.

(2) *The Relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the rise of Islam*. (London 1924) p. 7 seq.

near the mouth of one of the great avenues which lead up from the centre of Arabia¹. The Hebrew Patriarchs, Abraham and his descendant, are described as a people that roamed over great distances, just as the nomad tribes of northern Arabia are wont to do ; although it is true, on the other hand, that there is no want of details representing them as farmers². In fact even after the Israelites had settled in Palestine, they preserved some of the traits of the nomad or half nomad : the tribe of Judah was reinforced by tribes that lived on the desert border ; “ to your tents, O Israel ! ” was a cry common as late as the days of the kings³ ; and even in the sixth century B. C. there was a community living in the midst of the peasant population of Palestine that refused to give up its traditions of desert-life : the Rechabites. The Prophet Jeremiah tells us⁴ that when asked to drink wine, they replied “ We will drink no wine, for Jonadab the son of Rechab our father commanded us, saying : Ye shall drink no wine, neither ye nor your sons for ever. Neither shall ye build houses nor sow seed, nor plant vineyards nor have any, but all your days ye shall dwell in tents, that ye may live many days in the land where ye be strangers. Thus have we obeyed the voice of Jonadab the son of Rechab our father in all that he has charged us, to drink no wine all our days, we, our wives, our sons nor our daughters. Nor to build houses for us to dwell in ; neither have we vineyard, nor field nor seed. But we have dwelt in tents and have done according to all that Jonadab our father commanded us.” With this reply given by the Rechabites about 597 B.C., the following account of Hieronymos of Kardia, who in 312 B.C., when they were still in the nomad stage, visited the Nabateans, coincides⁵ almost verbally : “ They live in the open air and it is a law with them not to sow grain, nor to plant fructiferous plants, nor to drink wine nor to build a house ; those who act contrary to this are liable to capital punishment.”

(1) See G.A. Smith, *The Early Poetry of Israel in its Physical and Social origins*. (London 1912) p. 39 seq.

(2) See e.g. *Genesis* 18, 7, where Abraham has a calf slaughtered for his guests : or *Genesis* 26, 12 and 14 where Isaac sows and reaps ; cf. Johs. Pedersen, *Israel. Its life and Culture* (London Copenhagen 1926) p. 21.

(3) I. Kings 12, 16 ; II. Kings 10, 16.

(4) *Jeremiah* 35 6 seq.

(5) As pointed out by E. Meyer. *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarn* (Halle 1906) p. 84. Hieronymos' account is quoted by Diodor. XIX 94.

The memory of their close kinship with the Arabic tribes was always alive among the Hebrews. Eber their *heros eponymus* after whom they called themselves Ibrim, was according to the lists in Genesis, the father of Peleg, to whom the genealogy of Abraham is traced back in Genesis 11, 19 seq., as well as that of Joktan, from whom 13 Arabic tribes are derived (see Genesis 10, 26-29); among whom Chasermawet, *i.e.*, Hadramaut and other South-Arabian names are mentioned. But there are also Arabic tribes who are considered by the Hebrews—just as by the Arabs in Islamic times—to be descendants of Abraham himself, and therefore much more closely akin to themselves than the Joktanides, whom Islamic genealogists identify with the Quhtan tribes. These descendants of Abraham were born to him, according to the Biblical genealogy, by either Hagar or by Ketura, and full lists of them are given in Genesis 25, 13 (=I Chronicles 1, 30 seq.) and in Genesis 25, 1-4 (=I Chronicles 1, 32 seq.). Hagar's son, of course, was Ishmael, and the following twelve are named as his sons :

Nebajoth	Massa
Kedar	Hadad
Adbel	Tema
Mibsam	Jetur
Mishma	Naphish
Dumah	Kedemah

Of most of these Ishmaelite tribes we have historical evidence both in other passages of the Old Testament and in the cuneiform inscriptions of the Assyrian rulers. Thus Assurbanipal (628-25 B.C.) mentions a king of the *Nabate*, corresponding to the Nebajoth of our list, whose kingdom was situated east of Damascus : it is doubtful whether these *Nabate* are identical with the Nabateans, of whom we shall have to say more further on. Similarly, the Kedar are named in Assurbanipal's inscriptions, and their seats too were in those days east of Damascus ; this tribe was still known to Pliny who calls them Cedraei or Cedreni. Adbeel is identical with the *Idibili* mentioned in the inscriptions of Tiglatpileser IV (745-27 B.C.), who also speaks of the *Massai* and the *Temai* : so that, of the twelve Ishmaelite Tribes of Genesis Chapter 25, five were known to the Assyrians of the eighth and seventh centuries. The name of Tema, which occurs also in other passages of the Old Testament, survives to this day as that of an oasis north of Medīnah, and the same is the case with Duma,

whilst the Jetur are the, 'Ituraei' of the Roman historians and of the Gospel of Luke 3, 1. We thus see that some of the names of these Ishmaelite tribes were in use down to the Hellenistic and even the Islamic period.

Apart from the lists of the Ishmaelite tribes and those descended from Ketura, we have also, in Genesis 36, 12, a list of the descendants of Edom; and these are even more nearly related to the Israelites than the Ishmaelites; for Edom is the brother of Jacob, the father of the twelve tribes¹ into which the people of Israel were divided. One of the sons of Edom is Amalek, whose name is also remembered in Islamic legendary lore as that of the Amâliqah. In spite of the large number of names that these lists contain, that of the "Arabs" is never mentioned in any of them, and we may therefore conclude that a tribe bearing that name was not known at the time when these lists were first compiled. But *the country of the Aribi* occurs in one of the inscriptions of Salmanassar II and again in one of Tiglatpileser IV, and in the first of these passages the ruler of that country bears a good Arabic name *Gindibu*, corresponding to the classical Arabic form Jundub. These are the oldest evidences so far known of the names "Arabia" or "Arabs" and, from the eighth century B.C. downwards, the name "Arabi" is also to be found in the Biblical writings. It is true, that in some of these Biblical passages, such as Isaiah 13, 20 and Jeremiah 3, 2, it may be taken in the more general sense of nomads (=Arabic *أعرابي*), but when in Jeremiah 25, 24 "Kings of Arab" are mentioned along with the names of Arabic localities, such as Dedan² and Tema, there can be no doubt, about "Arab" here being used as the proper name of a tribe or region. Similarly, in Ezekiel 27, 21 "Arab and the princes of Kedar" are named among those who traded with Tyre: since Kedar is known to us already from the genealogical lists as one of the Arabian tribes, *Arab* here must mean another of them. When Nehemiah started building the walls of Jerusalem about 440 B.C., "the Arabs" were amongst those who put difficulties in his way (Nehemiah 4, 1); and more especially one of them, called Geshem (ibid 2, 19; 6, 1, 2,) or Gashmu (ibid 6, 6), corresponding to the classical Arabic form Jusham, is mentioned among his adversaries.

(1) Hebrew shebatim = Arabic asbat in the Quran.

(2) Identified with modern al-Ela, see Jaussen-Savignac, *Mission Archéologique en Arabie* Vol. II (Paris 1914) p. X.

No attempt can be made in this place to record all the passages in the Old Testament that mention one or other of the Arabic tribes, with whom the Hebrews stood in peaceful or warlike relations during various periods of their history. Suffice it to say, that whilst towards some of them, such as Amalek, the Hebrews harboured feelings of bitter enmity, there are others who, although their political opponents at one time, carried on trade with them at another, such as the Midianites (Genesis 37, 28, 36). How important this trade was, that carried goods from various parts of Arabia to the ports of the Mediterranean, can be seen from Ezekiel's description of the Arabian merchandise stapled at Tyre (Ezekiel 27, 17-22). Centuries before Ezekiel, King Solomon had despatched from the port of Eziongeber (situated near Eleth and corresponding to the modern al-'Aqabah) his own ships in common with those of King Hiram of Tyrus, in order to fetch gold from Ophir, situated somewhere in South Arabia (I Kings 9, 26 seq.) ; and the story of the queen of Sheba (I Kings 10, 1-13) too serves to commemorate the ancient connection between South Arabia and the Hebrew king.

There are also traces left of an exchange of ideas between the Hebrews and some of the neighbouring tribes of Arabic origin. Of these it was chiefly the Edomites, who were famous for their "wisdom" (Hebrew *chokma*=Arabic *hikmah*). Thus we read in Jeremiah 49, 7 "Concerning Edom thus saith the Lord of Hosts : Is wisdom no more in Tema ?"

"Is counsel perished from the prudent ? Is their wisdom vanished ?" And in Obadiah 8

"Shall I not in that day, saith the Lord, even destroy the wise men out of Edom and understanding out of the mount of Esau ?" Specimens of such Arabian wisdom have been preserved to us in chapters 30 and 31 of the Biblical Book of Proverbs. Chapter 30 is attributed to "Agur ben Jake from Massa"—this seems to be the correct reading—, a name which, as we have seen occurs in Genesis as that of a son of Ishmael and was known to the Assyrian rulers ; and chapter 31 contains the "words addressed to Lemuel, the king of Massa, by his mother." We may assume that these specimens of Arabian wisdom, first of all expressed in the dialect of the country of their origin, were later on translated into Hebrew, and we can therefore not be surprised to find a seemingly purely Arabic word *al qum* (=Arabic *al-qaum*) used in one of

these verses (Proverbs 30, 31)¹. In I Kings 5, 10 we read that the wisdom of king Solomon exceeded that of both "the sons of the East" and the Egyptians, and it is remarkable that specimens of the wisdom of both these countries—the East here meaning one of the Arabic countries bordering in the east on Palestine—have been inserted in the Biblical Book of Proverbs. For just as Chapters 30 and 31 of the book of Proverbs are due to Edomite authors, in the same way, as has been proved lately², the "words of the wise" (Proverbs 22, 17-23, 11) go back to an Egyptian original, the Hebrew translation of which is represented in these verses. That there were Jews living in Edom in the sixth century B. C. we see from Jeremiah 40, 11, and to one of them may be referred the translation of the sayings of Edomite sages into Hebrew.

The land of Us from which Job came (Job 1, 1), is situated in Edomite territory (Genesis 36, 28; Lamentations 4, 21), and to his friends, Eliphaz, Bildad and Sophar, Edomitic or Keturaic origin is attributed in Job 2, 11 (cf. the names in Genesis 36, 11 and 25, 21). So the author of the book of Job too, puts the speeches of his heroes into the mouth of Edomitic sages, and it has been conjectured that he may have made use of an Arabic original and translated it into Hebrew; although no such original has been found, nor is it anywhere alluded to in the text.

What we know of classical Arabic poetry, does not go back further than about 500 A. D., but the earliest poets we possess, show a fixed form which must have developed long before that date. Now there are many similarities between classical Arabic poetry and the earliest remainders of Hebrew poetry dating back from about 1200 to 800 B.C. both as regards subject matter and treatment³. Songs such as the one quoted in Numbers 21, 17.

"Spring up, o well, sing you unto it

"The princes digged the well, the nobles of the people digged it

"By the direction of the lawgiver with their staves" were in use with the Beduins of the Sinai Peninsula in the fourth century A. D., as we learn from the account given

(1) See Margoliouth p. 30.

(2) See H. Gressmann in *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* Vol. 42.

(3) See G. A. Smith p. 43 seq.

by St. Nilus¹, whose son had been captured by one of these tribes. Even nowadays similar songs may be heard, some of which, like the lines quoted by Professor Musil², show a close resemblance to the Biblical passage :

“ May Allah water thee, O well,
 “ With rain in plenty,
 “ Stream, O water,
 “ Run in plenty !
 “ Drink, O camel, do not despise it !
 “ With a rod we have dug it.

And the following words of the same traveller³ read like a commentary on the same passage : “ Since the water-pits, called Bir and dug by the Arabs with their hands in the gravel of the dry torrent bed, in which water gathers, are regularly filled up with gravel by the winter rains, they have to be freshly dug every spring. Each tent possesses its own Bir : those of the heads of the families and clans are restored with special care, and although the chiefs only seldom work themselves and with their own hands, yet it is always said : “ This well dug Sheikh N.”

Sir Charles Lyall⁴, I believe, was the first to remark, that the four animals which the Arabs in their poetry selected as types of speed, the wild ass, the wild ox, the ostrich and the eagle, are used for the same purpose in Job 39, 5-18, 27-30, and it seems not impossible therefore that the kind of poetical description of animal life that we find in Arabia since about 500 A. D., may go back to those early times, in which the northern Arabs and their Hebrew cousins lived side by side. Sir Charles Lyall adds : “ Al Asha sees a fit similitude for his lady’s face in a pearl, and straightway tells us the story of how this pearl was won from the deep. Job in chapter 29 has to extol wisdom and compares it to other things most precious ;

“ Surely there is a mine for silver
 “ And a place for gold which they refine.”

Then follows that marvellous passage, which sets before us in detail the craft of mining as practised in the lands known to the poet. Is it fanciful to trace the same impulse in both authors, the tendency to digress and to describe, or as I should rather say, to draw and paint pictures, when a word suggests a theme out of which a picture may be made ? ”

(1) See Migne, *Patrologia Græca* Vol. 79 col. 648.

(2) *Kusair Amra* (Vienna 1913).

(3) A. Musil, *Moab* p. 298.

(4) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1912 p. 144 seq.

There is another peculiarity in Arabic literature which, with the help of analogies found in the Hebrew writings, it seems we have a right to trace back to those early times. We have but few instances of Arabic stories written in verse, and none of them belong to the pre-Islamic or early Islamic centuries; but from the very beginnings of Arabic literature the storyteller inserts verses into his prose-tale. These verses however do not carry on the tale, but rather interrupt it, being invariably put into the mouth of the hero himself or one of his followers or relations, and never forming part of the words of the narrator himself. This is the way in which the *Aiyam al-'Arab* are told, the same model is followed in the *Sirah* and the *Maghazi* as well as in the *Futuh*¹ and even in the Arabian Nights this rule holds still good². Now we can observe exactly the same in the narrative books of the Hebrew Bible; there too the story itself is always in prose, but there are from time to time poetical insertions. Thus we have Lamekh's song of revenge in Genesis 4, 23; Moses' song of triumph in Exodus 15, 1 seq., and Miryam's in Exodus 15, 20; Deborah's song in Judges 5; David's thanksgiving in II Samuel 22, his dirge on Saul and Jonathan in II Samuel 1, and many more instances might be quoted. These insertions are not as a rule of epic character, but rather lyric—i.e., although containing allusions to historical facts, they do not tell history, but give expression to the feelings of the hero or some of his contemporaries. Had more been preserved to us of ancient Hebrew literature, we should certainly have had more such songs. We know that there existed collections of this kind of poetry in books such as the "Book of the wars of the Lord" (Numbers 21, 14); "The book of the Righteous" (Joshua 10, 13), from which they are occasionally quoted; and we also hear of another collection containing dirges on king Josiah (II Chronicles 35, 25), of which, however, nothing has been preserved to us. The authors of the narrative books of the Hebrew Bible apparently followed the ways of the storytellers of old, who had inserted such songs when relating the sagas to their public. Since all this corresponds exactly to what we find with the Arabs in the early days of Islam and before, we are probably not wrong in concluding that those habits of the Arabian storytellers too go back to remote antiquity.

(1) See my article in *Islamica* edited by A. Fischer Vol. II p. 308 seq.

(2) See this Review Vol. I, p. 55.

In the beginnings of the Hellenistic period we find the Nabateans in the seats which formerly had been occupied by the Edomites. These Nabateans, whose name is similar to, but probably not identical with, the Nebajoth—they call themselves Nabat with ن as opposed to the ت of the Nebajoth—were at the time when we first hear of them (312 B.C.) still Nomads, as we have seen before. With these Nabateans the Maccabeans, the leaders of the Jewish national movement in the second century B. C. were in friendly relations (I Maccabeans—5, 25; 9, 35), whilst later on, their king Malchus helped the Romans in their war against the Jews¹, which led to the destruction of the temple of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. In 106 A.D. the kingdom of the Nabateans was embodied by the Romans in their empire as “Arabia Provincia,” and in the fourth century this province of Arabia was divided into two, “Arabia” with Bostra, and “Palaestina tertia” with Petra, as its capital.

Of these Nabateans we possess numerous coins and inscriptions, all of which are in Aramaic, but not only Josephus and other writers, who must have known the difference between Arameans and Arabs, call them expressly Arabs, but also all the proper names that occur in their inscriptions are Arabic. Apart from these Arabic proper names, the Aramaic text of the inscriptions contains also some words that are peculiar to Arabic and not found in any Aramaic dialect; the most remarkable of these Arabisms being the use of the particles *فِي* and *غَيْرَ*. The explanation for an Arabic tribe using Aramaic for its coins and inscriptions is that in those centuries Aramaic was the language generally spoken and written in the countries neighbouring Arabia, such as Syria and Mesopotamia; and whilst in the highly civilised kingdoms of South-Arabia we have inscriptions written in the language of the country since at least 800 B. C., in the north Aramaic begins in the inscriptions to be replaced by Arabic only, as far as we know at present, about 250 A. D.² The empire of the Nabateans at the time of its greatest expansion stretched north and south, comprising both the Hauran and Al-Hijr (better known as Madain Sâlih and thus called because it is supposed to have been the seat

(1) Josephus, *Bellum Judaicum* III. 4, 2 who calls him “the Arab Malchas.”

(2) The oldest inscription written in the main in classical Arabic seems to be the one published in Jaussen-Savignaes *Mission Arche'olo-*

of the prophet Sâlih) in Arabia proper. And all over the territory once occupied by it, Nabatean inscriptions have been found, many of them dating from the time when their empire had long since disappeared. Now from these inscriptions we learn that Jews had settled in Northern Arabia early in the first Christian century ; for one of them, named Shubeit and expressly calling himself *Yehudaya*, "A Jew" had a family tomb erected in Al-Hijr in 42 A. D.¹. Of another Jew, Anan bar Haiya, who lived in the fourth century A. D. and was a native of Hejra, (the Aramaic name of Al-Hijr which often is found in the inscriptions)

gigue I, 172 and probably dated 268 A.D. Transcribed into Arabic characters it reads as follows :

- (١) د نه قبر صنعہ کعب بر
 (٢) حرثة لرقوس برت
 (٣) عبد منوة امه وهى
 (٤) هلك فى الهجر
 (٥) سنة مائة وستين
 (٦) وترين بيرخ تموز ولعن
 (٧) مري علما من يشا القبر
 (٨) د او من يفتحه حشى
 (٩) ولده ولعن من يغير د ا على منه

The following words are Aramaic : *د نه* and *بر* in line 1 : *برت* in line 2 ; *ترين* and *يرخ* in line 6 ; *مري علما* (= *لم*) and *بر* in line 7 ; *د* lines 8 and 9. The translation is

- (1) This is the tomb that has been made by Kâb the son
- (2) Of Harithah for Raqûsh the daughter
- (3) Of 'Abd Manât, his mother. And she
- (4) died in Al-Hijr
- (5) In the year one hundred and sixty
- (6) And two in the month of Tamûz, and may curse
- (7) The Lord of the world any one who changes the tomb,
- (8) This, and any one who opens it, except
- (9) His children, and may he curse any one who changes what is above it.

The year 162 probably is the year of the era of Arabia Provincia, beginning with 106 A.D.

(1) See Jaussen-Savignae Vol. I, p. 149.

we hear in a passage of the Talmud¹ and one Menashe son of Nathan had inscribed his name on a sundial of his own workmanship, discovered in the ruins of Mada'in Sâlih². The latest of all Nabatean inscriptions, dated 307 A.D. and discovered in Al-Ela (somewhat south from Al-Hijr) again is written on a tombstone erected by a Jew, Yahya bar Shimôn, for his father. A number of graffiti have also been found near Al-Ela, bearing Jewish names such as Ishâq, Shemuel, etc. Thus we have epigraphical evidence for the presence of Jews in Al-Hijjâz from the first to the fourth century A.D.

The postbiblical literature of the Jews, the *Targumim* (i.e., the translations of the Bible into the Aramaic dialects spoken by the Jews) and the *Talmud*, contain quite a number of references to the Arabs, which it would lead too far to quote in detail, all of which have been collected and discussed by Professor Krauss³. The contemporary Arabs are in those writings often called "Arab," but also the names of the Nabateans and Salameans are known to them; the latter being a tribe allied to the former and frequently mentioned in their inscriptions. (Another Arabic tribe, whose name is familiar to such Jewish writings of this period as originate from Palestine, are the Saracenes; these Saracenes were already known to Pliny, and their name is applied by the Byzantine writers of the fourth and the following centuries A.D. to the Arabic tribes in general. As opposed to this, another name, Tayaye, equally designating the Arabs in general, is found only in such Jewish writings, as originate from Babylonia, and similarly in the literature of the Syrians, the Aramaic-speaking Christians. These Tayaye were already known to Pliny and to Ptolemy, who called them Taveni or Taienoi respectively, and their name originally belonged to a separate tribe, the *Tai*, one of whose members was Hâtim Tâi, the hero of many a tale and famous throughout the East as a model of generosity.

Epigraphical evidence for the presence of Jews in Arabia brings us not further down than the fourth century A.D., and after that there is a gap of about 200 years—for North Arabia anyhow—before we get fresh information from Arabic sources. It is, however, not the inscriptions but ancient poetry and historical tradition, as collected

(1) Yebamot 116 a; See Th. Nöldeke in J. Euting, *Nabataische Inschriften* p. 53.

(2) See Jaussen-Savignae Vol. II p. 231.

(3) In *Zeitschrift der Deutschen—Morgentindischen Gesellschaft* Vol. 70, p. 321 seq.

by the antiquarians of the early Islamic period, to which we have to look for such information. Most of it refers to certain parts of the Hîjjâz, more especially Madînah, and the oasis further north.

One of the authorities quoted in the Talmud, Rabbi Shimon¹, who lived at the beginning of the second century A.D., was probably a native of Teima, a settlement well known to the Hebrews even in Biblical times (Isaiah 21, 14; Jeremias 25, 23; Job 6, 19). In the sixth century A.D., Teima was the seat of Samaual ibn Adiya, the Jewish poet and contemporary of Imra'îl-qeis. To him the Proverb refers "more faithful than Samaual," of the origin of which Muhammad ibn al-Sa'ib al Kalbi, the well-known archæologist gives the following account²:—

(1) Zebahim 32 b. He is called ha-Temani which *Nisbah* may be referred to Teima or to Teman.

(2) Kitâbul-Aghânî (second edition) Vol. 19, page 98 seq. (the account given by Darim ibn Iqol in *Aghani* Vol. 8, p. 69 agrees in the main with Ibn el Valoi's);

ان امرء القيس بن حجر لما صار الى الشام يريد قيصر نزل على السمؤل بن عاذيا بحصنه الا بلقي بعد ايقاعه ببني كذاثة على انهم بنو ابيه وكراهة اصحابه لفعلمه وتفرقه عنده حتى بقي وحده واحتاج الى الهرب فطلبه المذذر بن ماء السماء ووجهه في طلبه جيوشا من اباد و بهرا وتذوخ وجيشا من الاساورة امره بهم انو شروان وخذلقه حمير وتفرقوا عنه لاجاء الى السمؤل ومعه اراع كانت لايده خمسة الفضة والغاية را لمحصنة والخرى وام الدبول كانت لملوك من بني اكل المرار يتوارثونها ملك عن ملك ومعه بنته هند وابن عمه يزيد بن الحارث بن معاوية بن الحارث بن معاوية بن الحارث وسلاح ومال كان بقي معه ورجل من بني فزارة يقال له الربيع بن ضبع شاعر فقال له الفزاري قل في السمؤل شعرا تمدحه به فان الشعر يعجبه وانشد له الربيع شعرا مدحه به وهو قوله

ولقد اتيت بنفي المصاحص مفاخرنا والى السمؤل زرتة بالابلق
فأثبت الفضل من يتحمل حاجة ان جئته في غارم او مرهق
عرفت له الاقوام كل فضيلة وحور المكارم سابقا لم يسبق

قال وقال الفزاري ان السمؤل يمنع منها حتى يرى ذات عينك
وهو في حصن حصين ومال كثير فقد م به على السمؤل وعرفه اياه
وانشده الشعر فعرف لهما حقهما وضرب على هند قبة من ادم وانزل القوم
في مجلس له وبراج فكانت عنده ما شا الله ثم ان امرء القيس ساله
ان يكتب له الى الحارث بن ابي شمرا لغسانى يوصله الى قيصر ففعل و
استصحب معه رجلا يد له على الطريق وادع بنته وماله وادراعه
السمؤل ورجل الى الشام وخلف ابن عمه يزيد بن الحارث

"When Imra'l-qeis ibn Hujr (after his efforts to revenge his father and to recover his power, had failed) was on his way to Syria to see the emperor (Justinian, a little before 540 A.D.)¹, he alighted with al-Samaual ibn Adiya in his fort Al-Ablaq after having attacked the Banû Kinâna. His companions disapproving of his behaviour, had gone away and so he was left alone and had to fly; since king al Mundhir ibn mâ'al-Samâ' (of Al-Hira) pursued him and sent against him an army composed of members of the tribes Iyâd, Bahrâ, and Tanûkh as well as of Persian cavalry supplied by Anoshirwan. When the Himyar too (among whom he had before that found willing helpers) had left him, he sought refuge with al-Samaual². With him he had coats of mail that belonged to his ancestral house and which Akil al murar³, the founder of the dynasty, had bequeathed to his successors. He had further with him his daughter Hind and his cousin Yazîd ibn al-Harith, weapons and some money. There was also with him a poet belonging to the tribe Fazârah⁴ called al-Rabî'ibn Dabu, who said to him: compose a poem on Samaual in which you praise him, for he is fond of poetry. Al Rabî' first recited to him a poem composed by himself in which he praised Al-Samaual and which reads

"I have come to the Banû'l Misâs as one who competes for the glory of his tribe and to al Samaual whom I have visited in al Ablaq.

مع ا بذقه هذ قال ونزل العارث بن ظالم فى بعض غاراته بالابلق
ويقال بل العارث بن ابي شمرا لغسانى ويقال بل كان المذد وجه
بالعارث بن ظالم فى خيل وامره باخذ مال امرى القيس من
السمؤل فلما نزل به تحصن منه وكان له ابن قد يقع وخرج الى قنصره
فلما رجع اخذه العارث بن ظالم ثم قال للسمؤل اعرف هذا قال نعم
هذا ا بذي قال ا فتسلم ما قبلك ام ا قتله قال شاك به فليست اخفر ذمى
ولا ا سلم مال جارى ف ضرب العارث وسط الغلام فقطعه قطعتين وانصرف عنه

(1) See G. Olinder, *the Kings of Kinda* (Lunds Universitets Traskrift N. F. Avd. 1 Bd. 23 No. 6.) p. 108, 117.

(2) As advised by Amr ibn Jâbir ibn Mâzin, according to Dârim s. *Aghani* Vol. 8 p. 69.

(3) *Al Hujr Akil al-murar*, who must have lived about 450 A.D., see Olinder p. 37 seq.

(4) According to Dârim in *Aghani* Vol. 8 p. 69 "When Imra'l-qeis asked Amr ibn Jâber: how can I get to Al-Samaual, he replied: I'll take you to one who'll take you with him. He then took him to a Fozâri called Al-Rabî'ibn Dabu who used to go and see Samaual, who in his turn used to help him and give him presents.

"I have found him the noblest of those who undertake obligations, when thou comest to him on account of one who is in debt or depressed.

"The peoples know him to possess all good qualities, he comprises in him all nobility, as one who leads with none before him."

Thereupon Imra'l-qeis composed his Qasîdah in which the line occurs¹ :

"Hind came to you in the middle of the night after long separation, whilst before she had not come."

When he had finished, the Fazari said : Al-Samaual will defend it, you will see it with your own eyes ; he has a strong fort and plenty of money. He then brought Imra'l-qeis to Al-Samaual, introduced him and when both had recited their poems, Al-Samaual acknowledged their right. He had a leather tent erected for Hind, whilst the other people alighted in an assembly place on an open tract of land, and stayed as long as they liked. Later on Imra'l-qeis asked Al-Samaual to write on his behalf to al-Harith ibn 'Abî Shamir, the Ghassânî² and to ask him to send him on to the emperor. When he had done this and appointed a man to accompany him and show him the way, Imra'l-qeis left his daughter, his money and his coats of mail with Al-Samaual and left for Syria, whilst his cousin Yazîd remained with his daughter Hind. Now Al-Hârith ibn Zâlim, during one of his expeditions, alighted in front of Ablaq—others say that it was Al Hârith ibn Abî Shamir and others again that Al-Hârith ibn Zâlim had been sent by Al-Mundhir—(the king of Hira)—with an army and the order to take Imra'l-qeis' property from Samaual. When Al-Hârith alighted there, Al-Samaual entrenched himself, but he had a son who had just grown up, and who when he had gone out shooting, was captured by Al-Hârith on his return. He asked Al-Samaual "do you know this one ?" "Yes, this is my son." "Will you hand over the things deposited with you or shall I kill him ?" "Do what you like, I shall not break my promise and shall not hand over the property of my neighbour." Thereupon he cut the body of the boy into two pieces and left."

(1) This Qasidah, of which only one verse is quoted, is considered spurious. See *Kitab'ul-Aghani* Vol. 8 p. 70.

(2) Al Hârith was one of the "Patricii" of the Byzantine Empire (see Th. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassanidenstammen* Berlin 1887 p. 10 seq.) and as such held a high position at the Court. According to *Aghani* Vol. 19 p. 98 Al-Samaual's mother belonged to the tribe of Ghassân and for this reason apparently Imra'l-qeis wanted him to write to al Hârith.

Samaual himself refers to this in his often quoted verses¹;

"I have been faithful with regard to the coats of mail of the Kindite, yea, I have kept my word when others deceived.

"They said: verily it² is a coveted treasure, but by Allah I shall not act treacherously as long as I walk (on the face of the earth).

"And Adiya admonished me one day saying Destroy not, O Samaual, that which I have built!

"Adiya has built me a strong fort with water in it, from which whenever I wish, I draw."

But a more detailed account is given by Al-'A'sha in his verses addressed to Samaual's son Shureih³.

(1) These lines are often quoted, see Th. Nöldeke, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Poesie der alten Araber* p. 61. The text showed here is that quoted by Al-Meidani.

و فیت باد رع الکندی انی اذ اما خان اقوام و فیت
و قلا لوا انه کثر ر غیب فلا والله اغدر ما مشیت
و اوصی عاد یا یو ما بان تهدم یا سمئول ما بنیت
بنی لی عاد یا حصناً حصیناً و ماء کلما شئت و استقییت

(2) Perhaps Buhturi reads : انه would be better than عنده عند مال کثیر

(3) See further *Gedichte von Abu Basir Maimun ibn Qais al A'sha herausgegeben von R. Geyer* (Gibb Memorial New Series Vol. II London 1928) No. 25.

کن کالسمئول اذ سار الهمام له فی جحفل کسر ادا للیل جرا ر
بالا بلق الکرد من تیماء منزله حصن حصین و جا ر غیر غدا ر
ان سامه خطای خسف فقال له مهمما ثقله فاننی سامع حار
فقال ثقل و غدر انت بینهما فا ختر و ما فیهما حظ امختار
فشک غیر قلیل ثم قال له اذ بیح هدیک اننی مانع جاری
عزدی له خلف ان کنت قاتله و ان قتلک کریم غیر عوار
فقال تقدمه ان قام یقتله اشرف سمئول فانظر للدم البجاری
اقول اذک صبرا و تجوی بها طوعا فاکر هذا ای انکار
فشک و اذ جاء الصد رفی مضض علیه مغطو یا کاذر ع بالذار
واختار اذ راعه ان لا یسب بها و لم یکن عهد فیها بنهتار
وقال لا اشتري عاراً بمکرمة فاختر مکرمة اذ نبا علی العار
و الصبر منه قد یما شیمه خلق و زنده فی الرفاء الثاقب الواری

I have left out some of the verses that are given in the *Diwan*.

"Be like Al-Samaual, when the leader turned towards him with an army black as the night and dragging along (heavy baggage).

"In Al-Ablaq al-Fard, in Teima, was his seat ; a strong fort it is, and he a protector not treacherous.

"When he imposed upon him two things of difficulty, he said : whatever thou sayest, I do hear, O Hârith.

"So he said : Loss of the child or treachery, between these two thou art : so choose, but there is no good part in these two for the chooser.

"But he did not doubt long and said : Slaughter thy prisoner, I shall defend my guest.

"There is with me one to take his place, an thou kill him, although in killing him thou killest one, who is noble not afraid.

"But he said : "Bring him forth," and when about to kill him "look, O Samaual and see the flowing blood.

"Shall I behead thy son, or wilt thou bring them (the treasures) of thy own free will ? " But he refused entirely.

"Thereupon he cut through his jugular vein, whilst the father's breast was in sorrow, folding up, as if burning with fire.

"But he chose the coats of mail, not to be reproached on their account ; and the promise, he had given, he did not betray.

"And he said "I shall not buy shame for a noble deed," preferring noble conduct in this world, to shame.

"Endurance was his inborn nature from of old, and his wood burnt bright in loyalty. "

Professor Margoliouth¹ is inclined to think the proverb "more faithful than Samaual" might originally have had nothing to do with Samaual ibn Adiya, but have referred to the Biblical prophet Samuel, who according to I Samuel 12, 3 "made loud affectation of his honesty." But this would presuppose a knowledge of the Biblical text in pre-Islamic times, of which otherwise we find no trace. Anyhow, there is no reason to doubt the existence of a Jewish lord of Teima of the name of Samaual, and al-A'sha in enumerating great men of the past, none of whom could escape death, mentions also Samaual's father, Adiya, whose castle he describes².

(1) *Relations* 72.

(2) Ed. Geyer XXXIII seq.

There is in Al-Bakrī¹ a further notice about the Jews of Teima, according to which the Banû Hishna, a subdivision of the tribe Bali, "when they reached Teima and wished to enter it, were prevented by the Jews from entering their fort, as long as they professed another religion, and only when they embraced Judaism were they admitted"; these Banû Hishna stayed at Teima up to the time of the Prophet. With regard to the pre-Islamic past of the Jews of the Kheibar of whom we hear so much in the history of the Prophet, there seems to be no detailed information available, and the same applies to the Jews of Fadak. But we are much better off in the case of the most important of all the Jewish settlements in the Hijjâz; those of Yathrib, later on called Madīnah, *i.e.*, Madīnatu'l-Nabī.

It is true, the accounts of the first arrival of the Jews in Yathrib² are merely a distorted version of the story of Agag as given in I Samuel 15. All we may gather from these accounts, is that some of the Jewish tribes of Yathrib, such as the Banû Qureizah, Nadir and Bahdal (or Hadal), claimed to have lived there, since the time of the Jewish wars against the Romans in the first and second centuries A.D.³ But there can be little doubt, that the Jews of Yathrib were all powerful for a long time and we are given lists of the tribes composing the Jewish population of Yathrib⁴, who were also in possession of most of the forts (Utum, plural, *âtām*), that formed so prominent a feature of Yathrib and the oasis north of it⁵. Beside them, there lived at Yathrib a number of Arabic tribes⁶, some of North—, others of South-Arabie origin; but when the

(1) Ed. Wüstenfeld 21.

ثم لعدوا (يعنى بنى حشفة بن عكرمة بن جشم . . . بن بلى) فابت
يهود ابن تدخلهم حصنهم و هم على غير دينهم فقتلهم و افاد خلهم
المدينة فكانوا معهم ز ما نارا فامت بطون حشفة بن عكرمة بديما
حتى انزل باليهود الحجا ز ما انزل من باسة و دمه

(2) *Aghani* Vol. 19 p. 94 seq: Samhudi, *Khulasat al Wafa* (Mekka 1316) p. 74.

(3) *Aghani* l. c.

ثم ظهرت الروم على بنى اسرا ئيل جميعا بالاشام فوطوهم و قتلوهم
و نكحو انساءهم فخرج بنو النضير و بنو قريظة و بنو يهود ل هار بن
منهم الى من بال الحجا ز من بنى اسرا ئيل لما غلبتهم الروم على الشام

(4) *Aghani* l. c. p. 95: Samhudi p. 75.

(5) See on these *atam* Kowelski's remarks in the introduction to his edition of the *Diwan of Quis ibn al Khatim* (Leipzig 1914) p. XV.

(6) *Aghani* and Samhudi l. c.: Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* Vol. 4 p. 12.

great migration of Arabian tribes from the south to the north, connected in Arabic tradition with the break of the dam of Marib, took place (probably in the fifth century A.D.), the Arabic population of Yathrib was reinforced by the settlement of the Aus and Khazraj. For some time neither of these tribes disputed the ruling position of the Jews, but about the middle of the sixth century A.D. the situation changed, largely, it is said, owing to the efforts of Mâlik ibn 'Ajlân, to whose leadership both the Aus and the Khazraj bowed¹. It is not easy to discern the historical facts that underlie the legendary embellishment of Mâlik ibn 'Ajlân's deeds, but anyhow, in consequence of the disaster, that befell them, some of the Jewish tribes lost their communal individuality, being numbered as one with their Arabian neighbours and simply being called "the Jews of the Banû N. N."; whilst others, although succeeding in holding together, had to depend on the good-will of the new masters of Yathrib. The only Jewish tribes that still remained independent, were the Qureizah and Nadîr, and in the conflicts that broke out between the Aus and the Khazraj both these Jewish tribes took part as the allies of the former. There are various accounts² on the participation of the Jews in the fights between the Aus the Khazraj, the more important of which may be quoted here.

(1) According to Abul Minhal Uteiba ibn al Minhal³

(I) Samhudi 78.

و اقا موا خائفين ان تجلبهم يهود حتى نجم مدهم ما لك بن العجلان اخو بنى سالم بن عوف بن الخزرج وسود الهيمان الاوس والخزرج

(2) See Wellhausen, *Skizzen* Vol. 4 p. 54 seq: I. Wolfensohn (Abu Dhucib), *Tarikh al Yahud fi bilad al Arab* (Cairo 1865) p. 62 seq.

(3) *Aghani* Vol. 15 p. 161, 163 seq.

ثم اوسل مالك بن العجلان الى بنى عمرو بن عوف يود نهم بالحرب و يعدهم يوماً يلتقون فيه وامر قومه فتهدؤ المعرب وتعاشد الهيمان و جمع بعضهم لبعض وكانت يهود قد حالفوا قبائل الاوس والخزرج الا بنى قريظة و بنى النضير فانهم لم يحالفوا احداً منهم حتى كان هذا الجمع فارسل اليهم الاوس والخزرج كل يدعوه الى نفسه فاجابوا الاوس وحالفوهم والتي حالفوا قريظة والنضير من الاوس الاوس الله وهى خطمة واقف وامية وواثل فهذه قبائل اوس الله ثم زحف مالك بمن معه من الخزرج وزحفت الاوس بمن معها من حلفائها من قريظة والنضير فالتقوا بغضاً كان بين بنى سالم وقبائهم وكان اول يوم التقتوا فيه فاقتلوا قتلاً شديداً ثم انصرفوا وهم منتصفون جميعاً ثم اتقوا مرة اخرى عند اطم بنى قينقاع فاقتلوا حتى حجز الليل بينهم وكان الظفر يومئذ للاوس على الخزرج

"Mâlik ibn al-'Ajlān sent a messenger to the Banû 'Amru ibn Aûf declaring war; he then appointed the day on which they would meet and ordered his people to get ready for the fight. The two parties gathered and some of the men induced others to come with them. Now the Jews of Yathrib were in league with the Aus or Khazraj, with the exception of the Banû Qureizah and the Banû'l Nadîr who had not concluded an alliance with anybody up to the time of this gathering. So both the Aus and the Khazraj tried to draw them to their side, but they followed the call of the Aus and allied themselves to them, more especially to the Ausallah, who consisted of the subtribes Khatmah, Wâqif, Umeiya and Wa'il. Then Mâlik proceeded with his Khazrajites, and the Aus with their confederates of the Qureizah and the Nâdir, and they met in the field between the Banû Sâlim and Qubâ'. This was the first day on which they had a hostile encounter; they fought fiercely, but separated without either of the parties having gained an advantage over the other. After that they met for a second time near the fort of the Banû Qeinuqâ', they fought until the night separated them and the victory fell to the Aus."

(2) According to an anonymous account preserved by Ibn al Athîr¹, "Hâtib ibn Qeis, one of the Banû

(1) Ibn al Athîr, *Chronicon* ed. Tornberg (Leiden 1867) Vol. I p. 508

ان حا طبا وهو حا طب بن قيس من بني امية..... الاوسى كان رجلا شريفا سيدا فأتاه رجل من بني ثعلبة بن سعد بن زيدان فذول عليه ثم أتته غداه يومها إلى سوق بني قينقاع فراه يزيد بن الحارث المعروف بابن فسهم وهى امه وهو من بني الحارث بن الخزرج فقال يزيد لرجل يهودى لك ردائى ن كسعت هذا للثعلبى فاخذ رداه وكسعه كسعة سمعها من بالسوق فنادى للثعلبى يا ل حا طب كسع ضيفك وضم وا خبر حا طب بذالك فجاء اليه فساء له من كسعه فاشارة الى اليهودى قضر به حا طب بالسيوف فلقى هامته فاخبر ابن فسهم الخبر وقيل له قتل اليهودى قتله حا طب فاسرع خلف حا طب فاذا ركه وقد دخل بيوت اهله فلقى رجلا من بني معاوية وقتله فثار ابن العرب بين الاوس والخزرج والحشد والاذقوا على حسر دم بني الحارث بن الخزرج وكان على الخزرج يومئذ عمرو بن النعمان البياضى وعلى الاوس حضير بن سماك الاشلمى وقد كان ذهب ذكر ما وقع بينهم من العرب فيمن حارلهم من العرب فسار اليهم عيينه بن حصن بن حذيفة بن بدر الافزارى وخيار بن مالك بن حماد الافزارى فقدما المدينة وتعدتا مع الاوس والخزرج فى الصلح وضمنا ان يتعملا كل مايدعى بعضهم على بعض فابوا ووقعت العرب عندا الحسر وشهدا عيينة وخيار فشاهداه من قتلاه وشدهما ايسامعه من اصلاح بينهم فكان الظفر يومئذ للخزرج

Umeiyah, a subtribe of the Aus, was a noble man and a Sayyid, to whom a man of the Banû Tha'labah ibn Sa'd came to stay as his guest. This man one day went down to the market-place of the Banû Qeinuqâ', when Yazîd ibn al-Hârith saw him, who was known as Ibn Fushum, thus called after his mother. This Ibn Fushum, who belonged to the Banû'l Harith, one of the subtribes of the Khazraj, said to one of the Jews (of the Banû Qeinuqâ'); this garment of mine shall be yours, if you slap this Tha'labite. The Jew took Ibn Fushum's garment and gave the Tha'labite a blow which everyone on the market heard. Thereupon the Tha'labite shouted: O Hâtib, your guest has been slapped and is being put to shame, and when Hâtib heard of it, he came and asked him, who it was that had slapped him. When he pointed to the Jew, Hâtib gave him a blow with his sword that split his head. As soon as Ibn Fushum was informed of this and told that a Jew had been killed by Hâtib, he hastened to get hold of Hâtib, but since he could not reach him before he had entered the quarters of his people, he killed one of the Banû Mu'âwiya, whom he met. Thereupon war broke out between the Aus and the Khazraj. They collected and the encounter took place near the bridge of the dam of the Banû'l Hârith. The leader of the Khazraj was Amr ibn al Nu'mân al Bayâdô, that of the Aus Hudeir ibn Simâk al-Ashhali. When the news of this fight had reached their neighbours, Uyeina ibn Hisn and Khiyâr ibn Mâlik, both of the Fazâra, proceeded to Yathrib and talked with the Aus and Khazraj in order to get them to come to an understanding, guaranteeing to take upon themselves the payment of the claims for, price of blood, which any of the two parties might produce. But they refused and the fight began near the bridge in the presence of Uyeina and Khiyâr, who when they saw the bitterness of it, gave up the hope of getting them to come to an understanding. On that day victory fell to the Khazraj."

(3) A short allusion to these events is also to be found in Ibn Hishâm¹, who quotes no authority:—Hâtib ibn

(1) Ibn Hisham ed. Wûstenfeld p. 182.

اما قوله حرب حاطب فيعنى حاطب بن الحارث ... كان قتل يهوديا
جارا للخزرج فخرج اليه يزيد بن الحارث بن قيس
وهو الذي يقال له ابن فسهم وفسهم امه وهى امرأة من القين
بن جسر ليلا فى نفر من بنى الحارث بن الخزرج فقتلوه فوقعت الحرب
بين الاوس والخزرج فاقتلوا قتلا شديدا فكان الظفر للخزرج
على الاوس

al Hârith had killed a Jew who was a client of the Khazraj, whereupon Yazîd ibn al Hârith, called Ibn Fushum, proceeded one night with a number of Khazrajites and killed him. In consequence of this a war ensued between the Aus and the Khazraj, they fought heavily and victory fell to the Khazraj."

(4) Again, in Ibn al-Athîr¹ we find the following: "The Aus had asked the Qureizah and Nadîr to become their allies against the Khazraj, but when the Khazraj heard this, they sent messengers to them, to declare war on them. The Jews said, we do not want this, and so the Khazraj took from them as hostages, to be sure about their keeping faith, 40 youths. When Zeid ibn Fushum one day had drunk wine and had become intoxicated, he sang the following verses :

"Lo, let's get at the denizens (ahlâf), since their bone has become thin,

"And since they have had to repair a property belonging to Judhman, that was decaying,

"Whenever one of them spoils his cultivation,

"We send against them a man of the Banû'l 'Air to punish them.

(1) Vol. I p. 509.

كانت الاوس قد طابت من قريظة والنضير ان يها لغوهم على
الخزرج فبلغ ذلك الخزرج فارسلوا اليهم يودونهم
بالعرب فقالوا لليهود اننا لانريد ذلك فاخذت الخزرج منهم
على اوفاءهم اربعون غلاما من قريظة والنضير ثم ان زيد بن فسحهم
شرب يوم ما فسكرو فتغنى بشعر يذكر فيه ذلك
هلم الي الاحلاف اذ رقع عظامهم واذ اصلحوا ما لا يجزمنا نعا
اذ اماروا منهم اساءة اماراة بعثنا عليهم من بني العير جادعا
فاما الصريم منهم فتعاملوا واما لليهود فاختذنا بضامعا
اخذنا من الاولى لليهود عصا بقا اغدرهم كانوا الذين ادونا دوما
فذلوا لرهن عندنا في حبالنا عصا نعة يخشون منا القوارعا
وذلك باننا حين تلقى عدونا نصول بضرب يترك العز خاشعا
فبلغ قوله قريظة والنضير فغضبوا وقال كعب بن اسد نحن كما قال ان لم نغر
فها لف الاوس على الخزرج فلما سمعت الخزرج بذلك قتلوا كل من
عندهم من الالره من اولاد قريظة والنضير فاطلقوا نفرا منهم سليم بن
سد اقرطى جد محمد بن كعب بن سليم واجتمع الاوس وقريظة والنضير على
حرب الخزرج فاقتلوا قتلا شديدا وسمى ذلك الفجار الثاني لقتل
الغلمان من اليهود

“The cause of the Yaum Bu’âth was according to Muhammad ibn Jarîr al-Tabarî from Muhammad ibn Hamîd al-Râzi from Salama ibn al Fadl from Muhammad ibn Ishaq, to which has been added the account of Ibn al Kalbi from his father from Abû Sâlih from Abû Ubeidah from ‘Ammâr ibn Yâsir and from Abdalrahman ibn Suleimân: the Aus had asked the Qureizah and Nadîr to help them in their wars and when the Khazraj heard this, they sent a message to the Jews and said: We have heard that the Aus have asked you to help them against us. Now it is not impossible for us to get as many Arabs as you are, and even more to help us. If afterwards we gain the victory, this will be unpleasant for you, if on the other hand you win, we shall never keep quiet until we gain our

المنصرهم عليهم ابد ا فالت لهم الخرج فان كان ذاك ذاك فابعثوا
 الينا برهان تكون في ايدينا فبعثوا اليهم اربعين غلاما منهم فقرهم
 الخرج في دورهم فمكثوا بذلك ثمانية اشهر وبنو النعمان البياضي
 قال لقومه بياضنا ان عامر انزلكم منزل سوء بين سبخة ومفازة وانه
 والله لا يمس راى غسل حتى انزلكم منازل بنى قريظة والنضير على
 عذاب الماء وكريم النخل ثم راى سليم اما ان تغلوا بيننا وبين دياركم
 نسكنها واما ان نقتل رهنكم فمروا ان يخرجوا من ديارهم فقال لهم
 لعبيبن اسد القرظي يا قوم امنعوا دياركم وخلموه يقتل الرهن والله
 ما هي الا ليلة يصيب فيها احدكم امرأة حتى يولد له غلام مثل احد الرهن
 فاجتمع راىهم على ذاك فارسلوا الى عمر وبنان لا نسلم لكم دورنا
 وانظروا للذي عاهدتمونا عليه في رهننا فقوموا لنا به فعدا عمرو بن
 النعمان على رهنهم هو ومن اطاعه من الخرج فقتلوه وابى عبد الله
 بن ابي وكان سيدا حليما وقال هذا عقوق وما ثم وبغى فلست بمعينا
 عليه ولا احد من قومي اطاعني وكان عند رهن سليمان بن
 اسد القرظي وهو جد محمد بن كعب القرظي فخلى عنه واطلق ناس من
 الخرج فغزاه فلهحقوا باهليهم ففناوشت الاوس والخزرج يوم قتل
 الرهن شيئا من القتال غير كبير واجتمعت قريظة والنضير الى كعب بن
 اسد اخى بنى عمرو بن قريظة ثم تواروا وعينوا الاوس على الخرج
 فبعث الى الاوس بذلك ثم اجمعوا عليه على ان ينزل كل اهل بيت
 من البيت على بيت من قريظة والنضير فنزلوا معهم في دورهم وارسلوا
 الى النضير يا عمر ونهم باتيانهم وتعاهدوا لا يسلموهم ابد وان
 يقا تلوا معهم حتى لا يبقى منهم احد فجاءتهم الذبيات فنزلوا مع قريظة
 والنضير في بيوتهم ثم ارسلوا الى سائر الاوس في الحرب والقيام
 معهم على الخرج فاجابوهم الى ذاك فاجتمع الملأ منهم واستحكم
 امرهم وجدوا في حربهم ودخلت معهم قبائل من اهل المدينة منهم بنو
 ثعلبة وهم من غسان وبنو عوراء وهم من غسان

end, and so again you will get into trouble and of our affairs something will keep you busy of which now you are free. It is therefore better for you to leave us alone and let us fight out our quarrel with our brothers between ourselves. When they heard this, they knew that it was true and so they sent a message to the Khazraj to this effect : what you have heard is correct, the Aus have asked our help, but we shall never help them against you. The Khazraj said : if it is so, send us hostages, that shall be in our hands. So they sent them 40 youths, whom the Khazraj distributed among their families. After a while, 'Amr ibn al Nu'mân al Bayâdî said to his people, the Bayâda (a subtribe of the Khazraj) : A'âmir (*i.e.*, the father of Bayada and the ancestor of the subtribe) has allotted you bad quarters between saltsteppe and desert, and, by God, my head will not be washed until I make you occupy the quarters of the Banû Qureizah and Nadîr situated near sweet water and excellent palmtrees. Then he sent them a message to the effect : "either you make free for us your quarters so that we may live there, or we shall kill your hostages," but when they had a mind to leave their quarters, Ka'b ibn Asad al Qurâzi said : O my people, defend your quarters and let them kill the hostages, it is only necessary for every one of you to cohabit one night with his wife, for a boy to be born, the equal of one of the hostages. So they agreed to this and sent to 'Amr the reply : we shall not hand over to you our quarters, but do you think of what you have promised us with regard to our hostages, and stick to it. Thereupon 'Amr ibn al-Nu'mân and those of the Khazraj that obeyed him, killed their hostages, but Abdullah ibn Ubeyy who was a noble man full of consideration, said : this is crime and a sin and a wrong ; I shall not have anything to do with it, nor any of those who obey me. He had with him as a hostage Suleimân ibn Asad al Qurâzi, who became the grandfather of Muhammad ibn Ka'b, and he set him free, and some of the Khazraj did the same with their hostages, who returned to their families. On the day on which the hostages were killed, the Aus attacked the Khazraj, but there was little fighting. The Qureizah and Nadîr assembled with Ka'b ibn Asad one of the Banû 'Amr ibn Qureizah and agreed to help the Aus against the Khazraj, and when Ka'b informed them of this, they accepted it on condition that every one of the families of the Nabîr (one of the subtribes of the Aus) should alight at one of the families of the Qureizah and Nadîr. So they sent to the Nabîr and told them to come to them and promised never

to betray them, but to fight with them up to their last man. Thereupon the Nabit came and alighted with the Qureizah and Nadîr in their houses. Then they sent to the rest of the Aus asking them to fight, and promising that they would be on their side against the Khazraj. The Aus accepted this, their counsel was one, their affair became settled and they were full of zeal with regard to their war. Some of the other tribes of Medînah made common cause with them, such as the Banû Thalaba and the Banû Za'ûra, both of whom belonged to the Ghassân."

There are a few more details given of the part played by the Qureizah and the Nadîr in the battle of Bu'âth, such as, that the Qureizah claimed that one of their men, Abu Lubâbah had killed 'Amr ibn al N'umân, the head of the Khazraj¹; that Ka'b ibn Asad al Qurazî had sworn to humiliate 'Abdallah ibn Ubeyy by shaving his head, and that only when he found that Abdallah was right in saying that he had not taken part in the fight against them, did he give up his intention²: that al Zabîr ibn Ayâs ibn Bata, one of the Qureizah, spared the life of Thâbit ibn Shammâs, a kindness which the latter remembered at the time when order was given to kill all the men of the Banû Qureizah in the time of the Prophet³.

Père H. Lammens has devoted a Monograph to the Jews of Mekkah in the beginnings of Islam⁴, but he comes to the conclusion that there was no permanent Jewish population at Mekkah although there can be no doubt about their having paid occasional visits to this important trading centre of northern Arabia. There were Jewish settlements outside the Hijjâz, too, not only in the South, of which we shall speak later, but also in Bahrein as well as at Maqna, situated near Al-'Aqabah.

(1) *Aghani* Vol. 15 p. 157.

وا قبل سهم حتى اصاب عمرو بن النعمان را س الخزر ج فقتله لا
يدري من رمى به الا ان بنى قريظة تزعم انه سهم جل يقال له ابو لبابة
فقتله

(2) *Ibid.*

وا قسم كعب بن اسد القرظي ليزل ابن عبد الله بن ابي وليه ليقن راسه
تحت مزاحم فناداه كعب انزل يا عدو الله فقال له عبد الله انشدك
الله وماخذت عنكم فسأل عما قال فوجد حقا فرجع عذ

(3) *Ibid.*

وافلح يومئذ الزبير بن اياس بن باطائبت بن قيس بن شماس
اخا بنى الحارث بن الخزر ج وهى النعمة التى كافاه بها ثابته فى الاسلام
يوم بنى قريظة

(4) *Les Juifs de la Mecque a la veille de l'He'gire* in *Recherches de science religieuse* Vol. VIII.

The names of all the Jewish tribes of Arabia are Arabic, only one of them is Aramaic—that of the Banû Za'ûra. These Banû Za'ûra, whose name appears in the list of the Jewish tribes of Yathrib, are by others said to have originally belonged to the Ghassân¹. The corresponding Aramaic name, Zeora, occurs both with Jews and Christians outside the Arabian peninsula, and it looks, as if the members of this tribe, after having settled in Yathrib, had kept on, calling themselves by the Aramaic name of one of their ancestors. If we take the names of the Jewish tribes as our guide, there is—with the exception of these Banû Za'ûra—nothing to indicate that they were Jews by race, and we might therefore feel inclined to think that they must have been Arabs who had embraced Judaism. This however would be a rash conclusion, since, even if Jews by race, they might have adopted non-Jewish names, calling themselves, *e.g.*, after the names of the places in which they settled. The two most powerful Jewish tribes of Yathrib, the Nadîr and Qureizah, claimed to be descendants of the Jewish priests of old; not only later accounts, but even Qeis ibn al Khâtîm², the pre-Islamic poet of Yathrib, who belonged to the Aus and was killed a few years before the Hijrah, calls these two Jewish tribes “al Khâhinan,” *Kahin* in this case being the Arabic rendering of Hebrew “*kohen*” which means “priest.” As against the right of the two tribes to this claim, the following passage preserved to us by Al-Ya'qûbî³ may be urged: “The Banû'l Nadîr were a subtribe of the Banû Judham, who embraced Judaism. The Banû Qureizah were brothers of the Banû'l-Nadîr, and it is said that they embraced Judaism in the days of Adiya the son of Samaual.” Al-Ya'qûbî adds that the Nadîr and Qureizah were called by the names of the hills, on which they first settled. We have no means of determining the source from which Al-Ya'qûbî drew this information and of knowing which of the two views is correct. All we can say with certainty is, that there has been—as attested by the inscriptions quoted above—Jewish immigration into the oases of the Hijjâz and that in course of time these immigrants were strengthened by Arabic tribes or families that embraced Judaism. The proportion in which the Jewish element was mixed with the Arabic in the composition

(1) *Aghani* Vol. 15 p. 155; according to Ibn Dureid ed. Wûstenfeld 263 they belonged to the Banû 'Abd al Ashhal, a sub-division of the Aus.

(2) Ed. Kowalski II 13; IV 12; XIV 6; XVII 2.

(3) *Tarikh* ed. Houtsma I 49, 52.

of these tribes we cannot fix, but we have definite information of purely Arabic tribes having embraced Judaism. Thus Al-Bakrî says¹ "the Banû Hishna ibn 'Ukârimah reached Teima, but the Jews prevented them from entering their fort as long as they did not belong to their religion, so they embraced Judaism. "Whether Jews by race or only by faith, it would have been natural for members of these tribes to call their children by Jewish names, but as a matter of fact, most of the names of the Arabian Jews are Arabic and instances of Jewish names such as Adiya, Samau'al, Sara are comparatively rare².

The Jewish inhabitants of the Hijjâz were largely Agriculturists and this perhaps speaks for their having been Jews by race, whose ancestors had brought the agricultural experience acquired in Palestine with them to the oases of the Hijjâz³. Others, such as more especially the Banû Qcinukâ⁴, were goldsmiths⁴; and the poets often speak of the Jews as wine merchants⁵. The pre-Islamic poems contain quite a number of allusion to the Jews and their habit⁶, of which the following verse by Harith ibn Abbad⁷ may be quoted :

"The winds blew as if the Jews on the day of their festival

"Had played a Rauqash and drums."

Rauqash is a puzzle and is, as Professor Margoliouth remarks "doubtless intended for a Jewish technicality" and perhaps the word is merely a scribe's error for شورف the shôfar or horn blown by the Jews on their New Year's day; which, it is true, would show that the poet had no clear idea of what the shôfar was like, for it could not be beaten like a drum. This verse, as well as one of Labîd's⁸, shows us the Jews of Arabia as strict observers of the law, just as we learn from the Koran, that they followed the teachings of their Ahbâr and Rabbânîyûn, i.e., their doctors

(1) See above note 38.

(2) A few more instances will be found in my "*Koranische Untersuchungen*" (Berlin 1926).

(3) I. Wolfensohn l. c. p. 10.

(4) On the various callings of the Arabian Jews see R. Leszyuski, *Die Juden in Arabien* (Berlin 1910) p. 16 seq; H. Lammens, *Le berceau de l'Islam*. (Rome 1914) p. 82 ff; I. Wolfensohn l.c. 18 seq.

(5) See e. g. *Muraqish al akbar* in Yâqût ed. Wûstenfeld II 180; Adi ibn Zeid LII 11; Abid ibn al Abras ed. Lyall XXI 8; al 'Asha ed. Geyer IV 10; Huteia II 3 speaks of a Jewish dealer in clothes.

(6) See Margoliouth, *Relations* 73.

(7) See Cheikho, *Shu'ara al Nasraniya* 279.

(8) Ed. Huber-Brockelmann XXXIX 30.

of the law called in Hebrew *haber* and *rabban*. Al Sham-makh apparently had observed some of these Jewish doctors at Teima writing something down in Hebrew script, for he compares the traces left in the now lonely dwelling places of the former inhabitants, to such Hebrew writing¹. From a verse of 'Urwa ibn al-Ward² we learn that some of the Jews had adopted some of the superstitions of the country :

“ They say : crawl and bray, so that the fever of Kheibar may not harm you,

“ But this is a craziness of the religion of the Jews. ”

As pointed out by Professor Geyer³, the ass in folklore is considered to be a demoniac being and the voice of a demon to have the power to exorcise evil spirits. There is a verse in Qeis ibn al-Khâtîm's *Dîwân*⁴ in which —according to Professor Margoliouth—“ this poet shows little acquaintance with these (Jewish) neighbours. According to him the Jews have a temple, (mihrâb) with a dome reaching heaven high, wherein are fragrant odours. ” This would indeed be curious, as Qeis ought to have known something of the habits of the Jews of Yathrib, but mihrab, in the verse of Qeis referred to by Professor Margoliouth, has nothing to do with a temple. As I have shown elsewhere⁵ mihrab in early poetry is often used for a part of a palace or other buildings, that serve purely worldly purposes.

The Jews of the Hijjâz although distinguished from the Arabs through their religion and probably also to a certain degree through mixing up with their every day Arabic speech some Hebrew or Aramaic words, had become arabicised to such an extent, that their poetry hardly shows anything that could be characterised as specifically Jewish. These poetical remains were collected and translated 65 years ago by the Nestor of Orientalists, Theodor Nöldeke, in his *Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Poesie der Alten Araber* and in spite of all the many diwans and collections of poetry that have become available since, the additions that could

(1) Ed. Cairo 1327 p. 26.

(2) Ed. Nöldeke XIII 1.

(3) In *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* Vol. 17 p. 301 seq.

(4) Ed. Kowalski VII 45.

كان القر نفل والى زنجبيل وذاكى العبير بجلبا بها
نمتها اليهود الى قبة دوين السماء بمهر بها

(5) In “ *Der Islam* ” Vol. 16 p. 260.

be made to his materials are few and not very important. There is one exception only, the *diwan* of Samaual, put together by Niftawaihi, a Grammarian of the ninth century, A.D., and published by L. Cheikho at Beyrut in 1909. Some of the poems comprised in this diwan contain—as opposed to the poems of Samaual so far known—allusions to Biblical history and other theological matter. But there is every reason to be sceptical regarding the authenticity of such verses¹. There are also other poems ascribed to some of the Jewish poets of Arabia, whose genuineness may be doubted, but I think Professor Margoliouth goes too far when he says² “that any odes by Jews could have survived the clearance of the Peninsula from the nation by Muhammad and ‘Omar is simply not to be believed.” First of all, they were not turned out from all their settlements, and further, if one assumes that, after the expulsion of the Jews from Arabia, there could have been nobody left to remember poetry composed by them, one should even less imagine anyone to have taken interest in inventing such verses. And yet one of these two things must have happened: either the poems are genuine or they were invented after ‘Omar’s time, and those at least that are quoted in Ibn Ishâq’s *Maghâzi* must go back to the first century of the Hijrah. I think that each of these poems must be taken separately and only those are to be considered as spurious, against which specific proofs can be brought forward. Amongst the poems quoted as originating from opponents of the Prophet, there are also some said to be composed by Jewish poets, or by Arabic poets who entertained friendly feelings towards the Jews. It is not easy to see who could have invented these, unless indeed it be assumed that those traditionists who inserted poetry into their prose narrative thought it incumbent upon them to quote verses giving expression to the feelings of both sides; and that they therefore, if no *Naqîdah* was available, had no scruples about composing one themselves or asking some of their versifying friends to compose one. There may be pieces of poetry the origin of which might be explained in this way, but certainly an explanation such as this would not do for all cases; who, *e.g.*, could have had an interest in later times in attributing to Al-‘Abbâs ibn Mirdas verses in which he expresses his feelings of

(1) See Nöldeke in *Feitshrift fen Assyriologie* Vol. 27 p. 177
Wolfensohn l.c. 26 ff.

(2) *Relations* 76.

gratitude for the Nadîr and Qureizah (Ibn Hishâm 660 seq.) or to Abû Sufyân those in which he praises Sallâm ibn Mishkam? (*Aghani* vol. 6 p. 97). In the case of Samaual's descendants, we know that, having embraced Islam, they continued to stay at Teima up to the time of Muawiya¹ and they certainly had reasons to see that the poems of their ancestor should not be forgotten; the same may have been the case with the families of other Jewish poets².

So far we have only considered the Jews that had settled in the Hijjâz, now we turn to those of Al-Yaman. Perhaps the earliest mention of Jews that had penetrated into these parts is found in Josephus³, who tells us: "About this time Herod sent to the Cæsar 500 chosen warriors of his bodyguard, whom Aelius Gallus led to the Red Sea and who were of great help to Augustus." This refers to Aelius Gallus's expedition against the kings of the Himyarites in 25 B.C., in which these Jewish warriors took part. But whether any of them stayed on in South Arabia after the unsuccessful expedition was over, we do not know. About 130 A.D., one of the renowned Jewish doctors of law, Rabbi Aqiba, seems to have paid a visit to South Arabia. He is reported⁴ to have held a conversation with one of the kings of Arabia who was a Kushite and whose wife was a Kushite too, and since this term is used for Abyssynians and other darkskinned people, this royal couple probably lived somewhere in the South of the Peninsula. If we could be certain that Rabbi Aqiba's aim in his journeys was to visit the Jewish settlements, their existence in South Arabia would be proved for the second century A.D., but we do not know anything about the object of his travels. E. Glaser, the famous explorer of Southern Arabia, thought he had found epigraphical evidence for the spread of Judaism, but the passage to which he refers, has been read and explained differently by other scholars⁵. The earliest definite information about Jewish settlements in the Empire of the Himyarites, is met with in Philostorgius⁶ who tells us, that when Theophilus, in the reign of the Emperor Constantius (337-61), came there to preach Christianity

(1) *Kitab al-Aghani* Vol. 3 p. 18.

(2) S. Wolfensohn l.c. p. 25.

(3) *Antiquitates* XV chapter 3, 59.

(4) S. *Midrash Tanhuma*, Naso 13.

(5) S. J. Haleoy in *Reoue des Etudes Juives* Vol. 22 p. 125 seq: Margoliouth l.c. 68.

(6) *Hist. Eccl.* III 5.

"he found there not a small number of Jews." One of the kings of Himyar, Abu Karib, according to accounts preserved by Ibn Ishâq and Hishâm ibn Muhammad al Kalbî¹ had become a convert to Judaism through the influence of two Rabbis of Medînah. These accounts contain a number of purely legendary elements, but possibly the story of the king's conversion to Judaism may be based on the fact, that there were Himyarite rulers who seem to have been Monotheists, although apparently neither Jews nor Christians. One of these rulers, Shurahbîl Yafûr son of Abu Karib As'ad—this is the name as given by Ibn Ishâq—in an inscription in which he describes the repairs undertaken by him in the dam of Marib, says that he owes the carrying out of his plans "to the help and assistance of God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth²." None of the gods of the South Arabian pantheon is mentioned in the inscription and the formula just quoted certainly sounds monotheistic; but it can hardly be Jewish since, as Professor Margoliouth pointed out³, the word used for "Lord of Heaven and Earth," Ba'1, ran counter to Jewish sentiment on account of this name being applied in the Old Testament exclusively to the idols worshipped by the people of Canaan. Whilst therefore the conversion of this king of Himyar to Judaism remains, to say the least, doubtful, we have positive evidence of another king of Himyar having embraced Judaism in the first quarter of the sixth century A.D. This king is known to the Arabic sources under the name of Dhû Nuwâs and his history is told by both Ibn Ishâq and Ibn al-Kalbi. The latter's account⁴ reads as follows:

(1) Ibn Hishâm. ed. Wûstenfeld 12 seq=Tabari I 901; *Kitab el-Aghani* XIII 114 seq.

(2) s. E. Glaser, *Zwei Inschriften über den Dammbau von Marib* (*Mitteilungen der Vonderasiatischen Gesellschaft*) p. 11. The words in question read.

بنصر وردا الهن بعل شعين وارض

which would be in classical Arabic :

بنصر وعون الله رب السما والارض

(3) *Relations* p. 63.

(4) Preserved with Tabari ed. Leyden I 925/26 and 929-30 :

واما هشام بن محمد فانه قال لم يزل ملك اليمن متصلا لا يطمع فيه طامع حتى ظهرت الحبشه على بلادهم في زمن انوشروان قال وكان سبب ظهورهم ان ذانواس الحميري ملك اليمن في ذاك الزمان وكان يهوديا فقدم عليه يهودى يقال له دوس من اهل نجران فاخبره ان اهل نجران قتلوا ابنيك له ظلما واسكنهم عليهم واهل نجران نصرى فعصى ذانواس

Najāshi¹, he transhipped his troops on them and they disembarked at the coast of Mandab. When Dhû Nuwâs heard of this he wrote to the princes of Al-Yaman asking them to help him, to unite in fighting the Abyssinians and to turn them out of their country. But they refused, saying: Let everyone fight for his own principality and country! When he heard this, he ordered a large quantity of keys which he loaded on a number of camels, and when he met the army of the Abyssinians he said: These are the keys to the treasures of Yaman, which I have brought you; take the money and the land, but spare the life of the men and the children. Their leader said, I shall write this to the king, whereupon he informed the Najâshi who wrote back, ordering him to accept the proposal. Thereupon Dhû Nuwâs proceeded with them to Sana' and said to their leader: send the most reliable of your people in order that they may seize the treasures. But when his men, having received the keys, had dispersed in order to seize the treasures, letters of Dhû Nuwâs reached the various parts of the country containing the words: Kill all the black bulls in your country. So the Abyssinians were killed and only those escaped who fled. When the Najâshi heard what Dhû Nuwâs had done, he sent 70,000 men under two leaders, one of whom was Abraha. Whey they reached Sana' and Dhû Nuwâs saw that he had no power to resist them, he mounted his horse, rode towards the sea and plunged into it."

This account contains one detail of some importance; it says expressly, that the persecution of the Christians of Najrân was caused by an act of murder perpetrated by them against Jewish inhabitants of their town. As pointed out by Nôldeke², there was no reason to invent a detail of this kind and the "Book of the Himyarites"³, a Christian source, only lately discovered, actually confirms the hostile attitude taken up by the Christians of Najrân: one of the Christian Martyrs boasts of her father having set on fire in his day the synagogue of the Jews. The general political situation also is correctly described in Ibn al-Kalbî's account: The Abyssinians were the natural enemies of Dhû Nuwâs, not mainly because they were Christians whilst he professed Judaism, but because he stood for the independence of the Himyarites, whose

(1) The King of Abyssinia who is up to this day called *Negusa Nagast*, King of Kings, was formerly also called *Nagasi*.

(2) *Geschichte der Araber und Perser* p. 187.

(3) See A. Moberg *the Book of the Himyarites* p. XLIV.

country had in earlier days been under Abyssinian suzerainty. As for the ships which the king of Abyssinia had asked the emperor of Byzantium to send him, we hear from Byzantine sources not only that the Abyssinians seized 60 Byzantine and other trading vessels which happened to be at hand, but we are even given details with regard to the places of origin of these vessels¹.

According to Ibn Ishâq²: Dhû Nuwâs with his armies, consisting of the Himyar and the Yamanite tribes, directed

(1) See Nöldeke l.c.p. 188.

(2) Ibn Hishâm ed. Wüstenfeld 24 (=Tabari I 925. The anonymous account quoted in *Kitab el-Aghani* Vol. 16 p. 69 agrees with this in the main):

فسا را ليهم ذ و نو اس بجنود همن حمير و قبايل اليمن فجمعهم ثم دعا هم الى دين اليهودية فخيرهم بين القتل والادخول فيها فاختاروا القتل فهددهم بالاخذ ودفنهم بالدار و قتل بالسيوف و مثل بهم كل مثلة حتى قتل منهم قريبا من عشرين الفا و اقلعت منهم رجل يقال له دوس و ثعلبان على فرس له فسلك امرم فاعجزهم ففقدوا نو اس و حذود ه تلك انزل الله على رسوله قتل اصحاب الاخذ و الدار ذات الوقود الى قوله تعالى يا اهل العزيزة الحمد و خرج دوس و ثعلبان حين اعجز القوم على وجه ذلك حتى تقدم على قيصر ما حب الروم فاستنصره على ذي نو اس و جنود ه و اخبر ه بما بلغ منهم فقال له قيصر بعدت بلادك من ناونات عنا فلا نقد ر على ان نقتل و لها بالجنود و لكنني ساكتب لك الى ملك الحبشة فانه على هذا الدين و هو اقرب الى بلادك منا فينصرك و يمنوك و يطلب لك بئارك ممن ظلمك و استحل منك و من اهل دينك ما استحل فكتب معه قيصر الى ملك الحبشة يذكرك له حق و ما بلغ منه و من اهل دينه و يا امر بنصره و طلب ثاره ممن بغى عليه و على اهل دينه فلما قدم دوس و ثعلبان بكتائب قيصر على النجاشي صاحب الحبشة بعث معه سبعين الفا من الحبشة و امر عليهم رجل منهم من اهل الحبشة يقال له ارياط و عهدا اليه ان انت ظهرت عليهم فاقتل ثلث رجالهم و اخر بثلث بلادهم و اسب ثلث نساءهم و ابنائهم فخرج ارياط و معه جنود ه و فني جنود ه ابرهة الاشرم فركب البحر و معه دوس و ثعلبان حتى نزلوا بساحل اليمن و سمع بهم ذ و نو اس فجمع اليه حمير و من اطاعه من قبايل اليمن فاجتمعوا اليه على اختلاف و تفرق لا نقطاع المدة و حلول البلاء و اللقمة فلم يكن له حرب غير انه ناوش ذ و نو اس شيئا من قتال ثم نهزموا و دخلها ارياط بجنوده فلما راى ذ و نو اس ما راى مما نزل به و بقوه و جهه فرسه اليه البحر ثم ضرب به فدخل فيه فخاض به فلمضاج البحر حتى افضى به الى غمره فاقحمه فيه فكان اخر العهد به

himself towards the Christians of Najrân, assembled them and ordered them to embrace Judaism. Since he left them no choice but to suffer death or to embrace Judaism, they chose death, whereupon he had dug out for them the ditch in which he burned them, killed them with the sword, and made them undergo all sorts of punishments. In all he killed about 20,000 of them, but one of them, called Daus Dhû Tha'labân fled on horseback, passed through the sandy desert and escaped. With reference to Dhû Nuwâs, Allah revealed to the Prophet the verses Sûrah 85, 4 seq. (qutîla ashâb al-ukhldûd). Daus Dhû Tha'labân went straight to the Emperor of Byzantium and asked his help against Dhû Nuwâs and his armies after having told him what he had done to them. But the Emperor said : your country is too far away from ours for us to reach it with our troops, but I shall write on your behalf to the king of Abyssinia who confesses the same religion and is nearer to your country than we ; he will help you, defend you and wreak your vengeance upon one who has wronged you and ventured to do such things with you and your co-religionists. When Daus had taken the Emperor's letter to the Najâshi, he despatched an army of 70,000 men under the leadership of an Abyssinian called Aryât, and ordered him to defeat them, to kill one third of their men, laywaste one third of their country and take prisoners one third of their women and children. Aryât, in whose army there was also Abraha al Ashram, went by sea, accompanied by Daus and they disembarked on the coast of Al-Yaman. When Dhû Nuwâs heard of them, he collected the Himyarites and those tribes of Al-Yaman that obeyed him, whereupon they assembled. But they were disunited and divided amongst themselves, for their time was over and their misfortune and punishment was ahead. So there was no war, apart from Dhû Nuwâs just skirmishing a little ; his people fled and Aryât with his army proceeded. When Dhû Nuwâs saw what had befallen him and his people, he turned his horse towards the sea, spurred it on, went into the shallows, plunged himself into the depths and nothing more was heard of him."

Ibn Ishâq is not the only one who sees an allusion to Dhû Nuwâs' deeds in Sûrah 85, 4 ; there are other authorities¹ quoted in Tabarî's *Tafsîr* as holding the same views. Some however, such as, e.g., Ibn 'Abbâs, think

(1) See 640th in *Zeitschrift der Deutschen-Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft* Vol. 35 p. 619 seq.

that it was not Dhû Nuwâs and his victims to whom the Qurân refers, but rather Daniel and his companions (see Daniel, chapter 3). I am inclined to differ from both these views, I think that the Quranic verses do not allude to any event of the past, but rather to the fate in store for those, who will be punished in hell. My reasons are : "qutila " need not necessarily mean " there were killed," it may, as in other passages in the Quran, e.g., Sûrah 80, 16 ; Sûrah 74, 19 have the meaning " may death befall " ; further the three preceeding verses of Sûrah 85 consist of an adjuration such as usually serves as an introduction to the description of the divine judgment of the future, but hardly ever as an introduction to narrative verses ; and besides, if these verses were meant to allude to the deeds of an evil-doer of the past, we should expect to hear, as we do in almost all Quranic passages of that kind, of the punishment that was meted out to him.

Whether actually alluded to in Sûrah 85 or not, we get detailed information about Dhû Nuwâs not only from Arabic authors, but his story is also told by a number of Greek and Syriac writers and these sources have lately been supplemented in a most unexpected way through the discovery, by Professor A. Moberg of Lund, of fragments of a book of which even the title had not been known and which is called the " Book of the Himyarites." Professor Moberg has not only edited the text of these fragments (to decipher which was by no means an easy task) along with an English translation¹, in his introduction he has also examined the relation in which the book of the Himyarites stands to other accounts on the Abyssinian-Himyaritic struggles as well as the sources and the historical value of the newly discovered book. The most important of the ecclesiastical accounts are (a) the martyrology of Hârith (Acta Sancti Arethae) in various versions ; (b) the letter of Shimon of Beth Arsham addressed in 524 from Al-Hira, the capital of the Lakhmite dynasty, to Shimon of Gabula ; (c) the hymn of John Psaltes composed about 600 A.D. Of non-ecclesiastical works, Procopius *De bello Persico* I, 19-20 deserve special mention. Now, as proved by Professor Moberg, the Book of the Himyarites is the main source of the Acta Sancti Harethi, the author of which more or less altered the passages extracted from

(1) *The Book of the Himyarites*. Fragments of a hitherto unknown Syriac work edited with an Introduction and Translation with eight Facsimiles Lund 1924. See also the review of Moberg's book by Th. Noldeke published in *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen* 1925 p. 151 seq.

the Book of the Himyarites and adapted them to his own purpose, which was the writing of a martyrology. But he did not make use of the book of the Himyarites only, he also availed himself of the letter of Shimon. Shimon's account reproduces first of all the contents of a letter addressed by the Jewish king of the Himyarites to Al-Mundhir, the then heathen king of Hira, relating the events that had taken place at Nâjran; but Shimon adds to the contents of this letter such information as he had gathered himself. In the main his narrative agrees with that of the Book of the Himyarites, but none of the two is dependent on the other and the agreement can be only explained in this way: that both use the same source, *viz.*, the accounts current among the Christians of Najrân. Out of these accounts Shimon selected a few particulars and built upon them the message that he sent out, in order to draw the attention of the Christian world to the persecution that was going on in South Arabia and to call for help for his oppressed co-religionists. The author of the Book of the Himyarites, on the other hand, who writes for the information and edification of his readers, has collected all the information available to him and put the history of the martyrs of Najrân in their proper historical setting. The Arabic accounts, as quoted above, on the whole agree with the Christian sources and we may safely assume that the Arab historians learned them from the Christians. As to the historical value of the Book of the Himyarites, the conclusion at which Professor Moberg arrives is best stated in his own words¹: "I do not doubt that the Book of the Himyarites is a narrative composed shortly after the second Abyssinian expedition², *i.e.*, shortly after A.D. 526, based mainly on oral records delivered, partly even before that expedition, by persons whom the author considered trustworthy, who came from Yaman and proclaimed themselves to have been eye-witnesses to the events they recounted. With this information for a basis, the author's aim has been to compose a truthful, historical record in honour of the martyrs for the strengthening of his readers in the confession of Christianity. The work is of an obviously literary character. It must not be thought that its many speeches, dialogues, addresses are meant exactly to reproduce the speeches delivered on the occasions indicated. And even the accounts

(1) *l.c.p.* LXVIII f.

(2) This expedition had taken place in 518 and had resulted in the appointment of an Abyssinian Viceroy. See Nöldeke *l.c.* 158.

of the facts must be taken *cum grano salis*. One must not forget, that what the book gives is a record from agitated times and of agitating incidents. . . . One must not expect more in the way of an objective and impartial account than of, say, a first report in a newspaper nowadays about riots in the Ruhr district or of a modern Government communique in war time."

As to the motives, that led Dhû Nuwâs—or Masrûq as he is called in the book of the Himyarites, Dhû Nuwâs apparently being his *laqab*—to take up his anti-Christian attitude, there can be no doubt that they were not religious, but in the first place political. Dhû Nuwâs Masrûq stood for the national independence of his country as against Abyssinian imperialism; he had even before defended this independence against the Abyssinian Viceroy appointed in 518, and since the Abyssinians were Christians and apparently the Christians of Al-Yaman, or at least some of them, favoured the Abyssinian plans, he tried to break the power of Christianity in Al-Yaman. In his fight against the Abyssinians, it seems, he also looked for Persian help and, as Professor Moberg puts it¹, "Perhaps the real object of his embassy (to the king of al-Hira, who stood under Persian suzerainty) was, to obtain the assistance of the Persians against the reprisals which inevitably threatened from the Abyssinians." This is the more probable as, later on (about 570), one of the leaders of the national movement of Al-Yaman, Seif ibn Dhu Yazan, followed the same policy: he went to Al-Hira, was introduced by the king of Al-Hira to the Persian court and got the Shâhinshâh to send an army to South-Arabia, that put an end to Abyssinian rule².

Both Christianity and Judaism had gained a hold on the people of Al-Yaman. Yet if Dhû Nuwâs embraced Judaism, he very likely was influenced, at least partly, by political considerations; there was no danger from Judaism to the independence of Al-Yaman as there was from the Christian empire of Abyssinia. From the "Book of the Himyarites" we learn, that "Jewish priests" from Tiberias in Palestine had found their way to their co-religionists in South-Arabia, and according to another Christian source³, Dhû Nuwâs Masrûq's mother was a Jewess of the inhabitants of Nisibis, who had been made a captive." As to the end of this last independent king

(1) l. c. p. LXX.

(2) See Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Araber und Perser* p. 221 ff.

(3) The Nestorian chronicle of Saard s. Moberg l. c. XLIX.

of the Himyarites we have epigraphical evidence, which, however, does not confirm the accounts given by the Arabian historians. In the inscription of Husn al-Ghurâb we read¹ "and the Abyssinians made an incursion into the country of the Himyar, when they killed the king of Himyar and his princes, both of Himyar and of Arhab. The month was Dhû Hijjat of the year 640 (of an era beginning with 115 A.D., the year therefore corresponding to 525 A.D.)

Judaism did not disappear from South-Arabia with the death of Dhû Nuwâs Masrûq; we hear of a disputation between Gregentius, the Archbishop, and Erban², the Jewish doctor, said to have taken place under the reign of Abraha, the Christian ruler who acknowledged Abyssinian suzerainty and who is usually identified with the leader of the "Ashâb al-Fîl" of Sûrah 105. As opposed to the Hijjâz, whence the Jews were turned out by 'Omar, the Jewish population of Al-Yaman has continued through all the centuries of Islamic rule up to this day.

(1) See K. Mlaker in *Wilner feitschrift fur die Kunde des Morgenlandes* Vol. 34 p. 54 seq. The words in question are (transcribed into Naskhi characters):

واسيوا حبش زرفتن بارض حميرم كهر جو ملك حميرم واقوله ا همرون
ارجلن ورخو ذ حبتن ذ لار بعبي وست ما تم خر فتم

2) See Migne *Patrologia Graeca* Vol. LXXXVI p. 621.

JOSEF HOROVITZ.

THE EMPIRE OF ISLAM

When sword and sceptre, crown and throne were cast
A shapeless wreck round Time's devouring shore
Man's will could yet remould the shattered past,
Rebuild Life's throne though Empires were no more.

Their conquering might sunk in oblivion,
Their ancient glories sepulchred in loam,
Egypt, Assyria, Media, Babylon
Were faded memories, with Greece and Rome ;

Man's will triumphant bade the Future rise
From out the past ; then Hope and Faith reborn
Strove for the empire of the earth and skies,
And changed the night of ages into morn !
One will alone, supreme o'er Space and Time.
Thus gained unconquered realms by faith sublime.

NIZAMAT JUNG.

A PLEA FOR DEEPER STUDY OF THE MUSLIM SCIENTISTS¹

SOMETIME ago various questions arose in my mind regarding the culture of Islâm as embodying the world-feeling of a specific group of mankind. Is Modern Science purely Western in origin? Why did the Muslims devote themselves to architecture as a mode of self-expression; and why did they comparatively ignore music and painting? What light, if any, do their mathematics and their decorative art throw on their intellectual and emotional attitude towards the concepts of space and time? Are there any psychological conditions which determined the rise and final acceptance, as an orthodox religious dogma, of a boldly conceived Atomic theory wholly unlike the Greek theory? What is the psychological meaning of *mi'raj* in the cultural history of Islâm? Professor Macdonald has recently tried to prove the existence of Buddhistic influence on the rise and growth of Atomism in Islâm. But the cultural problem which I have ventured to raise is far more important than the purely historical question answered by Professor Macdonald. Similarly Professor Bevan has given us valuable historical discussion of the story of the *Mi'raj*. To my mind, however, what is, culturally speaking, more important is the intense appeal that the story has always made to the average Muslim, and the manner in which Muslim thought and imagination have worked on it. It must be something more than a mere religious dogma, for it appealed to the great mind of Dante, and, through Muhiyuddîn Ibn-ul-'Arabi furnished a model for the sublimest part of the Divine Comedy which symbolises the culture of mediæval Europe. The historian may rest satisfied with the conclusion that the Muslim belief in the Prophet's Ascension finds no justification in the Qur'ân; yet the Psychologist who aims at a deeper view of Islamic culture cannot ignore the fact that the outlook given by the

(1) Being the substance of an address delivered by the author before the Conference of Orientalists.

Qur'ân to its followers does demand the story as a formative element in the world-picture of Islâm. The truth is that it is absolutely necessary to answer all such questions, and mutually to adjust their answers into a systematic whole of thought and emotion. Without this it is impossible to discover the ruling concepts of a given culture, and to appreciate the spirit that permeates it. However, a comprehensive view of the culture of Islâm, as an expression of the spiritual life of its followers, is easy of achievement.

The Culture of Islâm is the youngest of all Asiatic cultures. For us moderns it is far more easy to grasp the spirit of this culture than to imagine the world-picture of those ancient cultures whose intellectual and emotional attitude it is extremely difficult to express in a modern language. The difficulty of the historian of Muslim culture is mainly due to the almost total lack of Arabic scholars trained in special sciences. European scholars have done good work in the domain of Muslim history, philology, religion and literature. Muslim Philosophy too has had a share of their attention; but I am afraid the work done in Philosophy is, on the whole, of a superficial kind, and often betrays ignorance of both Muslim and European thought. It is in Art as well, as in the concepts of special sciences and Philosophy that the true spirit of a culture is revealed. But, for the reason mentioned above, the student of Muslim culture is yet very far from understanding the spirit of that culture. Briffault, in his *Making of Humanity*—a book which every student of the history of culture ought to read—tells us that “neither Roger Bacon nor his later namesake has any title to be credited with having introduced the experimental method.” And further that “the experimental method of the Arabs was by Bacon’s time widespread and eagerly cultivated throughout Europe.” Now, I have reasons to believe that the origin of Descartes’ Method and Bacon’s *Novum Organum* goes back to Muslim critics of Greek logic, e.g., Ibn Taimiyya, Ghazzâlî, Râzî and Shah-âb-uddîn Shurawardî Maqtûl. But it is obvious that the existing material which would prove this thesis can be handled only by those Arabic scholars who have made a special study of Greek, Muslim and European logic.

Again, our ignorance of the concepts of Muslim science sometimes leads to erroneous views of modern culture. An instance of this I find in Spengler’s extremely learned

work, *Untergang des Abendlandes*, in which he has developed a new theory of the birth and growth of cultures. While discussing the concept of number in the classical, Arabian and modern cultures, and contrasting the Greek notion of magnitude with the Arabian indeterminateness of number, he says :—

“ Number as pure magnitude inherent in the material presentness of things is paralleled by number as pure relation, and if we may characterize the Classical “ World,” the cosmos, as being based on a deep need of visible limits and composed accordingly as a sum of material things, so we may say that our world-picture is an actualising of an infinite space in which things visible appear very nearly as realities of a lower order, limited in the presence of the illimitable. *The symbol of the West is an idea of which no other Culture gives even a hint, the idea of Function.* The function is anything rather than an expansion of, it is complete emancipation from, any pre-existent idea of number. With the function, not only the Euclidean Geometry but also the Archimedean arithmetic ceased to have any value for the really significant mathematic of Western Europe.”

The last three sentences in this passage are in fact the foundation-stone on which the superstructure of Spengler's theory largely rests. Unfortunately, the thesis that no other culture gives even a hint of the idea of Function is incorrect. I had a vague recollection of the idea of function in Al-Bêrûnî, and, not being a mathematician, I sought the help of Dr. Zîa'-ud-Dîn of Aligarh who very kindly gave me an English translation of Al-Bêrûnî's passage, and wrote to me an interesting letter from which I quote the following :—

“ Al-Bêrûnî in his book, *Qanûn-i-Mas'ûdî*, used Newton's formula of Interpolation for valuing the various intermediary angles of Trigonometry functions from his tables which were calculated for every increase of fifteen minutes. He gave Geometrical proof of Interpolation formula. In the end he wrote a paragraph saying that this proof can be applied to any function whatsoever whether it may be increasing or diminishing with the increase of arguments. He did not use the word function, but he expressed the idea of function in generalising the formula of Interpolation from Trigonometrical function to any function whatsoever. I may add here that I drew the attention of Prof :

Schwartzschild—Professor of Astronomy in the Göttingen University—to this passage, and he was so much surprised that he took Prof: Andrews with him to the library, and got the whole passage translated three times before he began to believe it.”

It is not possible for me here to discuss Spengler's theory, and to show how materially his oversight affects his view of history. Suffice it to say that a genetic view of the cultures associated with the two great Semitic religions reveals their spiritual relationship which tends to falsify Spengler's thesis that cultures, as organic structures, are completely alien to one another. But this brief reference to one of the most important concepts of

modern mathematics reminds me of *عَلاَئِقَةُ الْإِمْنَانِ فِي إِبْنَةِ الْإِمْنَانِ* (“The extent of possibility in the science of Space.” Ed.—“I.C.”) of ‘Irâqî. During my correspondence with Maulvi Syed Anwar Shah, one of the most learned traditionists in the Muslim world of today, regarding the meaning of the word ‘Dahr’ (time,) occurring in the well known tradition *لَا تَسْبُو الدَّهْرَ إِنَّ الدَّهْرَ هُوَ اللَّهُ* (“Deal not in invective against Time (with Time's vicissitudes) Lo! Time (with Time's vicissitudes) is Allah.” Ed.—“I.C.”) the Maulvî Sâhib referred to this manuscript; and later, at my request, very kindly sent me a copy of it. I consider it necessary to give you an account of the contents of this valuable document, partly because it will furnish additional reason for dissatisfaction with Spengler's theory, but mainly because I mean thereby to impress upon you the need of Oriental research in the concepts of special sciences as developed in the world of Islam. Moreover it is likely that this small manuscript of great value may lead to the opening up of a fresh field of inquiry about the origins of our concepts of space and time, the importance of which has only recently been realised by modern Physics.

There is, however, some doubt about the authorship of the booklet. Hajjî Khalîfah attributes it to one Sh. Mahmûd whom I have not been able to trace. About the middle of the text the following sentence occurs:—

این مخد ره غیبی... چون بمشا طگی بدان این بندہ ضعیف بآ حرز مانیدان
جلوه کددا میدوارم کم تشنگان جرعه حقیقت در ایام آخر الزمان
از دست این ساقی عراقی جمال زلال شیرین مشا هده نما یزد

Personally I am inclined to think that in this manuscript we are in a more intimate touch with the Persian Sūfi 'Irâqî whose freedom of thought and action brought on him the odium of the orthodox both in Egypt and India. However the reason why he was led to reduce his thoughts to writing is thus explained :—

و با یستی که این اسرار عزیز در صمیم جان و سویدائے دل مکنون و مخزون داشته نه از راه بخل بل از راه عزت و نفاست ولیکن عذر در جلوه کردن این مخدوره عذرا آنست که وقت در اثنائے سخن و نرمی دل بر زبان لفظ مکان رفت و چون لفظ مکان در اخبار آمده است انکار نباید کرد ولیکن مکان را ببايد شناخت که عبارت از چیست تا تشبیه از راه خیزد پس جماعته از کوردلان شور بخت چون لفظ مکان شنیدند از سر تعصب و حسد و عناد و جهود این کلمه را دست آور و ساز خنث و بر نجا نیدن ما میان بستند و رقم تشبیه بر ما کشیدند و بتکفیر ما فتواے نوشتند پس ناچار از بهر برات ساخت دل و خون از غبار تشبیه این مخدوره عذر از ابدان عالمیان عالم طبیعے عرض بایست کردن و این یوسف باجمال بان کوران جلو، با یستی داد تا رفع ظن ایشان بود، با شد - اگر چه معلوم بود که درد تعصب و حسد در همان نسبی یزید چنانچه باران که ماده حیات است مر دار را جز تباہی نمی افزاید - ان الذین حقت علیهم کلمة ربک لایؤمنون ولو جاءتهم کل آية حتی یروا العذاب الالیم -

Assuming, then, that the writer is Fakhr-ud-Dîn 'Irâqî, it is significant to note that he was a contemporary of Nasir-ud-Dîn Tûsî. Tûsî's work on Euclid was printed in Rome in 1594, and John Wallis introduced it to the University of Oxford about the middle of the 17th century. It is Tûsî's effort to improve the parallel postulate of Euclid that is believed to have furnished a basis in Europe for the problem of space which eventually led to the theories of Gauss and Reimann. 'Irâqî, however, was not a mathematician, though his view of space and time appears to me to be several centuries ahead of Tûsî. This necessitates a very careful inquiry into the progress of mathematical thought in Islâm with a view to discover whether 'Irâqî's conclusions were ever reached through a purely mathematical channel.

I will now proceed to summarise the substance of 'Irâqî's discussion of time and space mainly in his own words. The secret of time and space is the greatest of secrets. To know it is to know the secret of the Being and attributes of God. The existence of some kind of space in relation to God is clear from the following verses of the Qur'ân :—

“Dost thou not see that God knoweth all that is in the Heavens and all that is in the Earth? Three persons speak not privately together, but He is their fourth; nor five, but He is their sixth; nor fewer nor more, but wherever they be He is with them.” (58·8).

“Ye shall not be employed in affairs, nor shall ye read a text out of the Qur’ân, nor shall ye work any work, but we will be witness over you when you are engaged therein; and the weight of an atom on Earth or in Heaven escapeth not thy Lord; nor is there weight that is less than this or greater but it is in the Perspicuous Book.” (10·62).

“We created man: and we know what his soul whispereth to him, and we are closer to him than his neck-vein.” (50·15).

But we must not forget that the words proximity, contact and mutual separation, which apply to material bodies, do not apply to God. Divine life is in touch with the whole Universe on the analogy of the soul’s contact with the body. The soul is neither inside nor outside the body; neither proximate to nor separate from it. Yet its contact with every atom of the body is real, and it is impossible to conceive this contact except by positing some kind of space which befits the subtleness of the soul. The existence of space in relation to the life of God, therefore, cannot be denied; only we should carefully define the kind of space which may be predicated of the Absoluteness of God. Now there are three kinds of space—the space of material bodies, the space of immaterial beings, and the space of God. The space of material bodies is further divided into three kinds. First, the space of gross bodies of which we predicate roominess. In this space movement takes time, bodies occupy their respective places and resist displacement. Secondly, the space of subtle bodies, *e.g.*, air and sound. In this space two bodies resist each other and their movement is measurable in terms of time which, however, appears to be different to the time of gross bodies. The air in a tube must be displaced before other air can enter into it; and the time of sound-waves is practically nothing compared to the time of gross bodies. Thirdly, we have the space of light. The light of the Sun instantly reaches the farthest limits of the Earth. Thus in the velocity of light and sound time is reduced almost to zero. It is, therefore, clear that the space of light is different to the space of air and sound.

There is, however, a more effective argument than this. The light of a candle spreads in all directions in a room without displacing the air in the room ; and this shows that the space of light is more subtle than the space of air which has no entry into the space of light. In view of the close proximity of these spaces, however, it is not possible to distinguish the one from the other except by purely intellectual analysis and spiritual experience. Again, in the hot water the two opposites—fire and water—which appear to interpenetrate each other cannot, in view of their respective natures, exist in the same space. The fact cannot be explained except on the supposition that the spaces of the two substances, though closely proximate to each other are nevertheless distinct. But while the element of distance is not entirely absent, there is no possibility of mutual resistance in the space of light. The light of a candle reaches up to a certain point only and the lights of a hundred candles intermingle in the same room without displacing one another.

Having thus described the spaces of physical bodies, possessing various degrees of subtleness, 'Irâqî proceeds briefly to describe the main varieties of space operated upon by the various classes of immaterial beings, *e.g.*, angels. The element of distance is not entirely absent from these spaces ; for immaterial beings, while they can easily pass through stone walls, cannot altogether dispense with motion which, according to 'Irâqî, is evidence of imperfection in spirituality. The highest point in the scale of spatial freedom is reached by the human soul which, in its unique essence, is neither at rest nor in motion. Thus passing through the infinite varieties of space we reach the Divine space which is absolutely free from all dimensions, and constitutes the meeting point of all infinities.

In a similar manner 'Irâqî deals with time. There are infinite varieties of time relative to the varying grades of being intervening between materiality and pure spirituality. The time of gross bodies which arises from the revolutions of the heavens is divisible into past, present, and future ; and its nature is such that as long as one day does not pass away the succeeding day does not come. The time of immaterial beings is also serial in character ; but its passage is such that a whole year in the time of gross bodies is not more than a day in the time of immaterial beings. Rising higher and higher in the scale of immaterial beings we reach the notion of Divine Time

which is absolutely free from the quality of 'passage', and consequently does not admit of divisibility, sequence and change. It is above eternity; it has neither beginning nor end. The 'eye' of God sees all the visibles and His 'ear' hears all the audibles in one indivisible act of perception. The priority of God is not due to the priority of time; on the other hand the priority of time is due to God's priority. Thus Divine Time, is what the Qur'ân describes as the 'Mother of Books' in which the whole of history, freed from the net of causal sequence is gathered up in a single super-eternal 'now'.

From this summary of 'Irâqî's view you will see how a cultured Muslim Sûfî intellectually interpreted his spiritual experience of time and space in an age which had no idea of the theories and concepts of modern mathematics and physics. In fact his theory of a plural space may be taken as a primitive stage in the modern hyperspace movement which originated in Nasir-ud-Dîn Tûsî's efforts to improve the parallel postulate of Euclid. In modern times it was Kant who first definitely suggested the idea of different spaces as you will see from the following passage which I quote from his *Prolegomena* :—

“That complete space (which is itself no longer the boundary of another space) has three dimensions; and that space in general cannot have more, is based on the proposition that not more than three lines can intersect at right angles in one point.....That we can require a line to be drawn to infinity, a series of changes to be continued (for example, spaces passed through by motion) in indefinitum, presupposes a representation of space and time which can only attach to intuition.”

But Kant was not a mathematician. It was left for professional mathematicians of the 18th and the 19th centuries finally to reach the concept of space as a dynamic appearance, and, as such, generable and finite. 'Irâqî's mind seems to be vaguely struggling with the concept of space as an infinite continuum; yet he was unable to see the full implications of his thought partly because he was not a mathematician and partly because of his natural prejudice in favour of the traditional Aristotelian idea of a fixed Universe. If he had been able to raise the question whether dimensionality is a property of the world or a property of our knowledge of the world, he would have felt the necessity of a searching examination of his

own consciousness, and this would have opened up to him a line of thought much more in keeping with his sufistic standpoint. Again the interpenetration of the super-spatial 'here' and the super-eternal 'now' in the ultimate Reality suggests the modern notion of space-time which Prof. Alexander, in his lectures on 'Space, Time and Deity', regards as the matrix of all things. A keener insight into the nature of time would have led 'Irâqî to see that time is the more fundamental of the two; and that it is not a mere metaphor to say, as Prof. Alexander does say, that time is the mind of space. 'Irâqî conceives God's relation to the Universe on the analogy of the relation of the human soul to the body; but, instead of philosophically reaching this position through a criticism of the spatial and temporal aspects of experience, he simply postulates it on the basis of his spiritual experience. It is not sufficient merely to reduce space and time to a vanishing point-instant. The philosophical path that leads to God as the Omnippsyche of the universe lies through the discovery of Living Thought as the ultimate principle of space-time. 'Irâqî's mind, no doubt moved in the right direction; but his Aristotelian prejudice coupled with a lack of Psychological analysis blocked his progress. With his view that Divine Time is utterly devoid of change—a view obviously based on an inadequate analysis of conscious experience—it was not possible for him to discover the relation between Divine Time and serial time, and to reach, through this discovery, the essentially Islamic idea of continuous creation which means a growing universe.

MOHAMMAD IQBAL.

THE LIBRARIES OF THE ARABS DURING THE TIME OF THE ABBASIDES¹

(Translated from the Italian by F. Krenkow).

THE history of books among the Arabs, so important for the knowledge of the development of Arabic Culture, is almost completely ignored in the larger works dealing with the History of Libraries². Neither in the work of Petit-Radel³, nor that of Edwards⁴, nor that of Axon⁵, of Olschki⁶, nor even in the most recent by Hessel⁷, is any mention made of them. Only in Lalanne⁸, a collector of the most curious notes on bibliography, and in the steps of Cim⁹, are short notes found about the libraries of Cairo and Tripolis of Syria.

(1) The author of this monograph, Dr. Olga Pinto, is an Italian lady, pupil of Prof. Levi della Vida of Rome, who obtained her degree of D. Ph. for her Arabic studies; her article on Arabic Libraries is the most complete monograph upon the subject and the following translation has been made with her consent. Any additions or differences of opinion on my part are marked in the notes by the letter (K.)

(2) The principal articles upon Arabic libraries are found in *Kremer, Kulturgeschichte* (Vienna 1877, vol. 2 p. 483 ff.); *Girgi Zaidan, Tamaddun* (taken from *Kremer*); A. Mez, *Renaissance des Islams* (Heidelberg 1922 p. 162-180); Quatremere, *Gout des livres* (*Journal Asiatique* 1838 vol. 2 p. 36-74); A. Grohmann, *Bibliotheken, etc. islamischen Orient* (Vienna 1926 p. 431-42); Heffening, *Kutubkhanah* (*Encyclopaedia of Islam* s.v.). All are more or less incomplete and only Julian Ribera has written a short work *Biblioflosy Bibliotecas en la Espana Musulmana* (Zaragoza 1896) dealing with Spanish libraries, but this work has no references to the authorities from which the author has drawn his information. (It will be seen from this note that most of the works dealing with the subject are hardly within the reach of English readers. (K.)

(3) Petit-Radel, *Recherches sur les bibliotheques anciennes et modernes*, (Paris 1819).

(4) E. Edwards, *Libraries and Founders of Libraries* (London 1865).

(5) W. Axon, *Biblioteche antiche e moderne* (Buonarotti, II. series vol. XI, 1876).

(6) L. Olschki, *Das Bibliothekswesen im Altertum*, (Weimar 1889).

(7) A. Hessel, *Geschichte der Bibliotheken* (Göttingen 1926).

(8) L. Lalanne, *Curiosites bibliographiques* (Paris 1857) p. 208-11.

(9) A. Cim, *Le Livre* (Paris 1905) p. 269 of vol. 2.

Among few peoples, however, has the cult of books and literary tradition had such importance in the spiritual and cultural life as with the Arabs.

At first sight it appears strange that a people, uneducated, coming from the desert, to become rulers in youthful energy of a vast territory at one time ruled over by two large empires, the Roman-Byzantine and Sassanide-Persian, should in a short time exhaust the originality of its impulsive creativeness and impress upon its own civilisation the characteristics of a reflective, traditional and typically "book"—culture. The reason for this apparent incongruity must be sought (as is demonstrated by the recent enquiries into the formation of Islamic civilisation by Goldziher¹, and Becker²), in the facts that the Arabs, especially on account of their own imperfect cultural development at the time of the conquests, absorbed more rapidly the essential elements and the inquisitive spirit of the three civilisations which they had subjugated politically and ethically: the Greek, Persian and Jewish. All three, on account of their secular evolution, had arrived at a state of saturation and petrification, so that the Arabic-Muslim civilisation presents at its formation almost all the characteristics of what is called "Mediævalism."

For the Arabs, every book, commencing with the great book, "the Kur'an," represented a whole world in itself; more than for any other people of antiquity it was the only and inexhaustible fountain for the inner life. This people is accused at the time when it appeared on the stage of the history of the world, of having committed an act of vandalism in the first century of the Hijrah, of having destroyed, at the command of 'Umar Ibn al-Khattâb, the greatest library of antiquity, the library of Alexandria. This accusation, which has long been relegated to legendary fiction³, is also in complete contrast to the spirit which animated the Arabs at the time of the conquests, which

(1) I. Goldziher, *Stellung der alien islamischen Orthodoxie zu den antiken Wissenschaften* (Prussian Academy, 1915).

(2) C. H. Becker, *Islamstudien* (Leipzig 1924).

(3) Cf. specially L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam* vol. VII, p. 119-125 where previous notes on the subject are given. (The earliest mention of the destruction of the Alexandrian Library as far as I know is made by Bar Hebraeus, *Mukhtasar ad-Duwal*, an author who lived six centuries after the event and could hardly have possessed any reliable information. K.)

was not that of violent proselytism or fanatic destructiveness, but rather that of respect for the superior civilisations with which they came into contact, and of which they appropriated the greater part of the spiritual heritage.

It must be well understood that at the time of 'Umar one could not speak of Arabic books, much less of libraries, but a little over a hundred years later we see in Baghdâd, the capital of the empire, the rise of the first, what may be called "public," library.

The Arabs always speak with affection and respect of books as if they were things dear to the heart and faithful friends :

"What a good companion a book is when you happen to be alone with it! You can find consolation with it, even if those whom you loved have betrayed you!"

"It does not betray the secret which is confided to it, and out of itself bears fruit of wisdom and truth¹!"

Yet another says :

"The book is a companion who does not betray, does not annoy nor make reproaches when harshly treated²."

The most celebrated poet of the 'Abbaside times, Al-Mutanabbî, says³ :

"The most honourable seat in this world is in the saddle of a horse, and the best companion will always be a book."

Sometimes it is considered of equal value with arms, as al-Muhallabî advised his sons⁴ :

"My sons! Whenever you stand in the market before a shop, stand only before those where weapons and books are sold."

Everything that had relation to books had a great and, stupendous development; they were copied, embellished and sumptuously bound. At the same time they were most carefully preserved and also they were communicated to others; all that was the aim and preoccupation of Muslim culture. There arose veritable schools of calligraphy⁵, from which the Banû Muqlah and Ibn al-Bawwâb issued as real artists. Among the calligraphists were authors and scholars like Al-Jauharî, the author of

(1) Ibn Abd Rabbihi, *'Iqd* (Bulaq 1293) I, 199.

(2) Ibn at-Tiqtiqa', *Al-Fakhri* (ed. Ahlwardt) p. 3.

(3) Mutanabbî, *Diwan* (ed. Diterizi, Berlin 1861) p. 683.

(4) Ibn 'Tiqtiqa', l. c.

(5) C. Huart, *Les Calligraphes... de l'Orient musulman* (Paris 1908).

the dictionary *As-Sahah*, the celebrated traditionist Ibn al-Jauzî and the musician 'Abd al-Mu'min of Isfahân. Not only were books produced by celebrated calligraphists, but also the art of painting in miniature originated in this manner¹. At first this art confined itself to painting plants and flowers, but soon also animated beings were introduced² and the artists displayed remarkable skill in the technique of their pictures.

Binding of the books was not neglected and often mention is made of books bound in valuable leather³, of various colours⁴ and tooled with silver and gold⁵.

A great impulse was given to the development of the book by the importation of the art of paper-making, because it made them less expensive and consequently within easier reach of the masses⁶. As late as the fourth century of the Hijrah (Xth century A.D.) books were still written upon parchment and papyrus, but this made the books very expensive. The art of paper-making having come from China by the way of Samarcand⁷ to the Muslim world, made very rapid progress and in many centres of the extensive Muslim empire paper-factories were established on a large scale. It was principally in Egypt where flax was cultivated extensively that most factories arose; here the Arabs substituted linen rags for the silk-waste which had been the material of the Chinese in the manufacture of paper. From the fifth century of the Hijrah (XIth century A.D.) the whole of Europe was supplied with paper from the Arab world, from the factories of Baghdad and Cairo in the East, or from those in Spain in the West, where the principal centre of the industry was in the town of Shâtiba (to-day Xativa).

With the introduction of paper and the increased traffic in books caused by the fall in prices, in every Arab city book-shops were opened, which assumed a great import-

(1) E. Blochet, *Les enluminures des Mss. Orientaux de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1926).

(2) H. Lammens, *L'attitude de l'Islam primitif en face des arts figures*, (*Journal Asiatique* XI. Series 1915 p. 239-279).

(3) 'Arib, Dhail (Leiden 1897) p. 90.

(4) Ibn Khallikân, (ed. Bûlâq 1275) I. 727=ed Wüstenfeld No : 659.

(5) The oldest paper manuscript in Arabic which I have seen is *Gharib al-Hadith* of Abu 'Ubaid in the Leiden Library dated 243 A. H.—(K).

(6) Maqrizi, *Khitat* (Bûlâq 1270) I. 408.

(7) J. Karabacek, *Das Arabische Papier* (*Mitteilungen. Erzherzog Rainer*) III. 98 ff.

ance because they became the meeting-places of scholars and students, who, seeking and examining the books, conversed and discussed their value¹.

Baghdâd for example had already in the third century (XIth century A.D.) one hundred book-shops². These were in small shops in close proximity to each other and generally in the vicinity of a mosque. The books exposed for sale on trestles had a label on the back to facilitate the search for them, whether by the book-seller or the purchaser, or to be copied. These labels were affixed either by the seller himself or by his assistants, whether for sale privately or by auction, a custom which was much in vogue in all parts of the Arab world. The proprietors of such shops or their agents were at times well-known scholars. The poet al-Hazîrî³ (died 568/1172) was, on account of his profession, called *Dallal al-Kutub*, i.e., book-agent; book sellers were Abû Hâtîm Sahl ibn Muhammad as-Sijistânî⁴, one of the chief pupils of al-Asma'î, and the geographer and historian Yâqût⁵ (died 626/1229).

The price of books, though made cheaper by the introduction and use of paper, was always high, and one can understand the necessity of public libraries for persons who could not afford the luxury of acquiring a library of their own.

In the fifth century (XIth) a copy of the dictionary *Al-Jamharah* of Ibn Duraid cost sixty Dînârs⁶ (1 dînâr=10 sh.); a copy of the vast historical work of at-Tabarî one hundred Dînârs⁷, a copy of the poems of the Omayyad poet Jarîr ten Dînârs⁸. In the year 248/862 a copy of the dictionary *Kitab al-'Ain* of Al-Khalîl was sold for fifty Dînârs⁹. The translation of the commentary of Alexander of Afrodisia upon the "Acrosis" of Aristotle was sold for one hundred Dînârs¹⁰; and Al-Hakam, caliph of Cordoba, paid to the author one thousand Dînârs for the immense poetical and literary collection,

(1) Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, 'Iqd II. 223.

(2) Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte* II. 310 (after Al-Ya'qûbî).

(3) Ibn Khallikân I. 286 (W. No. 258).

(4) Ibn Khallikân I. 308 (W. No. 281).

(5) Ibn Khallikân II. 312 (W. No. 800).

(6) i.e. about £30. Ibn Khallikân I. 479 (W. No. 849).

(7) Maqrîzî, I. 408.

(8) Ibn Khallikân, II. 522 (W. No. 454).

(9) Fihrist (ed Fluegel) p. 42.

(10) Ibn Abî Usaibi'a, 'Uyûn al-Anba' I. 69-70.

the *Kitab al-Aghani*¹. In the seventh century (XIIIth A.D.) books cost already less. The above named Yâqût, mentioning the loan of books which he had at the Damîriyah library at Marw, says, "My house was never clear of 200 volumes, taken on loan, or more, and I had never to give a deposit though their value was 200 Dinârs²." This would mean an average price of one Dinâr per volume.

In spite of the high price of books we find in the Arab world many bibliophiles who collected fine libraries; among these are mentioned in the 3rd/9th century the prolific writer on all matters Al-Jâhiz, Al-Fath ibn Khâqân, the courtier of the caliph Al-Mutawakkil, and the judge Ismâ'il ibn Ishâq.

Al-Jâhiz (died 255/868) was a real devourer of books for in addition to his eagerness in reading and absorbing the books which he could buy, he took on deposit, as agent, books from booksellers, and no book ever fell into his hands but he read it from cover to cover. But the books which he loved were the cause of his death like a true bibliophile. As it was his habit to heap up round him all the books which he needed for his studies, and being on account of his great age partially paralysed, one day a heap of books fell on him and killed him. Also Ismâ'il ibn Ishâq (died 282/895 or 286/899) passed all his time among his books; and one of his contemporaries relates that he never entered his presence except that he found him handling some book³.

Al-Fath ibn Khâqân had a magnificent library probably at Baghdad, collected and arranged by 'Alî ibn Yahyâ al-Munajjim (died 275/888) another patron of learning who will be mentioned shortly. No one could see a more marvellous library than his for the quantity and beauty of the books, and his house was open to the Bedouins and scientists of al-Basrah and al-Kûfah. Always did he carry a book with him, which he carried either in his sleeve or in the legging of his boot and whenever he found a spare moment he began to read it. If

(1) Ibn Khaldûn, *Tarikh* (Bûlâq 1284) IV. 146 Maqqari *Nafh at-Tib* (Cairo 1302) I. 180. (We can hardly call this a price for the book, the money sent by al-Hakam to the author of the *Kitab al-Aghani* was rather a princely present than payment for the book. (K.)

(2) Yâqût, *Mu'jam* (ed. Wûstenfeld) IV. 509-10. (The wording of Yâqût is not very clear, but it is reasonable to assume that the total value of the books borrowed was 200 Dinârs, or about ten shillings each. Books must have been very cheap at that time and much depends upon their size, etc. (K.)

(3) *Fihrist* p. 116-117.

ever he had cause to leave the table of the caliph, he fetched out his book, even when he went to the lavatory¹.

The habit of carrying a book in the sleeve was also adopted by another book-lover, Abu Dâ'ûd as-Sijistânî, the celebrated author of the *Sunan* or collection of traditions. For the purpose of being able to carry books of greater volume he had his sleeves made larger so as to be able to accommodate such books². Also the above-named 'Alî ibn Yahyâ al-Munajjim collected a large library in his magnificent castle in the village of Karkar, near Qufs in the neighbourhood of Baghdad, and called it *Khizanat al-Hikmah* "Treasury of Wisdom." Yâqût relates: Many people from all countries travelled to it in order to study various sciences. In it the books were completely at the disposal of students and all were entertained at the sole expenses of 'Alî. This library was known in the whole Arabic world and attracted students in such manner that the astronomer Abû Ma'shar (died 272/885) coming from Khorasan with the intention of going to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage, decided to go and see it. He was so enthusiastic about it that he remained there and did not continue his journey³.

The historian of the 5/11th century, Ghars an-Ni'mah of the celebrated family of scientists as-Sâbî, collected at Baghdad a small library of 400 volumes to which admission was granted to a limited number of students. He sold it later when the instalment of the library of the Nizâmiyyah college drew the students away from his more modest establishment⁴.

We have much less information about the private libraries in Egypt. In that province were but few large town-centres, and as in Cairo existed one of the most marvellous public libraries in the world, private persons did not feel the necessity to possess their own collections of books.

A private character had the library of the Fatimide caliph al-'Azîz Billah (reigned 365/975-386/996), probably collected and arranged by his Wazîr Ya'qûb ibn Killis, who was himself a book-lover; for among his heritage

(1) Yâqût, *Irshad* VI. 79-80.

(2) Abul Mahâsin, *Nujum* (ed. Juynboll) II. 79.

(3) Yâqût, *Irshad* V. 467.

(4) Safadi, *Al-Wafî* (Brit. Mus. Or. 5320 fol. 110 v. (Safadi also records that the dishonesty of the librarian accounted for this library falling into decay. See my article on the Sâbî family in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. K.).

was found among other treasures a rich library¹. The collection of manuscripts of the caliph, the librarian of which was the author Abû'l Hasan 'Alî ibn Muhammad Ash-Shabushtî², has been described as being rich in books, distributed in forty rooms. 18,000 books dealt with theology alone. Of the Kur'ân there were 2,400 copies, written by celebrated calligraphers, like Ibn al-Bawwâb and the Banû Muqlah already mentioned; they were embellished with gold and silver. But there were also many other manuscripts of celebrated authors, among them several autographs³. This library was incorporated in one of the greatest public libraries of the world, the "Dâr al-'Ilm" or "House of Knowledge"⁴ by his successors, the caliph Al-Hâkim bi Amr Allâh. This remarkable ruler, who was responsible for many wise ordinances but also for extravagance, towards the end of his life conceived the mad idea of having himself proclaimed a Godhead, and as such he is worshipped to this day by the sect of the Druzes in the Lebanon.

At the time of the conquest of Egypt by Salâh ad-Dîn (Saladin) in 567/1171 his Wazîr Al-Fâdhil⁵ formed out of the books presented to him by his sovereign an immense library consisting of 68,000 volumes. Being, however, sequestered after a few months, they came back to their owner diminished by about 12,000 volumes⁶.

The Wazîr of the Ayyûbi dynasty founded by Saladin, Abû'l Hasan 'Alî al-Qiftî, known also by the title Al-Qâdhî al-Akrâm, had a fine library at Halab, valued at 50,000 Dînârs, which by his will he left to An-Nâsir, the ruler of that city⁷.

Also, in the Western provinces of the Arab empire, arose everywhere private libraries to some of which foreign students were admitted.

The Sultans of the Persian dynasties who in the 4/10th century wrested the power from the Caliphs, made their courts the protectors of sciences. Besides the large library founded by 'Adhud ad-Daulah (reigned 338/949-372/982), which has been mentioned before, there existed smaller libraries of the princes like that of

(1) Ibn Khallikân II. 495 : W. No. 848 . Maqrîzî II. 6.

(2) Ibn Khallikân I. 481 : W. No. 456.

(3) Maqrîzî I. 408.

(4) Maqrîzî I. 409.

(5) Maqrîzî I. 409

(6) *Kutab as-Suluk* : Ms. Paris fol. 76 v.

(7) as-Safadî, Wâfi Ms. Brit. Mus. fol. 232 r-233 v.

Majd ad-Daulah¹, of Mu'izz ad-Daulah², (and of some of the wazîrs of this dynasty like Abû'l Fadhîl ibn al-Amîd and as-Sâhib ibn 'Abbâd. The latter (died 385/995) declined the office of wazîr of the Samanid princes, making the pretence that it would be impossible to carry with him his library, the theological works in which alone amounted to 400 camel-loads³.

Of Ibn al-'Amîd the historian Ibn Miskawaih, who was his librarian, treats at length in his history. The house of this wazîr having been plundered by the soldiers of Khorasan so that not even a cup remained to drink from nor a thing to sit on, he did not worry; his mind was solely occupied with his library because he did not know what had become of it and nothing in the world was so dear to him. "He had many books," says Ibn Miskawaih, "on every science and every branch of philosophy and literature, more than a hundred camel-loads. He hardly had seen me when he asked me about them and when I informed him that they had been saved and none had been lost he became happy and said to me: Thou art a man of good omen, everything can be replaced, but this, meaning his library, could never have been made good. I saw his face become serene⁴.

The Samanid Sultans, also, in the third (9th) century, who reigned over the Eastern part of the Arab realm, cultivated an intense cultural life at their courts. The Sultan Nûh ibn Mansûr (reigned 366/976-387/997) had his private library, praised by Avicenna, who was permitted to visit it and became some time after its librarian⁵. To him is wrongly attributed the mad act of having set the library on fire⁶.

Spain, which had but few public libraries, was instead rich in libraries collected by private persons, not only such formed by princes and rich nobles at great expense, but also by poor students who spent for books their meagre means. They were collected gradually, as was done by Muhammad ibn Hazm, a schoolmaster, who by degrees was able to bring together in Cordoba a fine library, envied by many scholars who frequently made use of his manuscripts which he himself had carefully copied, and guarded

(1) Ibn Athîr, *Kâmil ed Tornberg* IX. 261.

(2) *ib.* VIII. 841.

(3) Yâqût, *Irshad* II. 315.

(4) Ibn Miskawaihi, *Tajarib*, Facsimile VI. 286 ff.

(5) Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*. p. 265-66.

(6) Hâjjî Khalîfah ed. *Fluegel* III. 99.

with the utmost care¹. One of the greatest book-lovers in Spain was the judge Futais ibn Sulaimân, known as Abû Mutrif, of Cordoba; he had a rich library in which six scribes were continually working and the great value of his collection was not revealed till through misfortune* which befell his family the books were sold by auction. The sum realised was 40,000 Dînârs².

The love for books was inherited by the many small kings, Mulûk-at-Tawâ'if, who divided Spain among themselves at the death of the caliph Hishâm in 423/1031. Known are the libraries of the Aftasid Al-Muzaffar³, prince of Badajoz (Batalyaus), of the Banû Hûd of Saragossa, the Banû'l Ahmar of Granada, the Banû Dhû-Nûh of Toledo, who to enrich their own collection did not hesitate to rob those of Al-Araushî, and many others⁴.

Also the Hasside princes of Tunis followed the cultural movement of the whole Arab empire. The founder of the dynasty, Abû Zakariyâ' (reigned 625/1228-647/1249) collected a library⁵ which was sold much later by one of his successors Abû Yahyâ Zakariyâ' al-Lihyânî (reigned 711/1313-717/1317) when he retired to private life to Cairo⁶.

There were also not lacking in the Arabic empire people of high rank who considered it their duty to collect a library equipped with the utmost luxury, with shelves filled with books, bound artistically, but which were never taken from the shelves except now and then to be dusted and cleaned. A clear example of this occurred at Cordoba to a great book-lover and passionate scholar, al-Hadhramî. He used to visit every auction of books in search of a manuscript of a work in which he had the greatest interest. Having at last found one at one of the auctions, there ensued between him and another bidder a struggle by which the price rose by leaps and bounds till it reached a sum out of all proportion with the value of the book. Al-Hadhramî at last decided to give up, but he wanted to know the person who bid against him as he believed him to be a student as ardent as himself, but possessing larger means. His disillusion and anger were immense when he

(1) Ibn Abbâr, *Takmilah* Biography No. 312.

(2) Ibn Bashkuâl, *Silah* p. 304-305.

(3) Ibn Abbâr *Takmilah* I. 128.

(4) Ribera, *Bibliofiles* p. 42-45.

(5) Ibn Khaldûn, *Histoire des Berberes*, Paris ed. I. 508 (French translation II. 446).

(6) Ibn Khaldûn, *Muqaddimah*, Paris ed. p. 104.

learned that the fortunate purchaser did not know any thing at all about the work he had bought but was attracted solely by the beautiful binding and the size of the book, as it would just fill a gap on his book shelf in his library¹.

An indication of the civilisation of a people however are not private libraries, but public ones ; and it is these which in the Arabic world found their greatest development. It must be noted as a curious fact that, while those regions and provinces of the extensive empire which were nearest to Europe (then buried in the obscurity of the Middle Ages) could boast of many and rich private libraries, they were practically destitute of public ones ; as, for example, Spain, where no library existed which was open to everybody. The contrary was the rule in the great centres of the Orient, like Baghdad, Cairo, Shiraz, etc.

The Arab sovereigns and government-officials in general, following a conception which we may call " democratic," which always ruled in Islamic countries, by which studies and science were not considered the monopoly of a few privileged persons, but ought to be accessible to all people of good intentions, be they rich or poor, free or slaves, understood early the necessity for consulting books. At first they commenced by admitting to their private libraries persons desirous to study, later they undertook professedly to found real public collection.

The centre in which undoubtedly the first public library saw its initiation was the capital of the empire, Baghdad, where in fact in the third (9th) century, by order of the great caliph al-Mâ'mûn (reigned 198/813-218/833) the first library was instituted as an annexe to the *Dar al-'Ilm* or *Bait al-Hikmah* "The House of knowledge" or "Abode of Wisdom." After this there arose in the capital as well as in other centres many similar institutions, which gained world-wide fame, and perhaps gave to Louis XI of France, when he was in Eastern lands, the idea of imitating them and initiating at Paris a collection which was to become in later time a public library².

Commencing at Baghdad, the principal centres of Mesopotamia and Syria, followed, then Egypt which was a very important cultural centre, then the Eastern provinces which, though divided into many small principalities, still maintained a vivid sentiment of Arabic culture, and at last that distant branch of the Arabic world, Spain

(1) Maqqari, *Nafh at-Tib*, (Cairo ed. I. 215. Z Leiden I. 302).

(2) Lalanne, *Curiosities*, (Paris 1857) p. 160-1.

where, as in all countries conquered by the Arabs, their culture penetrated gradually, and attained a wonderful development, perhaps greater than in any other part.

I have thought it advisable to arrest my enquiry with the collapse of the Arab Empire and the end of the Abbasid dynasty, partly because the sources of information concerning the later period are scarce and scattered, but also on account of the great decay of Arabic Culture and the rise of new nations, the Persians, Turks and Mongols; except that at the end of this article I shall try to trace a brief review of the condition and growth of modern Arabic libraries, to show the relationship between them and the ancient ones, and point out the new aspects which belong to them and the importance they have for Oriental studies.

As I have already pointed out concerning the private libraries, many of these were open to students, like that of 'Alî ibn Yahyâ, of Ghars an-Ni'mah and others, but the public character arose and developed gradually from three types of large libraries. Those of the sovereigns who with their ample means were able to found vast collections worthy of being placed at the disposal of the public, those of the mosques and those of the Madrasahs.

In ancient times education, elementary as well as advanced, came from the mosques, each of which had its own small library in which the necessary books were brought together, but only such as were strictly connected with theological studies, a custom still in vogue. Later and gradually, under lay influence which flourished most in the 3/9th century, the advanced studies remained no longer confined to the mosques. The Madrasahs arose, resembling our colleges. In these the instruction had a wider scope, for in Baghdad as well as in Damascus and elsewhere history, grammar and philosophy were also included. In the Madrasah founded in Cairo by the caliph Al-Hâkim, which was in reality the first Lay University also Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine and Methaphysics were taught¹.

(1) For this subject see Wüstenfeld, *Akademien der Araber*, Göttingen 1837; Arminjon, *L'enseignement... dans les Universités musulmanes d'Égypte*, Paris 1907; Ribera, *La enseñanza entre los musulmanes españoles*, Zaragoza 1933; Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte* II, 480-482; Mez, *Renaissance* p. 60-82; Girgi Zaidân, *Tamaddun* III. 199-205; Suyûtî, *Husn al-Muhadharah* I. 199-184-190; Maqrizî, *Khîat* II. 362-405.

These great institutions had their libraries which, at the time of their foundation or soon after, were made public and did not remain the preserve of the professors and students alone.

The same process can be noticed in the West, for we see the great public libraries arose out of those of princes given to the State, or of libraries belonging to monasteries, which in Europe were the first places where a love for books and their preservation can be traced and finally the libraries of the colleges or universities. But while in the East the institution of the Waqf conferred upon private libraries an inalienable public character, this characteristic is not to be found in Europe till much later, in the 15th century.

The development of the Arabic libraries was much quicker and more extensive. These institutions, a sign of high culture, received not only admirable support from the Abbasid Caliphs, masters of a realm worthy to stand at the head of the greatest empires of East and West, but also from the ambition of many small princes from the early centuries of the Hijrah onwards to gain favour with the Caliphs of Baghdad. First, these princes acted as governors, later as independent rulers of the various provinces of the Arab empire. The same process can be noticed in Arabic civilisation which we find in the Italian renaissance. While the splitting up and dismembering of the State into small semi-independent principalities certainly meant a weakening of the power of the State, it nevertheless gave greater impulse for cultural life on account of the continual rivalry of the small princes. So it happened in Halab (Aleppo) in the case of the Hamdânîd dynasty, especially under Saif ad-Daulah (reigned 333/944—356/967) when the city became an important cultural centre, or in Tripolis under the Banû 'Ammâr. The same occurred in distant Persian provinces under the dynasties of the Sâmânids, Buwaihis and Ghaznawis; also in Spain under the Banû Dhû-Nûn in Toledo, the Aftâsis in Badajoz, the Banû Hûd in Saragossa, the Banû-'l-Ahmar in Granada and others. Al-Qalqashandî (died 812/1418), author of a voluminous encyclopædia for the instruction of State officials under the Mamlûk Sultans (the *Subh al-A'sha*) speaks with pride of the great libraries which had once existed and laments that they had been left abandoned in his times:

“The Caliphs and kings had in ancient times a great interest in the large libraries and bestowed much care

upon them, which enabled them to get the most beautiful and numerous collections. It is said that the greatest libraries in Islam were the following three: First, the Library of the Caliphs in Baghdad. It contained an enormous quantity of books of inestimable value. It existed till the Tatars came to Baghdad and their king Hûlagû murdered the Caliph al-Musta'sim, the last of the Caliphs. The library disappeared like so many other things and was lost and its traces disappeared¹. Second, the library of the Fatimide caliphs at Cairo. This was one of the largest libraries and one of the richest collection of books in all sciences. It remained in existence till the death of the last of their Caliphs, when Salâh ad-Din (Saladin) ibn Ayyûb made himself master of the kingdom The third was the library of the Omayyad Caliphs of Spain. This library also remained intact till the end of the dynasty when the smaller kings divided Spain among themselves. It was then that the books were dispersed for ever. As regards to-day, kings have but little interest in libraries, they content themselves with the libraries of the Madrasahs because these are a greater necessity²".

I have compiled in the pages which follow a list of all the public libraries which existed in the Arab empire during the time of the Abbasid Caliphate of which I have been able to find any mention. Some of the sources simply enumerate them while others tell us about their foundation their utility and management.

BAGHDAD.

(1) The library attached to the Dâr al-'Ilm or Bait al-Hikmah founded by the Caliph Hârûn ar-Rashîd (170/786—194/809)³ or by Al-Mâ'mun (198/813—218/833)⁴ which was still in existence at the time of Al-Mû'tasim (218/833—227/842)⁵.

(1) Dr. Pinto is here mistaken, for though many books certainly perished in the sack of Baghdad, the library of the Mustansiriyyah existed for more than a century later. In the biography of Ibn al-Futi which I have published in the *Loghat al-'Arab* (Baghdad) vol. VI, p. 647-649 it is distinctly stated that he was for many years librarian there. In the same biography mention is made of the vast library collected by Nasir ad-Din Tûsi in Marâghah near Tabriz. K.

(2) *Qalqashandî Subh al-A'sha* I. 466.

(3) *Fihrist* p. 105.

(4) *Fihrist* p. 5 line 18 and 30 : 21-120 and 274.

(5) *Ibn Khallikân* I. 549 : W. No. 515,

(2) A library attached to another Dâr al-'Ilm, founded in 381/991¹ or in 383/903² in the street *Bain as-Surain* in the town-quarter Al-Karkh by the Buwaihi wazîr Abû Nasr Sâbûr ibn Ardashîr (died 416/1025), praised by many writers for its beauty and size³ and also that it contained more than 100,000 volumes, among them some copied by the most celebrated calligraphists. This library survived the death of its founder for a short time only, because it was completely plundered and burned to the ground by the soldiers of the Saljuq Sultân Toghrul Beg when he conquered Baghdad in 401/1059⁴. A certain quantity of books were saved from destruction and incorporated in the library of 'Amîd al-Mulk al-Kundurî, the wazîr of Toghrul Beg⁵.

(3) The library attached to the Nizâmîyah Madrasah, founded in 457/1064 by Nizâm al-Mulk, the wazir of the Saljuq Sultan Alp Arslân⁶.

(4) The library of the Mustansirîyah Madrasah founded in 631/1233 by the last but one Abbasid caliph al-Mustansir (624/1226—641/1243)⁷.

All these libraries, and in the seventh century of the Hijrah (XIII century) there were thirty-six⁸ in all, were probably destroyed at the entering of Baghdad by the Mongols under Hûlagû Khân in 656/1258⁹.

Mosul (Al-Mausil)

(5) The library of the Dâr al-'Ilm founded by the scholar and poet Ibn Hamdûn in 323/935¹⁰.

Al-Basrah

(6) and (7) Two libraries, one founded and opened to the public by a certain Ibn Sawwâr¹¹, the other mentioned by al-Harîrî¹², the author of the *Maqamat*,

(1) Safadî fol. 26r.

(2) Ibn al-Athîr, *Kâmil* IX. 71.

(3) Ibn al-Athîr IX. 246 : Safadî fol. 26v, 27r ; Yâqût I. 799.

(4) I. Athîr, *Kâmil* IX. 246 ; Safadî fol. 26v : Bundârî, (*Leiden* 1889) p. 18 : Yâqût, *Buldan* I. 799.

(5) I. Athîr, *Kâmil* IX. 246 ; Bundârî p. 18.

(6) Safadî fol. 110v.

(7) Abul Fidâ', *Tarikh* III. 179 : Qazwîni, *Nuzhat* (ed. Le Strange 42).

(8) Reinaud, *Introduction to the Geography of Abul Fida* (Paris 1848) p. CXLI.

(9) Qalqashandî I. 466 (but see my remarks in Note above. K.)

(10) Yâqût, *Irshad* II. 420.

(11) Al-Maqdisî, *Bibl. Geog.* III. 413.

(12) Harîrî, *Maqamat* ed. Paris 1847 p. 26-27 of vol. I,

were both probably burned down when the Bedouins invaded the town in 483/1090¹.

Ramahormuz.

(9) A library founded by the same Ibn Sawwâr who founded the library at Al-Basrah².

Halab (Aleppo).

(10) A library founded by the Hamdânide princes who reigned there in the fourth (10th) century³.

Tripolis in Syria.

(11) The library founded by the rulers, the Banû 'Ammâr towards the end of the fifth (11th) century and destroyed by the Franks at the time of the First Crusade (503/1109)⁴.

Cairo.

(12) The library attached to the Azhar mosque founded by the Fatimid Caliph Al-'Azîz (reigned 365/975—386/996)⁵.

(13) The library attached to the Dâr al-'Ilm founded in 395/1004 by the Caliph Al-Hâkim, successor of Al-'Azîz⁶. This library was still flourishing under his successor Az-Zâhir⁷, but was later neglected and partly plundered⁸, though it still existed at the time when Salâh ad-Dîn took the city in 567/1171. He made a present of part of the library to his secretary, Al-Fâdil 'Abd ar-Rahîm⁹, while the remainder was sold by auction¹⁰.

(14) The library attached to the Fâdilîyah Madrasah founded by the above named Al-Fâdil, in which were incorporated the books which he had received from Salâh-ad-Dîn. Very soon after, the books were sold by the students (!) and scattered in all directions¹¹.

(1) Ibn al-Athîr X. 122.

(2) Maqdisî l.c.

(3) Ibn al-'Adîm, Paris Ms. fol. 56 : Margoliouth, Letters of *Abu'l-'Ala' al-Ma'arrî* p. XVI.

(4) Ibn al-Furât, *Tarikh*, Vienna Ms. under year 503 A.H. : Ibn al Athîr X. 334.

(5) Maqrîzî, *Khitat* I. 408.

(6) Maqrîzî I. 458.

(7) Ibn al-Qiftî, *Tarikh al-Hukama'* ed Lippert p. 440.

(8) Maqrîzî I. 408-409.

(9) Maqrîzî I. 409 : Ibn Khaldûn IV. 81.

(10) Abû Shâmah, *Raudhatain* (Cairo 1287) I. 228.

(11) Maqrîzî, *Khitat* II. 367 ; Qalqashandî I. 467.

Ghaznah

(15) Libraries enriched by the books plundered from ar-Rây in 420/1029 and from Isfahân in 425/1033 by the Ghaznawî troops, but they were a century later destroyed and scattered when the city was taken in 550/1155 by the Ghûrî Sultân Husain¹.

Marw. possessed ten libraries, among them :

(16) The Nizâmîyah founded by the above-named Nazîm al-Mulk².

(17) The 'Azîziyyah founded in the sixth (XIIth) century by 'Azîz ad-Dîn, a court chamberlain³.

Nishapur.

(18) Libraries are mentioned only on account of their being burned by the Ghuzz Turks in 548/1153⁴.

Ray.

(19) The library which in 420/1029 was removed to Ghaznah by the conqueror Mahmûd of Ghaznah⁵.

Shiraz.

(20) The library founded by the Buwaihi ruler 'Adid ad-Daulah (reigned 367/977-372/982)⁶, but it was already neglected at the time of his son Bahâ' ad-Daulah⁷.

SPAIN.

Cordoba.

(21) The library founded by the Caliph Al-Hakam al-Mustansir (349/961—365/976)⁸. The wazîr of his successor Hishâm (365/976—396/1006) named al-Wâdish, a freedman of Al-Mansûr Muhammad ibn Abû 'Amir, had all materialistic and philosophical works in it burned⁹; part of it was sold at the time of the Berber invasion (5/11 century) and what remained was plundered by the conquerors¹⁰.

(1) Ibn al-Athîr IX. 297.

(2) Yâqût, *Buldan* IV. 509.

(3) Yâqût, *Buldan* l.c.

(4) Ibn al-Athîr XI. 120.

(5) Yâqût, *Irshad* II. 315.

(6) Maqdisi, p. 449.

(7) Yâqût, *Irshad* V. 446-7.

(8) Ibn Khaldûn IV. 146; Maqqarî, Cairo ed. I. 180 (Leiden I. 249).

(9) Ibn Sâ'id. *Tabaqat*. Bairut p. 65-66; Al-Adhârî, *Bayan* ed. Leiden II. 314-5.

(10) Ibn Khaldûn, IV. 146; Maqqarî ed, Cairo I. 80 (Leiden I. 250).

MAGHRIB.

Fas. (Fez).

(22) The library of the Madrasah as-Saffârîn founded by the Merînî Sultan Ya'qûb ibn 'Abd al-Haqq (591/1195 — 614/1217) formed to a great extent from the books found in Spain, which the Sultan demanded from the defeated Sancho, king of Spain¹.

The princes took great care concerning the buildings which were to serve as public libraries. Some of them like those of Shîrâz, Cordoba and Cairo were placed in separate structures, with many rooms for different uses ; galleries with shelves in which the books were kept, rooms where the visitors could read and study, rooms set apart for those in charge of making copies of manuscripts, rooms which served for literary assemblies², and even in some cases rooms for musical entertainment³, etc. All rooms were richly and comfortably fitted ; on the floors were carpets and mats, where the readers in Oriental fashion squatted with crossed legs, reading and even writing, holding the sheet of paper or parchment adroitly in the palm of the left hand. The windows and doors were closed with curtains, the chief entrance-door having a specially heavy curtain to prevent the cold air from entering⁴.

The Arab historians have described some of these libraries at some length as if they were finding a great delight in their beauty and riches. So, for example, al-Maqrîzî describes a library in Cairo :

"On the 8th day of Jamâdâ II. 395 A.H. (1004) was opened the building called "*The House of Wisdom.*" The students took up their residence. The books were brought from the libraries of the Inhabited Castles (residences of the Fatimid Caliphs) and the public was admitted. Whoever wanted was at liberty to copy any book he wished to copy, or whoever required to read a certain book found in the library could do so. Scholars studied the Kor'ân, astronomy, grammar, lexicography and medicine⁵. The

(1) *Raudh- al-Qirtas* ed. Tornberg p. 18

(2) Harîrî, *Maqamat* I. 26-7.

(3) Abul 'Alâ, *Siqat az-Zand* (ed. Cairo 1324) II. 7 ; (ed. Bulaq 1286) II. 51.

(4) Maqdisî 449 : Maqrîzî II. 459.

(5) As this Academy was not a theological one the library attached to it contained also books on exact sciences. (It was probably here that Ibn al-Haitham, one of the greatest scientists Islam has produced, could find the Greek works upon mathematics, astronomy etc. and pursue his studies after his arrival in Cairo, K.)

building was, moreover, adorned by carpets, and all doors and corridors had curtains, and managers, servants, porters and other menials were appointed to maintain the establishment. Out of the library of the Caliph al-Hâkim those books were brought, which he had granted—books in all sciences and literatures and of exquisite calligraphy such as no other king had ever been able to bring together. Al-Hâkim permitted admittance to everyone, without distinction of rank, who wished to read or consult any of the books¹."

Al-Maqdisî has left an interesting description of the rich library at Shîrâz²:

" 'Adad ad-Daulah founded in Shîrâz a residence which had not its equal East to West ; no ignorant person entered it but was enchanted, nor any learned person but his imagination was filled with the delights and perfumes of Paradise. He made it intersected with water-courses, the buildings were crowned with domes and surrounded by gardens and parks, lakes were excavated and every kind of comfort that could be thought of. I have heard the servants say that there were 360 rooms and pavilions, in each of which he resided one day of the year, some were on the ground-floor and some above. The library constituted a gallery by itself ; there was a superintendent, a librarian and an inspector chosen from the most trustworthy people of the country. There is no book written up to this time in whatever branch of science but the prince has acquired a copy of it. The library consists of one long vaulted room, annexed to which are store-rooms. The prince had made along the large room and the store-chambers, scaffoldings about the height of a man, three yards wide, of decorated wood, which have shelves from top to bottom ; the books are arranged on the shelves and for every branch of learning there are separate scaffolds. There are also catalogues in which all the titles of the books are entered. Only persons of standing are admitted to this library. I myself inspected this library, downstairs and upstairs, when all was still in order. I observed in each room carpets and curtains, I also saw the ventilation chamber, to which the water is carried by pipes which surround it on every side in circulation."

The rooms set apart for the books had along the walls shelves which did not surpass the height of a man, so that

(1) Maqrizî I. 458.

(2) Maqdisî p. 449.

it was not necessary to use dangerous ladders to reach the books on the top-shelves. The scaffolds were all furnished with shutters some on hinges while other were let down from the top, and with locks. These locked shelves though not very commodious for the distribution of the books had the advantage that they preserved the rich and beautiful bindings from dust and sunlight. They certainly added to the books being infested by vermin on account of the want of ventilation¹.

The books were placed on the book-shelves divided in sections so as to form little heaps as can be clearly seen in the miniature taken from a manuscript of *Harîrî*, published by Blochet², which reproduces the wall of a public library, most probably at Mōsul.

The name of the author and the title were written on the back of the book. The arrangement was according to subjects, and to facilitate the search for a work required the contents of each section of a bookshelf was registered upon a strip of paper attached to the shelf outside ; these strips had also indications of works which were incomplete or lacking in some part.

The number of books in libraries naturally varied considerably. The library founded by Sâbûr ibn Ardashîr contained 100,000 to 140,000 volumes, among them a hundred copies of the Kor'ân written by the celebrated Banû Muqlah³. The library at Tripolis, according to Ibn al-Furât, possessed three millions, certainly an exaggerated figure, among them 50,000 copies of the Kor'ân and 80,000 commentaries upon the same⁴. That of Cordoba consisted of 400,000 volumes, and six whole months were required to remove it from its old building to a new one⁵. The number of the volumes in the library of the Fatimid Caliphs is very uncertain because the various Arabic sources used by al-Maqrizî, author of a very extensive topographical description of Egypt, do not state explicitly the number of books in total, but here and there one or the other portion of this library. One of these, for example, speaking of the library of Al-'Azîz, later incorporated in that of al-Hâkim, says that it consisted of forty chambers each containing 18,000 books upon

(1) Yâqût, *Irshad* VI. 359-360.

(2) Blochet, *Les Enluminures* plate X.

(3) Ibn al-Athîr X. 5 ; Safadî fol. 27r.

(4) Ibn al-Furât, Vienna Ms. fol. 38r.-y of vol. I.

(5) Maqqarî, Cairo ed. I. 256 (Leiden I. 184-5).

the "ancient" sciences¹ and that of the *Kitab al-'Ain* the great dictionary of Al-Khalîl, thirty copies were found, and of the colossal historical work of Tabarî twenty copies, while the Jamharah of Ibn Duraid was represented by one hundred copies, besides 2,400 copies of the Kor'ân. Another source states that the library was accommodated in one single room which housed about 200,000 volumes, a notice which is incredible as one room could not possibly hold such an enormous quantity of books. Another source states that the library contained 1,600,000 volumes, among them 1,200 copies² of the history of At-Tabarî; and finally another author limits the number to only 120,000³ a figure which agrees with that of another historian, Al-Qalqashandî, who has drawn from other sources independent of al-Maqrîzî⁴. Though we are unable to arrive at a correct figure, the library must have been composed of a much greater quantity than 120,000 because, though frequently plundered in the time of the Fatimids, Salâh-ad-Dîn, at the conquest of the city of Cairo, after having given to his secretary Al-Fâdil 100,000 to 120,000 books, had the remainder sold at auctions which were held twice a week and lasted for a whole year⁵.

In order that the public might use with ease all the material collected in these great libraries there existed proper catalogues collected in booklets or larger volumes, as was the case with the libraries at Cordoba⁶, Ar-Rây⁷, Bukhârâ⁸ and Shîrâz⁹.

(1) By *ancient sciences* or the *sciences of the Ancients* the Arabs understood mathematics, astronomy, philosophy, etc.

(2) Perhaps 1,200 volumes are meant, which would mean about thirty complete copies of the colossal work.

(3) Maqrîzî I. 408.

(4) Qalqashandî III. 475.

(5) Abû Shâmah, *Raudhatain* I. 228.

(6) Ibn Khaldûn IV. 146: Maqqarî Cairo ed. I. 250 (Leiden I. 180).

(7) Yâqût, *Irshad* II. 315.

(8) Nicholson, *Literary History* p. 266.

(9) Maqdisî p. 449. Sprenger for this reason believed that Ibn an-Nadîm, author of the *Fihrist*, derived his biographical and bibliographical notes from some such catalogue, especially his extracts from Greek, Pehlewi and Indian works. But when one simply goes through the pages of this important work, especially in the earlier parts, one will see that it is a reasoned work of bibliography and not a book-catalogue. For the different opinions see Kremer, *Kulturgeschichte*, Browne, *Literary History of Persia* and Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Literatur*. We possess perhaps one such catalogue in Nos. 21 and 26 of the Berlin Library, and certainly in the work of Hâjji Khalifah, *Kashf az-Zunun*, but this author is very late in date (died 1069/1058).

Additions to the library were made either by the purchase of manuscripts or by copying for which special copyists were employed.

Immense sums were spent by the founders of libraries for the acquisition of new books; the pride and ambition of many was to be the first to possess the work of a well-known author. For this purpose princes like Al-Hakam of Spain¹, and the Banû 'Ammâr of Tripolis² employed specialists and merchants who undertook this class of trade to acquire books in all foreign lands.

Probably some founders or directors of libraries acquired books at the auction sales, much in vogue in oriental countries, which was also one of the means adopted by private persons.

Besides the direct purchase of books it was also the custom to make copies of a work of which a copy was wanted. For this work the great libraries employed in a room set apart for the purpose a number of special copyists. Their manner of working varied. Sometimes a copyist would work by himself, in other cases several scribes would copy to dictation, so that at the same time several copies were made of the same original. The library at Tripolis is stated to have employed 180 such scribes, 30 of whom never ceased working day and night³; such scribes were also employed in the libraries of Cairo⁴ and Shîrâz⁵. The same method was used by private persons like the Caliph al-'Azîz in Cairo⁶, Al-Hakam in Spain⁷, the historian Al-Wâqidî (died 208/823)⁸, the Spanish scholar Abû Mutrif⁹ and others, when for some reason they were unable to purchase the book they required.

The large private libraries as well as the public ones had their librarians and attendants and among these we find at times distinguished authors and scientists. The historian Ibn Miskawaihî (died 421/1030) was librarian

(1) Maqqarî Cairo ed. I. 249 (Leiden I. 180); Ibn Khaldûn IV. 146.

(2) Ibn Furât, Vienna Ms. fol. 38v.

(3) Ibn al-Furât fol. 36v.

(4) Maqrîzî I. 458.

(5) Yâqût, *Irshad* V. 447.

(6) Maqrîzî I. 409.

(7) Ibn Khaldûn IV. 146.

(8) *Fihrist* p. 98.

(9) Ibn Bashkuâl, *Silah* I. 304-5

of the wazîr Abû'l Fadl ibn al 'Amîd of Ar-Rây¹, the historian Ibn as -Sâ'î (died 674/1275) was director of the Mustansirîyah library at Baghdâd², Avicenna (Ibn Sina) as mentioned before, was librarian of the Sâmânid prince Nâh ibn Mansûr at Bukhârâ³, the author 'Alî ibn-Muhammad ash-Shâbushtî (died 389/998) was librarian of the Fatimid Caliph Al-'Azîz⁴.

In the large public libraries the work of one librarian was absolutely impossible and he had under him as a rule one or more sub-librarians⁵. In fact the librarian, though primarily in charge of the administration and cataloguing of the books, was supposed to keep the public informed and to overlook the loan of books and the handing of books to the students ; as it was difficult work the ordinary servants attached to the establishment could not take charge of it. For this post it was imperative to be able to read, while the ordinary attendants may have been analphabets. One interesting notice has come down to us : In the large library of the *Dar al-'Ilm* at Baghdâd the charge of handing the books to the copyists was a negro woman's named Taufiq⁶.

The administration of such an establishment incurred large expenses, especially as nearly all libraries supplied the students with paper, ink and pens⁷. A survey of the fixed sums for the needs of the library at Cairo at the time of Al-Hâkim shows that the expenses incurred by this institution were not inconsiderable⁸.

- (1) Ibn Miskawaihi, *Tajariib* VI. 286.
- (2) Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber* No. 354 ; Safadî fol. IIv-12r.
- (3) Nicholson, *Literary History* p. 265.
- (4) Ibn Khallikân I. 482 (W.No. 456).
- (5) Yâqût, *Irshad* VI. 358 ; Safadî fol. 26v ; Ibn Tîqtiqa' p. 450 ; Maqdisî p. 449 ; Maqrîzî I. 458.
- (6) Abû'l-'Alâ' al-Ma'arrî, *Risalat al-Ghufran*, ed. Cairo 1321 p. 73 (Cairo 1343 p. 138). The librarian Abû Mansûr Muhammad ibn 'Alî is the same to whom Abû'l-'Alâ' has addressed a letter (*Rasa'il*, ed. Margoliouth XIX) and to whom one of his poems (*Sigt az-Zand* II. 121) is addressed. He is most likely also identical with the one of whom Yâqût speaks (*Irshad* VI. 360). Margoliouth is certainly mistaken in identifying him in a foot-note, p. 358, with another Abû Mansûr ibn Ahmad ibn Tâhir, also a librarian of the *Dar al-'Ilm*, who died in 510/1116, sixty years after the death of Abû'l-'Alâ'.
- (7) Maqrîzî I. 459 ; Yâqût, *Irshad* II. 420.
- (8) Maqrîzî l.c.

Dînârs

Price of 'Abbadânî matting	..	10
Paper for the copyists	..	90
For the librarian (perhaps his salary).		48
For water	..	12
For servants	..	15
Paper, ink and pens	..	12
Repairs to the curtains	..	1
Repairs to books and missing leaves supplied.		12
Felt curtains for winter use	..	5
Carpets for winter use	..	4

The large public libraries were open to all without distinction; upon this the sources insist continually, saying that anyone who could read, write or study a subject was admitted. Such was the free admission in the libraries at Tripolis¹, Cairo² Shîrâz³ and Môsul⁴. It is not clear from the original sources whether the library of the Caliph Al-Hakam at Cordoba was open to the public. The explicit statement that the public were admitted cannot be found but the words of the informant: "Al-Hakam was very generous towards the people, collecting many books⁵," seem to indicate that the library was open to the public, for if the Caliph had only collected a fine private library, he could hardly have done any service to the people even if, as Mr. Ribera believes⁶, some scholars were allowed to use it. In such case the modest schoolmaster Muhammad ibn Hazm would have been infinitely more generous towards the public who freely permitted many scholars of Cordoba to work in his library. The same can be said of 'Alî ibn Yahyâ al-Munajjim and many other private persons⁷.

To facilitate in every way the use of books by students and scientists the public libraries also permitted their loan to places far away, sometimes against a deposit of money, at others, even without such deposit. An example

(1) Ibn al-Furât fol. 38v.

(2) Maqrîzî II. 458.

(3) Maqdisî p. 449.

(4) Yâqût, *Irshad* II. 420.

(5) Ibn Hazm in Ibn Khaldûn IV. 146; Maqqarî, Cairo ed. I. 184; Leiden ed. I. 256.

(6) Ribera, *La enseñanza entre los musulmanes* p. 94.

(7) See above, p....

is the Damîriyah library at Marw from which Yâqût had borrowed 200 books¹, and others visited by the Spanish historian Abû Hayyân (died 745/1343) who would not buy any books, because, he says : Whatever book I want to have I can get on loan from any library, while if I wanted to borrow money to buy these books I should find no-one who would lend it to me².

But not all were so generous. Some donors, leaving their books in *Waqf*, made the condition that such books should not under any circumstances be lent out, as was done by the Qâdi Ibn Hibbân of Nishâpûr³. Many books lent were not returned to the library they belonged to, and the verses of a certain Ar-Rabbât of Halab composed in 1216/1801) were a cry from the depth of his heart :

“ Never lend a book, but rather make an excuse ! Take some lien for it, for such is a just way of acting. If you do not pay attention to my words you will certainly lose the book ! ”

Also the verses of a certain Ibn as-Sârim (964/1556) “ Whoever borrows my book and then keeps it is certainly not noble, but of low breed and a traitor⁴. ”

After all the life of these wonderful libraries was not long, through carelessness of the librarians, change of government, acts of vandalism by conquerors who tried to eradicate everything they found made by the hands of the defeated, these immense intellectual riches gradually vanished. In Arabic history not infrequent are notices of the loss of this or that library. One of the most frequent causes was destruction by fire. So ended the library founded in Baghdâd by Sâbûr ibn Ardashîr, which did not long survive its founder who died in 416/1025, being burned down with the whole quarter of the city where it was situated by the soldiers of the victorious Saljuk Sultan, Toghrul Beg⁵.

(1) See above, p.

(2) Wüstenfeld, *Die Schafi'iten*, Göttingen Academy vol. 37 p. 152. (This statement of Abû Hayyân is found also in the *Durar al-Kaminah* in his biography. This work, it is to be hoped, will soon be accessible to students by the intended publication by the *Da'iratul Ma'arif*, Hyderabad.—K).

(3) Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber* No. 409.

(4) G. Weil, *Arabische Verse über das Ausleihen von Buchern. Islamica* 2nd series IV... 556-61. (A very long chapter could be written about the thefts from *Waqf* libraries by borrowers, and especially by dishonest persons in charge, and I hope to come back to this subject at another time. K.)

(5) Ibn al-Athîr IX. 246, X. 5 ; al-Bundârî p. 18 ; Safdî fol. 26v ; Yâqût, *Irshad*, who places this event in 447/1055.

A similar fate had several other libraries in Baghdâd, burned and destroyed by the Tatars under the leadership of Hulâgû so that all traces of them were wiped out¹; that of Ghaznah, burned by the troops of the Ghûri prince Husain, when he sacked the city in 550/1155²; that of Marw, destroyed by the Tatars in 606/1209³; that of Nîshâpûr laid to ashes by the Ghuzz Turks in 548/1153⁴. Less disastrous was the fate of the library of Ar-Rây. Of its books only those were burned by the conqueror, Mahmûd of Ghaznah, which were against the Sunni doctrines of which the Sultan was a fervent supporter⁵.

The rich library at Shîrâz, on the contrary, decayed gradually; at the time of the successor of its founder it was already neglected. In fact one of the copyists, Ibn al-Bawwâb, complained one day to the sultan Bahâ' ad-Daulah about the disorder which reigned in it, so that a manuscript of the Kor'ân copied by the celebrated calligraphist Ibn Muqlah in thirty sections had lost one section and it took a long time to bring the fragments together to make the copy complete⁶.

Neither was the library of the Banû' Ammâr in Tripolis spared from being destroyed by fire, the incendiaries were in this case not Tatars or Turks, but Christian bands⁷. In fact this library was burned down by the Frank soldiers in the First Crusade 503/1109.

This fact has been recorded by the historian Ibn al-Furât (died 807/1404) as follows:

"The Shaikh Yahyâ ibn Abî Tayy Humaid an-Najjâr Al-Halabî⁸ says: In Tripolis was an academy the like of which there was nowhere else in the world on account of the abundance, beauty and excellence of its books. Yahyâ said that his father informed him on the authority of a Shaikh of Tripolis who said: I was with Fakhr al-Mulk

(1) Qalqashandî I. 466 (but see my remarks above. K.)

(2) Ibn al-Athîr IX. 297.

(3) Yâqût, *Buldan* IV. 509.

(4) Ibn Al-Athîr XI. 120.

(5) Yâqût, *Irshad* II. 315.

(6) Yâqût, *Irshad* V. 446-7.

(7) Concerning this see Henri Lammens, *As-Salibiyyun wa maktabat Tarâbulus ash-Shâm* (The Crusaders and the Library in Syria), *Mashriq* 1922 p. 107ff.

(8) Historian of the 7/13th century. Cf. Wüstenfeld, *Geschichtsschreiber*, No. 316.

ibn 'Ammâr¹, lord of Tripolis, at Shaizar². He received the news of the conquest of Tripolis (by the Franks) and he fell down in a faint; then he regained consciousness and tears fell from his eyes. He said: By God! Nothing has caused me greater sorrow than (the destruction of) the Academy. In it were three million books in all sciences of theology, Kor'âns, traditions and literature. There were fifty thousand copies of the Kor'ân alone and eighty thousand commentaries on it. My father said that this library was one of the wonders of the world and the Banû 'Ammâr had bestowed the greatest care upon it. There were 180 copyists employed in it, and thirty worked day and night, and all were well paid for their services. The Banû 'Ammâr had in all lands agents who bought for them choice books and Tripolis during the reign of the Banû 'Ammâr became one whole Academy; from all countries came students and eminent persons, and under the Banû 'Ammâr all sciences flourished, especially the doctrines of the Imâmî sect; as a matter of fact the Banû 'Ammâr had recalled to life this doctrine and its followers. When the Franks entered Tripolis and conquered it they burned the Academy down to the ground. The cause of the burning was that a priest (may God curse him) when he saw all those books became beside himself. It happened that he entered the rooms where the Kor'âns were stored and he picked up a volume and behold! it was a Kor'ân. Then he took a second book and it was again a Kor'ân like the first; so he went on till he had picked up about twenty Kor'âns. Then he exclaimed: "All that is to be found in this library are Kor'âns of the Muslims³!" After this they burned it, only a few volumes were carried away by the Franks—May God curse those who are gone down to perdition already, and may He send to perdition all those who remain! And these are those who afterwards wander through Muslim lands⁴."

(1) Abu Tâlib ibn 'Ammâr, Qâdhî of Tripolis, made himself master of the town in 426; he was succeeded by his son Fakhr al-Mulk (Ibn al-Qalânîsî ed. Amedrôz, Leiden 1908 p. 97.)

(2) A fortified town near Hamât where Fakhr al-Mulk had retired when the Crusaders attacked Tripolis (Ibn al-Qalânîsî p. 164; Ibn al-Athîr X. 885.)

(3) One can see that the priest in question had never been in a real library where books are arranged according to subjects.

(4) The translation given in the text is direct from the manuscript. Quatremère (*Memoires sur l'Egypte* 1811 II. 506-7) had noticed it already, but translated it rather freely, and he has been followed by all modern historians of the Crusades like Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*

A slower but nevertheless inexorable agony underwent also the libraries of Cairo and Cordoba. At the death of the Caliph al-Hâkim the Cairo library was still cared for; the wazîr of his successor Abû'l Qâsim 'Alî ibn Ahmad al-Jarjarâ'î in 435/1043 caused a new catalogue to be made of the books and had the bindings repaired¹. But gradually the library fell into decay, especially under the Caliph al-Mustansir (426/1035—487/1094). During this reign a serious revolt occurred in Cairo by the negro soldiers in the service of this prince against the Turkish soldiers, commanded in this civil war by the Egyptian general Nâsir ad-Daulah ibn Hamdân, who, having, after much trouble, defeated the rebels in 461/1068, demanded from the Caliph for himself and his followers large recompenses. One of his partisans was the wazîr Abû'l Faraj Muhammad ibn Ja'far al-Maghribî who as reward received many books which were carried by 25 camels, while the sum of money which was due to him was 5,000 Dinârs, but the books which he had selected were valued at well over 100,000².

The same Nâsir ad-Daulah and his partisans were the same year compelled to flee from Cairo driven out by the same Turkish soldiers, who were exasperated by their preponderance and assumed excessive power and many houses, among them the library of the castle were plundered. The books which were in the so called "Internal Library" of the castle escaped out of the large library. This library, it appears, had a secret entrance³.

Other books ended by falling into the hands of the governor of Alexandria, who is not known, but on being sent back to Cairo they were again plundered by slaves, and the negro slaves tore off the bindings to make sandals of them, burning the leaves, making the pretence that the book had come from the castle of the Sultan, who was

I. 805 and *Bibliothèque des Croisés* des IV. 24 and Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* II. 221. The complete silence of the Christian chroniclers who have recorded some times very minutely even trivial matters, has induced some writers, (especially Lammens in his above-mentioned article) to cast doubt upon the account of Ibn al-Furât, or at least consider it an exaggeration of the Arab author, as if he wanted to invent a parallel to the presumed burning of the library at Alexandria. Really, while it depicts the natural grief of the Arabs about the loss of their cultural heritage, the Crusaders, who knew very little about Muslim Culture or hated it, saw in their destruction of the library of Tripolis only an episode such as happened continually and everywhere and consequently did not deserve special notice.

(1) Ibn al-Qiftî, *Târikh al-Hukamâ'* p. 440.

(2) Maqrîzî I. 408-9.

(3) Maqrîzî I. 408.

a Shī'ah in opposition to their own creed¹. Other books were thrown away and scattered in all directions. The remnants which were not burned were covered by heaps of dust and formed hillocks and remained in the vicinity of the ancient deposits called to-day "Hills of Books²."

The experiences of the books included in the libraries of the Fâtimids had not finished here. In 567/1171 Salâh ad-Dîn made himself master of Egypt and also took a share in the fate of the libraries. As already mentioned he gave to his secretary the Qâdî al-Fâdl 'Abd ar-Rahîm ibn 'Alî³ 100,000 books while he ordered the remainder to be sold by auction. The sales were twice a week and lasted for years as they were still going on in the year 572/1176, and among the purchasers was the historian 'Imâd ad-Dîn al-Isbahânî, secretary of Salâh ad-Dîn, who, however, was by his master absolved from payment for the books he had purchased⁴.

The library of Cordoba also perished miserably. Under the caliphate of the weak Hishâm II., the power passed into the hands of the wazîr al-Mansûr Muhammad ibn Abî 'Amir who, hating everything that dealt with philosophy, religious controversy or similar themes, invited some theologians to the library of Al-Hakam, made them sort out all books of a materialistic or philosophical nature, and had some burned⁵ while others were cast into wells and cisterns of the palace where they soon decayed under the dust and stones thrown upon the top of them⁶.

A few years later when Cordoba (in the 5/11th century) was menaced by Berber troops the wazîr al-Wâdîh, freed-

(1) The Fatimide Dynasty as is well-known were Shī'ahs, while most of the population of Egypt, including the slaves here mentioned, were Sunnis.

(2) Maqrîzî I. 409. The words "Hills of Books" make us believe that this notice refers to heaps of papyri existing in that quarter but the writings they contained were not those of Arabic books but ancient papyri, the well-known *Kom* which even to this day furnish interesting materials for students.

(3) Maqrîzî I. 409 : Ibn Khaldûn IV. 8. Contrary to this statement Abû Shâmah *Raudhatain* I. 200 asserts that the Qâdî al-Fâdhil, trusted by Salâh ad-Dîn to supervise the selection and sale of the books caused the covers to be stripped off the most valuable ones and had them thrown into a cistern, only to buy them when the sales were finished at a ridiculous price because they were damaged and practically worthless.

(4) Abû Shâmah p. 228.

(5) Al-Adharî, *Bayan* II. 314-5.

(6) Ibn Sâ'id, *Tabaqât* p. 66.

man of Al-Mansûr, had part of the remaining library sold, while what was left was plundered and destroyed by the conquerors¹; only a very small remnant of the books which escaped was taken to Toledo, where they probably served to form the beautiful library of the Banû'n-Nûn of Toledo, when after the death of the Caliph Hishâm III, Spain was split into a number of small kingdoms (the Mulûk at-Tawâ'if)².

The 7/13th century, fatal for the independence of the Caliphate, was also disastrous for Arabic culture and libraries. Almost simultaneously this immense realm, already diminished and enfeebled by the continual struggle of the princes who had divided the power among themselves, was invaded from two sides by two great movements of nations totally different in civilisation and religion but both intent upon destroying and eradicating all that was dear and sacred to their common enemy; the Mongol horde and the Christian armies of the West.

But while the Christians of Spain were able to drive out the Muslims and supplant their civilisation for that of the Arabs, though being to no mean degree influenced by them, the Mongols, less civilised, allowed themselves to be converted to Islam and the religion transfused gradually into the new converts the love for books. The Mongol dynasty established in India was the first to feel the need for intellectual food and became the initiator and protector of all sciences. It was then that in the great cities libraries saw the light which collected the remnants of the great cultural heritage of the Arabs. They were followed by the Othmanlî Turks who, in their capital, Constantinople, especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, collected great libraries, most of which were attached to the mosques while the richest and most important one was comprised in the heritage of the Sultans themselves.

Principally, however, in the 19th and more so in the 20th century there has arisen in so many oppressed nations a sentiment of patriotism, of independence and a pride in the sacred and inalienable heritage of their own civilisation, and this feeling has also roused the Islamic Orient from its torpor. After the example of Europe all cultural manifestations have revived and flourished, and

(1) Ibn Khaldûn IV. 146 : Maqqari, Cairo ed. I, 180 ; Leiden I, 249-50.

(2) Ribera, *Bibliofiles* p. 45.

with these, libraries have taken a new lease of life. If those which exist in the Islamic world are only in part a poor step towards the revival of a glorious past they nevertheless represent this renewal of Muslim culture and the tendency to collect and put into order the cultural treasures. Egypt, most closely in contact with Europe, first felt the need for establishing libraries of European type, and the Khedivial, now National, Library was arranged by distinguished German Orientalists, Spitta, Vollers and Moritz¹. In this library are brought together the most precious manuscripts which were scattered in the various mosques of Cairo, arranged with modern acumen in such a manner that they can be utilised and studied by the learned of all nations. Since the time of the first European director, Spitta, this library, has had a special staff of qualified copyists able to produce exact copies of the manuscripts for scholars who made a request for such, and recently has been introduced the more commodious and exact process of photographing.

Besides this Public Library, Egypt boasts also of private collections of valuable manuscripts, among which the most important is that of Ahmad Taimûr Pâshâ, one of the most learned modern Egyptians².

Constantinople has not remained behind in this movement so much more so because, as already mentioned, this city boasted of flourishing libraries in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the contents of the collections scattered in many mosques and madrasahs are set out in a large catalogue (in 40 volumes) which catalogue unfortunately leaves much to be desired. Precious mines for students are the Kôprûlû, Yenî Jamî', Tôp Kapû Sarâi, Hamidîyeh and other libraries in which some of the most precious and

(1) The Italian Orientalist Griffini was in 1920 entrusted with the arrangement of the Royal Library in Cairo, but was unable to complete his task as he died in May 1925. (Since then Prof. Jean Deni has been working upon the same task and is, as far as I know, still engaged upon it.—K).

(2) Al-Ma'lûf, *Al-Khizanat al-Taimuriyyah* in *Review of the Arab Academy* III, 225 ff. (Ahmad Taimûr Pâshâ with the greatest liberality permits students to make ample use of his unique private collection of valuable Arabic manuscripts. He even permits photographs to be taken. Another similar library is that of Ahmad Zekt Pâshâ in Gizeh, which is particularly rich in photographs of rare manuscripts in Constantinople libraries, and the learned owner is equally liberal in permitting free use of his treasures.—K).

unique Arabic manuscripts are found¹. It is certain that the government of the Turkish Republic will consider it a duty to preserve these treasures and make their use more easily accessible to European students than has been the case hitherto.

The influence of the West has made itself strongly felt in Syria in recent years; at Bairût, where, besides several small libraries², through the efforts of the Jesuit fathers who direct the University of St. Joseph an important collection of manuscripts has been formed. In Damascus, where the first impulse was given by the far-seeing governor, Midhat Pâshâ, about 1870, several libraries have come into existence³.

The libraries of Baghdâd, capital of the 'Irâq and once the seat of the Caliphate, underwent during the last fifty years a deplorable decadence, which commenced in the 16th and 17th centuries. Inundations, plague, and last but not least the sale of manuscripts to Europeans have almost completely dispersed the manuscripts. In 1909 there still existed public libraries attached to mosques, the most important of which was that of Shaikh 'Abd al-Qâdir al-Jilânî⁴. To-day, principally by the interest taken and under the guidance of the learned Carmelite, Father Anastase, a very learned Arabic scholar and himself the possessor of a valuable collection of manuscripts, an important cultural movement has taken place there also.

The libraries of the principal cities of the interior of the Arabian peninsula, like Mecca and Medîna⁵, are too

(1) (Catalogues of the libraries in Constantinople are published but they leave much to be desired and many a unique manuscript has had to be rediscovered. Such have been described, principally in German Journals.--K.)

(2) Tarrāzi, *Dar al-Kutub al-Kubra fi Bairut*, *Review of Arab Academie* II, 18; Al-Ma'lūf, *Al-Khizanat al-Barudiyah* *ibid.* V, 32 ff. (Three fascicles of the Catalogue of the Jesuit Library have been published so far, and these mention several unique manuscripts.—K.)

(3) *Az-Zayyat, Khaza'in al-Kutub fi Dimashq*, Cairo 1902.

(4) Massignon, *Etude sur les manuscrits des Bibliothèques de Bagdad*, *Revue du Monde Musulman* VIII, 233 ff. (By order of the 'Irâq Government the collections of manuscripts found in the Waqfs of various mosques have been collected into a State Library. His Excellency Ja'far Pasha informs me that only about 10 per cent. of the original possessions of the Waqf have been saved.—K.)

(5) Rif'at Pasha, *Waq'at al-Haramain*, Cairo Q 344 I-422-8. (Enquiries I have made from learned Muslims who have made use of the libraries at Al-Medinah reveal that the quantity of manuscripts preserved there is very considerable, but it will be long before these will be accessible for any but a very limited number of students.—K.)

little known, but are sure also to contain precious material, if we can judge by the copies made by the learned Shaikh ash-Shinqîî, and others made for Count Landberg.

Other collections exist in the Yaman especially in the city of San'a, where the Lombard merchant Caprotti acquired at intervals large quantities of Yamanite manuscripts which, forming an important collection, are now preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. Professor Griffini commenced to make a catalogue of this collection but it was left unfinished on account of his premature death¹. Other collections of smaller size, coming from the Yaman, are among the manuscripts preserved at Berlin and at the British Museum in London. The cordial relations between Italy and the Yaman make us hope that the time is not far distant when this extreme portion of the Arab world can be explored scientifically.

Under the influence of the French, libraries have also been established in the cities of Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, which are gradually being enlarged and enriched by continual new acquisitions. At the present time the following libraries are well known on account of the precious manuscripts which they contain : the library of the Zaitûniyah mosque at Tunis, the library at Algiers, the fine collection in the madrasah at Tlemsen and that of Rabat (Morocco), a catalogue of the latter having been published recently².

Also India, with the very great number of its collections of manuscripts found in the larger cities, like Madras, Bombay and the cities of Bengal and the Punjab, continues with pride, aided by England, the cultural movement

(1) L. Beltrami, *Augenio Griffini Bey*. (Also in the Yaman a new order has commenced, for in the recently published history of Yaman (by 'Abd al-Wâsi' al-Yamani, Cairo 1326) we find on page 274 under the year 1344 the following note : In this year the Imâm Yahyâ, whom God strengthen, built in San'a' the large library and collected in it valuable books of every branch of learning and he brought together the libraries of the ancient Waqfs in San'a,' which some hands had tried to bring to ruin."

(2) E. Levi-Provencal, *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes de la Medrsa de Rabat*, Paris 1921.

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON THE ORIENTAL MSS. IN THE LIBRARY OF UPPSALA UNIVERSITY

IN the year 1849 the renowned Arabic scholar Professor C. J. Tornberg of Lund, formerly lecturer of Arabic and assistant librarian in Uppsala, published an exhaustive description of the Oriental manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Uppsala¹. Since that time this collection has considerably increased by gifts or purchases; moreover, the Library possesses several manuscripts—mostly left by old Swedish orientalists—which must have been there already when Tornberg drew up his list of the Oriental collection though they were omitted in his catalogue, apparently because they had escaped his notice. Eighty or ninety years ago such careful, orderly arrangements as now prevail were not always met with in public libraries.

The chief additions are due to the Swedish archæologist Dr. F. R. Martin, who was travelling in Central Asia in the years 1894-95. There he acquired a great collection of Arabic, Persian, and Turkish manuscripts, which were afterwards bought by the University Library of Uppsala. Unfortunately, Dr. Martin was no Orientalist. If he had been more acquainted with the principal Muhammadan languages, he would no doubt have carefully examined the manuscripts offered for sale; as it was, he had to purchase the whole collection in the lump, and the consequence was that he bought about 30 copies of a number of well-known grammatical treatises, which have been printed many times, *viz.*, the *Kafiya*, the *Mi'at'u'l-'Arwamil*, the *Tasrifu'l-'Izzi*, the *Sarf-i-Mir*, etc., about 100 copies of *Chahar Kitab*, a work containing four treatises on religious subjects, printed at Tashkend in 1896, and about 30 copies of the religious poem *Tahbatu'l-'Ajizin* of Sûfî Allâhyâr, printed many times in the Orient.

1 *Codices arabici, persici et turcici bibliothecae regiae universitatis upsaliensis.*

As to the rest the collection in question mostly consists of treatises on grammar, theology, law, and philosophy with commentaries in Arabic and Persian. Moreover, several Persian poets are represented here, as Nizâmi, Hâfiz, Jâmî, and others.

A few years ago the Arabic manuscripts left by Count Landberg (d. in 1924) were presented to the University Library. In the course of time he had gathered an extremely valuable collection of manuscripts belonging to the most important departments of Arabic studies such as philology, poetry, theology, law, history and biography; but in the year 1900 or 1901¹ he sold them to Yale University². Of some works he had, however, procured two copies, and a few manuscripts, therefore, remained in his possession, such as the *Turfatu'l-Ashab*³ and the *Ta'rikh Thaghr 'Aden*⁴, and some others, which were bequeathed to the University library of Uppsala together with the correspondence of Count Landberg and the other papers and documents left by him.

At all events, the copious material referring to Arabic lexicography and written on numerous slips is the most valuable part of the Landberg collection. It is to be

(1) See *Report of the Librarian of Yale University* August, 1900-July, 1901, New Haven, Conn. 1901 and Ch. C. Torrey, *Special Collections in American Libraries: The Landberg Collection of Arabic Manuscripts at Yale University*. The Library Journal, Vol. 28 (1903), p. 53-57.

(2) Cf. Torrey, *l.c.*, "Aside from his long residence in different parts of the Arabic-speaking Orient, he made his way into some of the less accessible regions; for example, into Southern Arabia, where he spent considerable time and travelled extensively. He thus had frequent access to manuscript stores, where the collector had not preceded him. Moreover, he made it his aim to secure copies, wherever it was possible, of the unique manuscripts which are to be found here and there in the Orient, the property of libraries or of learned natives, jealously guarded, and not to be purchased at any price. For this purpose he employed two native copyists, men whom he had tried and found to be trustworthy, whose transcriptions, after being finished, were collated with the originals in order to insure the greatest possible accuracy. Any variant readings present were of course included, and in many cases obviously corrupt passages were amended, the corrected word or words being always added in the margin. Our collection contains a good many of these modern transcripts, the most of them elegantly written, and their average value for scientific purposes doubtless is but very little below that of the originals from which they were transcribed."

(3) Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litterature* I, 526: II, 184.

(4) See the author, *Über abu Mahrama's* ريخ تفرع ن، Festschrift Meinhof, p. 364 seq.

regretted that Count Landberg should not have been able to finish his great *Glossaire datinois*; he has published two large volumes, the last of which appeared only a year before his death, and here he has exhaustively treated the letters 1 — , but for the rest the material collected by him consists of mere quotations from a great number of authors, and the arduous labour of preparing it for the dictionary must, therefore, be reserved for the future editor. The other manuscripts of Count Landberg's collection are not equal to his lexicographical notes, most of them having been utilized in his own publications.

The total number of Oriental manuscripts acquired after the time of Tornberg, or not mentioned in his catalogue, amounts to 620. Of these 19 belong to other branches of Semitic philology, *viz.*, Syriac, Samaritan, and Hebrew, and may, therefore, be omitted here. As to the remainder of the collection, Arabic is represented by the greatest, and Turkish by the fewest number; the manuscripts entirely or chiefly written in Arabic being 258, the Persian ones 220 and the Turkish ones 123 in number.

Nearly thirty years ago I began to submit the manuscripts acquired by Dr. Martin to a preliminary examination, and to draw up a list of the whole collection, but having catalogued most of the Arabic manuscripts and about one half of the Persian ones, I was prevented by other work from fulfilling this laborious task, and it was not before February 1928 I could take it up again. العجلة من الشيطان وال تأني من الرحمن * says an Arabic proverb, and at all events this long interruption has proved very useful for the preparation of my catalogue, inasmuch as I owe many valuable suggestions to the literature issued during that interval. In spite of this the catalogue, which is now being printed in *Le Monde oriental*, Vol. XXII, certainly leaves a great deal to be desired, several manuscripts being fragmentary and anonymous, especially the Turkish ones and the titles and the names of the authors consequently not always investigable.

The Arabic manuscripts may be divided into the following groups: (1) Bibliography, (2) Philology with the exception of Modern Arabic and South Arabian, (3) Modern Arabic, (4) South Arabian, (5) Koran, (6) Theology, (7) Sufism, (8) Writings of the Druzes, (9) Law, (10) Philosophy, (11) Occult science, Astrology, and Alchemy,

(*) "Haste is from the devil and procrastination is from the Beneficent One."

(12) History, Archæology, and Genealogy, (13) Tales, (14) Poetry, (15) Rhetoric, Epistolary Models, and Letters (16) Miscellaneous, (17) Christian Theology.

It appears from the above remarks that the Arabic manuscripts, taken as a whole, are more imposing by their number than by their value. The copies of the Koran are rather numerous, in all 16, and among them are found some beautiful manuscripts, but some of them only contain fragments of the sacred Scripture of the Muhammadans. In the department of philology the reader's attention may be called to an old Coptic-Arabic dictionary which seems to be very correct. The celebrated Ibn al-'Arabî is represented by some Sûfî treatises; other interesting works are an account of the history of the Arabs before Islam compiled by Salim 'Anhûrî and a very rare treatise on alchemy and coinage by Hamdânî, entitled *Kitabu'l-jauharatain* and not mentioned by Brockelmann in his Literary History. The poetical works mostly consist of well-known compositions, as the *Burda*, the *Banat Su'ad*, the *Dîwân* of Mutanabbî with the commentary of Wâhidî and the *Mu'allaqat* with that of Zauzanî, etc.

The Persian manuscripts comprise (1) Philology, (2) Theology, (3) Sufism, (4) Law, (5) Philosophy and Ethics, (6) Occult science, (7) Medicine, (8) Mathematics and Astronomy, (9) Calligraphy, (10) History, Archæology and Biography, (11) Traditions, (12) Tales, (13) Poetry, (14) Miscellaneous, (15) History of Religion and Christian Theology.

A glance at this department will show us several well-known works on different subjects, generally to be found in public libraries containing Persian manuscripts, such as the *Kîmiya-i-Sa'adat*, the *Nuzhatul-Aarwah*, the *Zakhiratu'l-Muluk*, the *Khulasatu'l-Tawarikh*, the *Tazkiratu'l Auliya* of 'Attâr, the *Tuti Nama* of Nakhshabî, etc. When preparing the catalogue, I have also met with some treatises not mentioned anywhere else; two other works which seem to be very rare are the *Qissa-i-Shah Landhur* and the *Qissa wa-dastan-i-Firuzshah*, the last of which is incomplete. The copy only contains the third volume; it appears, however, from the colophon that the whole work should comprise at least four volumes. The most interesting part of the manuscripts written in Persian consist of poetry. Here we meet with such names as Anwarî, Nizâmî, Rûmî, Sa'dî, Hâfiz, Shâhî, Hîlâlî, Bîdil, and others. Although this collection of Oriental manuscripts is generally of rather modern date, the great bulk of them being,

doubtless, of the 18th and 19th centuries, there are, nevertheless, some of greater antiquity, e.g., a copy of the *Mathnawî-i-Ma'nawî* dated A. H. 1001 (=A. D. 1592/93). In connection with that two illuminated manuscripts may be pointed out here, viz., a copy of the *Iskandar Nama* of Nizâmî without date and another of the romantic poem of *Yusuf and Zulaikha* by Jâmî, dated A. H. 1057 (=A.D. 1647/48). The finest manuscript in the collection is, however, an exceedingly beautiful copy of the *dîwân* of Hâfiz together with that of Shâhî, written A. H. 879 (=A.D. 1474) for the Ottoman Sultan Mehemed II and presented, about thirty years ago, to the Library of the University of Uppsala by the French ambassador, Mr. Fournier, in Stockholm. This manuscript is written throughout on paper of various colours (blue, greyish-blue, yellow, etc.,) in a fair Ta'liq, between golden borders and is adorned with beautiful 'Uwâns in gold and colours.

The Turkish manuscripts are divided into two groups : (1) Ottoman and (2) Eastern Turkî, the first of which, 281 in number, comprises the following sections : (1) Philology, (2) Theology, (3) Sufism, (4) History, (5) Tales, (6) Poetry, (7) Poetics, Master-pieces of style, Letters, (8) Manuscripts of mixed contents.

The most remarkable portion of the Ottoman manuscripts consists of a dozen copies elegantly written and richly ornamented in gold and colours which were presented, nearly forty years ago, by Sultan Abdu'l Hamîd to King Oscar II. The gift of the sultan chiefly contains historical and poetical works, as the *Sulaiman Nama* of Qara Chelebi Zâda, the *Tazkiratu'l-Shu'ara* of Hasan Chelebi Qînâli Zâda, and the *dîwâns* of Fuzûlî, Nâbî, and Râghib Mehemed Pasha, etc.

The manuscripts written in Eastern Turkî are very similar to one another, one may, however, divide them into (1) Theology, (2) Occult science, (3) Tales, (4) Poetry, and (5) Manuscripts of mixed contents.

The most important works represented here are the *dîwân* of Ahmad Yasawî, the *Hairatu l-Abrar* of the renowned poet Mîr 'Alî Shîr Nawâ'î, and the story of Shâh Mashrab.

K. V. ZETTERSTEEN.

ANCIENT ARABIAN POETS

II

The Poet Prince who became a Khalifah.

ABU-ISHAQ Ibrâhîm-ibn-Al-Mahdî-ibn-Abi-Ja'far-al-Man-sûr--ibn--Muhammad--ibn'Alî--ibn--Abdullâh-ibn-'Alî-ibn-'Abdullah-ibn-Al-'Abbâs-ibn-'Abd al-Muttalib al-Hâshimî (descended from Hâshim, grandfather of the prophet Muhammad), half-brother to the celebrated Khalifah-al-Harûn ar-Rashîd.

This prince was born about the first month of Zû'l-Qa'dah¹, in the 162nd year of the Hejirah (July 799 of the Christian era). He had great talent as a singer, and was a skilled performer on musical instruments. There is a tradition to the effect that on one occasion, when he was quite a boy and not over 14 years of age, he and his mother (who was a negress) were staying in the country at the foot of some mountains, when the prince, who was reclining on a bank, commenced to play on the *nay* (an instrument somewhat resembling a flute). He played so sweetly that the goats on the mountain side were attracted by the melody and, descending from the crags whereon they had been browsing, slowly and solemnly gathered in a circle around the musician who, utterly oblivious of their presence, continued to cause dulcet sounds to proceed from the instrument. So long as he was playing, the *ma'z* (goats) remained perfectly silent and still, but when he ceased playing they all uttered a weird cry. The prince, on arising from his recumbent position, found himself surrounded by fully two hundred goats. He then proceeded to wend his way homeward, playing a marching tune on the *nay*, whereupon the goats, headed by a huge, venerable-looking old *tays* (he-goat) the patriarch of the flock, followed him. The old *tays* walked first, and in

(1) The month "Zu'l Qa'dah," or "the month of truce," is the eleventh month, and so called by the ancient Arabs, because it was a month in which warfare was not conducted, and wherein the people were engaged in peaceful occupations.

solitary grandeur, followed by the younger *tuyus* (he-goats) marching in couples, side by side, and these succeeded by the *mu'zat* (she-goats), and the kids in the same order. The Prince, accompanied by the animals, marching in this fashion, played on until he led the goats into a large *zarab* (fold), and all of them, having entered therein, the gate was closed, the creatures penned in, and the prince ceased his music. This story, which has been current among the Arabs for over a thousand years, may be the parent of the legend of the "Pied Piper of Hamelin."

This incident caused a contemporary poet, 'Alî-ibn-Yûsuf, to pen the following lines :—

- " A dragon is a dreadful beast, as all of us can tell,
 " On men and maidens he will feast, and animals as well ;
 " But when At-Tinnîn plays his lute and music sweet
 does make,
 " The *Tays* and *Mu'zat*, sure of foot, attention prompt
 do take.
 " From plain and hill, from mount and crag, they
 speed from all around,
 " And, quick of foot and all agog, list to the music's
 sound.
 " Sure, ne'er was dragon so expert, sure ne'er was
 beast so 'cute,
 " As At-Tinnîn, who doth not hurt, but charms goats
 with his lute."

The prince was always an agreeable companion at pleasure-parties and gatherings. Being of a dark complexion, which he inherited from his mother, whose name was Shiklah or Shaklah (she as previously mentioned, was a negress), and, being large-built, he acquired the nickname of *At-Tinnîn* (the dragon)¹. He was a man of great merit and an erudite scholar, possessed of an open heart and a generous hand. Of him a learned Arabian biographer² says :—" His like never before had been seen among the sons of the Khalifahs, none of whom spoke with more propriety and elegance, or composed verses of greater ability."

In order fully to understand some subsequent events in the life of Ibrâhîm-ibn-al-Mahdî, it is necessary to give

(1) The astronomical constellation of "Draco" (the dragon) is termed "at-Tinnîn" in Arabic. The dragon's tail is styled *dhanab at-tinnîn* (dhanab= a tail.)

(2) Ibn-Khalliqân.

a short sketch of the history of the Baghdad Khilâfat at this period. Harûn-ar-Rashîd succeeded to the Khilâfat in the year 786 of the Christian era. At that period there was rivalry at the court between the Persian and the Arab elements. This rivalry not only existed at the imperial court, but extended to that of every provincial governor throughout the empire. Under the protection afforded by the Barmakids and the vizier Ya'qûb, Persian practices and Persian habits of thought had obtained an undoubted ascendancy in Islamic Asia. The sweeping destruction that fell upon the Barmakids in the 188th year of the Hejirah (803 A.D.) was, therefore, a triumph for the Arab and orthodox party as great as it was unexpected. Harûn-ar-Rashîd, however, appears to have thought that the enmity engendered by the triumph of the one faction and the humiliation of the other would, unless foreseen and provided for, cause his dominions to become the arena of bitter and interminable civil dissensions. To obviate so deplorable a calamity, he had recourse to the extremely hazardous expedient of dividing his dominions between his two sons, leaving to 'Abdullah Mâ'mûn the eastern provinces wherein the Persian element predominated, and to Muhammad al-Amîn, 'Irâq, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, and Northern Africa. It was further enacted that Amîn should fix his capital at Baghdad, and the metropolis of Mâ'mûn should be situated at Merû; and that, on the demise of either brother, the whole empire should be united under the sceptre of the survivor. To render this arrangement as solemn and binding as possible, it was ratified in the Ka'bah itself the Sanctuary at Mekka¹. The Khalîfah was accompanied to Mekka by his two sons. In the Baitu'llâh ("House of God") each of the young princes bound himself by a solemn oath never to engage in hostilities against the other. Each of the nobles and great men who were present on this solemn occasion affixed his *khatm* (seal) to the document, wherein the conditions of the partition of power were lucidly set forth; and it was then affixed to the door of the Ka'bah. But as it was being so affixed an incident occurred which was taken by all who witnessed it as *tiyarah* (a bad omen), for the document fell from the hands of the official whose duty it was to affix it. Describing this incident, an Arabian poet,

(1) The Ka'ba, or "Cube-house," in the walls whereof is placed the "Hajaru'l-Aswad," or "Black Stone." The term "Baitu'llâh," or "House of God," specially denotes the Ka'ba itself, but it is also used to denote the whole enclosure or open square wherein the temple stands.

who flourished some score of years later, included the following couplet in his poem :—

“Behold the solemn script, so sign’d and seal’d by all,

“Allah did not approve, so downward it did fall.”

The word *tiyarah* used above means a bad or evil omen as distinguished from *fa’l*, a good omen. The Prophet Muhammad (on whom be everlasting peace!) is related to have said, “Do not put faith in a bad omen, but rather take a good one.” The people enquired, “What is a good omen?” The Prophet replied: “Any good word which any of you may hear.” Ibn ‘Abbās, a celebrated authority on Islamic traditions and laws and a cousin of the Prophet says “The Prophet used to take good omens by men’s names, but he would not take bad omens.” It is recorded in the *Mishkat’l-Masabih*, a well-known book of Muslim tradition, that “The Prophet forbade taking omens from the running of animals, the flight of birds, and from throwing pebbles, which were done by the idolators in Arabia.”

Soon after the return of the Khalifah and his two sons from Mekka, a rebellion broke out in Khorasan. The Khalifah, although at the time in ill-health, set out in person to crush the insurgents. The fatigues of the march greatly aggravated his sickness, and he died at the city of Tûs in the month of Safar¹ in the 193rd year of the Hejrah (809 A.D.).

The death of the Khalifah was the signal for bitter internecine discord. It seemed as if the state of things in ancient Egypt, portrayed in Butler’s *Hudibras*, when—

“The Egyptians worshipped dogs, and, for

Their faith, made internecine war,”

was coming to pass in the Muslim empire. The division of the empire into an Arabic and a Persian Kingdom brought about the exact result it had been intended to

(1) Safar is the second month of the Muslim year. It is supposed to derive its name from “safir,” “empty,” either because in it the Arabs went forth to war and left their homes empty, or because they left the homes empty of those whom they attacked by despoiling them of all their possessions. According to some writers, it was so called from “sufar,” “yellowness,” because when it was first so called it was autumn, when the leaves bore a yellowish tint. It is held by Muslims to be the most unlucky and inauspicious month in the whole year, for in it, tradition says, Adam was turned out of Eden. It was during this month that the Prophet Muhammad was taken ill, but his partial recovery took place on the last Wednesday (“yawm al arba”) of the month.

avert. It defined clearly and gave cohesion to each one of the two rival parties, and the interest of self-preservation (which has been said to be nature's first law) accelerated the inevitable collision. As George Eliot has truly remarked —

“ Royal deeds

“ May make long destinies for multitudes¹. ”

The unwise stipulation that, on the demise of either Amîn or Mâmûn, the survivor should succeed to the sovereignty of the dominions of the deceased, opened up a future of gloom and uncertainty to Arab and Persian alike. For each of them there was the chance of the ultimate and complete ascendancy of the rival party; it therefore became a matter of vital and primary importance to secure their position by the deposition of either Amîn or Mâmûn.

Amîn was naturally the head of the Arabic and orthodox party. He was of pure Arab blood; for Harûn and his wife Zubeidah, the mother of Muhammad-al-Amîn were cousins. He was a young man of noble and inspiring presence, great strength, and remarkable personal courage; unfortunately, however, he was both indolent and incapable, and apparently cared for nothing but music, singing, banquets, wine-drinking, and amusements. He became a passive tool in the hands of his chief adviser, Fadl-ibn-Rabî'a.

We have mentioned above that Amîn found pleasure in wine-drinking. This, as a Muslim, he ought not to have done, as wine under the term *khamr*² is generally held by Muslim theologians to imply and comprehend all things which intoxicate, and is forbidden in the Quran in the following passages :—

“ They will ask thee concerning wine and games of chance. Say : In both is great sin, and advantage also, to men; but their sin is greater than their advantage.” (Sûrah ii., *al-baqarah* (“The Cow”), âyah 226.)

“ O True-Believers ! surely wines, and games of chance, and images, and divining arrows, are an abomination of the work of Shaitân ! Avoid them, that ye may prosper.

(1) “ *The Spanish Gipsy* ” (Zarca).

(2) Arabic, “ *Khamr*, ” wine. Compare Hebrew, “ *khemer*, ” old wine (Isaiah, i., 22). Another name for wine in Arabic is “ *nabid*. ” A cup of wine : “ *kas khamr*. ” The nectar, or wine of Paradise, (which is stated to be non-intoxicating) is termed “ *zanjabil*, ” “ *tasnim*, ” or “ *kawsar*. ” The word “ *khamr* ” is never used in connection with the beverage of Paradise.

Shaitân seeketh to sow dissension and hatred among you, by wine and games of chance, and to turn you aside from the remembrance of God, and from prayer; will ye not, therefore, abstain therefrom?" (Sûrah v, "*The Table*," âyah 92.)

Al-Jalâlain ("The two Jalâls"), the commentators, whose joint work is called the *Tafsîru'l-Jalâlain*, say, on these verses, "only that wine is forbidden which intoxicates the brain and affects the steadiness of the body." All Muslim theologians and Doctors of Law, however, hold that wine of any kind is forbidden. The Imâm Abu-Hanîfah an-Nu'mân, the great Sunni Imâm and jurisconsult and founder of the Hanafî school of thought in Islam, (born, A.H. 80 : 700 A.D.; died at Baghdad, A.H. 250), says:—"This doctrine is founded upon a precept of the Prophet, who said, 'Whoever drinks wine, let him suffer correction by scourging as often as he drinks thereof'."

The other prince, 'Abdullah al-Mâmûn, was the son of Harûn ar-Rashîd by a Persian mother, and was consequently regarded by his Persian subjects as one of themselves. He was a man of more vigorous character and greater intellectual capacity than his idle and frivolous half-brother. But these qualities developed later, under the stress of circumstances. At the time of his father's death he was greatly under the influence of a favourite, by name Fadl-ibn-Sâhl, a Persian by birth. The hatred, envy and opposing ambitions of these two men—Fadl-ibn-Rabî'a and Fadl-ibn-Sahl—occasioned a civil war, which extended over the whole of the Asiatic dominions of the Khalîfah.

The murder of Al-Amîn, instead of quietening matters, seemed to aggravate the evils. Baghdad was in open rebellion, and a new khalifah must be elected in his stead. A full week was occupied in stormy and fruitless discussions, but ultimately choice was made of the subject of this sketch, Ibrâhîm-ibn-al-Mahdî, and he was declared khalîfah on the 325th day of Zû'l-hijjah ("the month of the pilgrimage" and the twelfth month of the Islamic year) in 202 A.H. (June 827 A.D.). He was proclaimed under the title of Al-Mubârak ("the Blessed"). The election of Ibrâhîm first proceeded from the adherents of the 'Abbâsids, resident in Baghdad, and shortly afterwards was confirmed by the whole of the inhabitants of that city, and on Friday, the 5th Muharram, (the first month of the Muslim year), 202 A.H. (25th July 827 A.D.) Ibrâhîm

ascended the minbar (pulpit) in the principal mosque in Baghdad and recited what is known as the Khutbah, namely, the sermon or oration delivered on Friday (the Muslim Sabbath¹), at the time of Zuhr, the meridian prayer.

The weekly prayer and sermon are established by an injunction contained in the ninth âyah (verse) of Sûrah 62 of the Qur'ân entitled *Al-Juma'* ("The Assembly") which runs thus:—"Oh ye who believe!—When the Adhan (call for prayer) is made upon the Day of Assembly then hasten to the remembrance of God, and leave off traffic." By the words, "remembrance of God," most Muslim commentators understand the Khutbah or sermon. The "Traditions" state that the Prophet frequently used to deliver a Khutbah on Fridays in the mosque at Mâdinah. During more than three centuries after the death of the Prophet it was customary for the Khalîfah, in person, to pronounce the Khutbah from the pulpit every Friday; Ibrâhîm-ibn-al-Mahdî, by thus mounting the minbar (pulpit) and reciting therefrom the Khutbah, openly assumed the functions of khalîf².

One of the grievances the 'Abbâsid party had against Al-Mâ'mûn, and which contributed to this revolt, was an order he had made that the public should cease to wear black, which was the distinctive colour of the 'Abbâsids, and that they should put on green, which colour was appropriated to the "Alids," as the family of Alî and their partisans were termed. This gave great dissatisfaction to the 'Abbâsids, and was one (*inter alia*) of the motives which provoked their enmity towards Al-Mâ'mûn; the wearing of black was re-established on Thursday 29th Zû'l-Qa'dah, 207 (May, 823 A.D.); the reason which rendered this change necessary is given by At-Tabarî in his annals.

The entire original text of At-Tabarî I have not been able to find, but Ibn-al-Athîr, who has frequently copied verbatim from At-Tabarî in his annals, furnishes us with the following passage:—"In the year 207 took place the revolt of 'Abdur-Rahmân-ibn-Ahmad-ibn-'Abdullâh-ibn-Muhammad-ibn 'Omar-ibn-'Alî-ibn-Abu-Tâlib, in the country of

(1) We need hardly say here that there is no analogy between the Muslim "day of assembly" and the Jewish *sabbath* except that both are appointed for one day a week and are concerned with religious observance.—Editor, "Islamic Culture."

(2) The details of this revolt are given in the annals of Abû'l-Fadâ, and in a work called "Kâmil," by Ibn-al-Athîr.

the tribe of 'Akk, situated in the province of Yamen. He called on the people to adopt the Ridâ ("the accepted of God") of the family of Muhammad." Every 'Abbâsid had revolted against the Omayyads, and every member of the family of 'Alî who revolted against the 'Abbâsids represented himself as a lieutenant of that mysterious person the Ridâ, who was, of course, unknown to the uninitiated, and in some instances was the identical individual who headed the insurrection. "The cause of this revolt was the unjust conduct of the government agents in Yaman which obliged the people to proclaim 'Abdur-Rahmân. When news of this was brought to Al-Mâ'mûn, he sent against him Dînâr-ibn-'Abdullah, with a numerous army, and gave him letters of pardon for the rebel. Dînâr, after visiting the great fair of Mekka, and performing the pilgrimage, marched towards Yaman, and sent the pardon to 'Abdur-Rahmân, who accepted it, and submitted to the authority of Al-Mâ'mûn by placing his hand in that of Dînâr, who brought him to Al-Mâ'mûn. On account of this revolt Al-Mâ'mûn forbade the members of the family of 'Alî to enter his presence, and ordered them to wear black; this took place on the 28th Dhû'l-Qa'dah" 207 A.H.¹.

We have already pointed out that Al-Mâ'mûn was a mere tool in the hands of his Persian Minister, Fadl-ibn-Sahl. The counsels of this man had encouraged him to enter into the conflict with his brother. Mâ'mûn abandoned to him the entire control of the administration, in full reliance upon his wisdom. Fadl used this power to fill every post with creatures of his own selection. His brother, Hasan-ibn-Sahl, was created governor of 'Irâq; and the other provinces, in a similar manner, were placed under the charge of Persians, some of whom openly scoffed at Islâm, while others were only recent converts thereto. The conduct of these governors brought about what might have been expected, and very soon Syria, 'Irâq and Arabia were all in flames. One of the consequences was, as we have seen, the election of Ibrâhîm-ibn-al-Mahdî as Khalîfah at Baghdad.

Even this event did not awaken Mâ'mûn from his lethargy. Fadl-ibn-Sahl led him to believe that Ibrâhîm-ibn-al-Mahdî was not a rival Khalîfah, but was simply filling the position of his lieutenant in 'Irâq. At-Tabarî, in his annals, says that the reign of Ibrâhîm lasted exactly

(1) Ibn-al-Athîr's *Kamil*, Arabic MS. of the *Bibliothèque du Roi*, under the year 207.

one year eleven months and twelve hours. It was a period of terrible privation and suffering for 'Irâq, which all the efforts of Ibrâhîm and his ministers were powerless to prevent. The perpetual disorders produced their inevitable results. There was no security for either life or property. The peasants abandoned their home-steads, and great tracts of land, deprived of their inhabitants, were left uncultivated. Famine followed on the heels of war; and pestilence followed as a dark, grim shadow.

“ Witless upon a pile of fleshless bones,
Sits Famine, smiling with a hungry eye
At Pestilence, who at her dark feet heaps
The blotch'd and swollen faces of the dead
In silence¹.”

This season of misery was brought to a close by an act of self-sacrifice on the part of the successor-designate to the throne of Mâm'ûn. 'Alî-ibn-Mûsâ, a lineal descendant of the great and pious Khalîfah 'Alî, and venerated by the Shî'as as the true Imâm, who was married to a daughter of Mâ'mûn, and to whom the people had sworn their allegiance as the successor-designate of Mâ'mûn, obtained a private interview with the Khalîfah. He there and then set before Mâ'mûn in plain language the real cause of the troubles in 'Irâq, and that it was not, as Fadl-ibn-Sahîl pretended, devotion to the house of 'Alî, but aversion to it. The 'Abbâsids dreaded the accession of an 'Alid to power, as involving the subversion of Arab supremacy, and the commencement of a fierce and sanguinary revenge for all the bloodshed of the House of 'Alî during the last 60 years, since the Khalîfah 'Abdullah as-Saffâh had ascended the throne in the 132nd year of the Hejirah (750 A.D.). It was untrue that Ibrâhîm-ibn-al-Mahdî was officiating as the lieutenant of Mâ'mûn in Baghdad; he had been elected and was acting as Khalîfah in his own right. If Mâ'mûn desired to preserve his throne, he must proceed to 'Irâq without delay. Mâm'ûn was aghast at this astounding revelation. “Are you the only one who is aware of it?” he enquired. “The whole army knows it,” was the response. Mâ'mûn then sent secretly for his officers and interrogated each of them separately and in the privacy of his own chamber. From them he learned all, and perceived that the murder of the gallant Hartamah under a false charge of treason, the

(1) Robert Buchannan, “The Drama of Kings.”

removal of Tâhir to Syria, the selection of 'Alī-ibn-Mūsâ as his successor, were all so many moves in the deep political enterprise of his vizier, Fadl-ibn-Sahl. The scales fell from his eyes, the glamour was dispelled, and he saw clearly the duplicity and cunning of his vizier.

Mâ'mûn, however, was not in a position at once to free himself of his dangerous favourite. Hasan, the brother of the vizier, commanded in 'Irâq an army chiefly raised in Khorasan. If the Khalîfah struck openly at Fadl, his brother in all probability would, with all his troops, transfer his allegiance to Ibrâhîm-ibn-al-Mahdî as a means of securing his own safety. Therefore, secret assassination appeared to be the only course to adopt.

“Kings climb to eminence

Over dead men's graves.”

The Khalîfah left Merû on the 10th Rajab 203 A.H., and arrived at Sarakhs¹ on the 6th Sha'ban². On arrival there he summoned to a secret interview four soldiers, with whose reckless and ferocious character he was acquainted, and charged them with the duty of assassinating the vizier. He had selected these men because as soon as the deed was accomplished, he intended to disown it and put his instruments to death; and their summary execution, on account of their well known ill reputation, would not cause any indignation or disorder among the troops. The instructions given to the four ruffians were to keep a watch over Fadl-ibn-Sahl, and when he entered his bath, rush in and kill him.

(1) Sarakhs is a fortress, situate in the extreme north-east of Persia, 90 miles E. by N. of Meshed. It stands on the left bank of the Heri-Rud, or Hury, the ancient Arius river, which, after leaving Sarakhs, is known as the Tajend. Sarakhs is the point of defence for the N.E. of Persia, and the key to the valley of Herat, and stands on an altitude of 860 feet above sea-level.

(2) Sha'ban, the month of separation (called also the Shahru-nabi, "The Prophet's month," is so called because the ancient Arabians used to separate, or disperse themselves, in this month in search of water (for when the months were regulated by the solar year, this month corresponded partly to June and partly to July). On the 15th day of this month is the "Night of Record," upon which it is believed that God registers all the actions of mankind which they are to perform during the year, and upon which the Prophet enjoined his followers to keep awake the whole night and according to tradition perform one hundred raka's.

“Murder!—but what is murder? When a wretch
 For private gair or hatred takes a life,
 We call it murder, crush him, brand his name.
 But when, for some great public cause, an arm
 Is, without love or hate, austere raised
 Against a power exempt from common checks,
 Dangerous to all, to be but thus annull’d—
 Ranks any man with murder such an act¹?”

On the morning after this interview, the vizier repaired at the customary hour to his hammâm (hot bath). He was an expert astrologer, and when casting his horoscope had learned that on that particular day his blood was to be shed between fire and water. He was at first somewhat affrighted at this intelligence but after considering the matter, gathered comfort from the fact that fire and water were only to be found together in a hot bath. He accordingly sent for a surgeon and had himself bled; and this blood having been collected in a *tass* (bowl), was, by his order, poured into the bath. The vizier then entered the bath with an easy mind; but as he was emerging therefrom, the four ruffians rushed upon and slew him. They then immediately fled and concealed themselves.

The Arabian poet, ‘Alî-ibn-Yûsuf, previously mentioned, describing this circumstance in a short epic poem, says:—

“Ill-omened, sad, that morning, then, the stars
 show’d in the skies.
 Water and fire mix not, Fadl, therein the danger lies.
 For, when they mix, that is the time that thou hast
 cause to dread,
 For in that hour, in cruel way, then shall thy blood
 be shed.”

* * * *

“In calm content, to bathe he went, and thought
 he’d nought to fear;
 ‘My blood is shed, the water’s red, the course is
 now quite clear.’
 So said Fadl, no thought of ill in his mind did abide;
 The stars imply that which is nigh, Fate cannot be
 denied!

For as he came forth from the same, four ruffians,
 dark and grim,

(1) Matthew Arnold, “*Merops*” (Polyphontes).

The signal gave. Like angry wave, they threw themselves on him.

Their daggers flash, his flesh they gash, their knives they stain with gore,

Three minutes sped, and he was dead, proud Fadl was no more."

When information of this tragic affair was communicated to Al-Mâ'mûn, he affected to be absolutely overwhelmed with grief. He hastened to the bath, and on seeing the lifeless body of Fadl, wept abundantly and wrung his hands as if in the deepest agony of grief. The body of the murdered favourite was interred with magnificent ceremonial; the entire court mourned for seven days, although in Islâm the period of mourning for the dead is restricted to three days¹; and a large reward was offered to anyone giving such information as might lead to the apprehension of the murderers. A special envoy was sent off immediately to 'Irâq to the brother of the murdered man, and charged to make known the deep sorrow of the monarch at this untoward event, and to confer

(1) Mourning.—As observed above, the period of mourning for the dead is restricted in Islam to three days, during which time the friends and relatives are expected to visit the bereaved family and offer up prayers for the departed and speak words of (ta'ziyah) consolation. But the armalah (widow) must observe the custom of mourning for a period of four months and ten days, such period being termed *idah*. During those periods of mourning it is the duty of all concerned to abstain from the use of perfumes (*bakhkar*) and ornaments (*zinat*), and to wear soiled garments. Lamentation (*buka*; Hebrew, *bokhoh*) for the dead was strictly forbidden by the Prophet Muhammad.

As a matter of interest, the period of mourning among Muslims may be contrasted with that of the Jews. Seven days' mourning for the dead appears to have been usual among the Jews. (Compare "Ecclesiasticus (Sirach), xxii, 12). To express his sorrow for the death of Saul and Jonathan and the defeat of Israel, David rent his clothes, wept and fasted all day (II. Samuel i, v. 11 and 12). David's lament on that occasion is one of the gems of Hebrew poetry. According to the Talmud, the seven days of mourning were observed even before the Flood. One reason given for the use of the number seven is that it is a tenth of a man's allotted span of three-score years and ten ("Sefat Emet," xix., quoted in Levensohn, "Mekore Minhagim"). The mourning proper, according to the Talmud, is divided into four periods. The first three days are given to weeping and lamentation; the deceased is eulogized up to the seventh day, the mourner keeping within the house; the sombre garb of mourning is worn up to the thirtieth day, and personal adornment is neglected; in the case of mourning for a parent, the pursuit of amusement and entertainment is abandoned up to the end of the year. Excessive mourning, among the Jews, as amongst the Muslims, is discouraged, as it would imply that "the mourner is possessed of more pity than the Almighty."

upon Hasan, the official position previously held by his late brother, and to demand for Al-Mâ'mûn the hand of his daughter Buran in marriage. While this messenger was speeding on his way, the Khalifah paid a visit of condolence to Fadl's mother. "Grieve not for him, neither be afflicted at his loss," said the Khalifah, "for Allah hath given thee a son in me to take his place; so you need not conceal from me the sentiments which you formerly confided to him." To complete the tragedy, in the month of Ramadan the four assassins were themselves discovered, and the monarch ordered them to be put to death in his presence. This sentence was promptly carried out.

Mâ'mûn had thus rid himself of his vizier and averted the suspicions of his brother. But he had done nothing to appease the anger of the population of Baghdad and the Arab population of 'Irâq. Ibrâhîm-ibn-Mahdî was still acknowledged and prayed for as Khalifah in the mosques of Baghdad, the metropolis of the Muslim empire. An 'Alid was still Mâ'mûn's successor, and a Persian his vizier. At this juncture, 'Alî-ibn-Mûsâ died, and was buried beside the Khalifah Harûn al-Rashîd and a mausoleum erected over his grave. Shortly after this, Hasan-As-Sahl, who had succeeded his murdered brother, Fadl, in the vizierate, went mad and had to be confined. Popular tradition ascribes the insanity of this unfortunate man to a mixture of certain drugs, shaukaran (hemlock) and qinnab (hemp) being secretly administered to him by order of the Khaliifah.

This event took place in the year 818 A.D., over eleven hundred years ago, and is interesting as showing how a belief in the deleterious and harmful qualities of those drugs was held then and has continued more or less ever since. The witches of Britain and the rest of Europe, in the composition of their philtres and potions, infused the juices of the most deadly herbs, such as hemlock, hemp, nightshade (the *genus solanum*), moonwort (*Rumex Lunoria*), monkshood (the *genus Aconitum*, and especially *Aconitum Napellus*, called also Wolfsbane); and to add to the potency of these baneful draughts they considered it wise to add as many as seven or nine of the most poisonous plants they could obtain, such, for example, as those enumerated in Ben Jonson's "Masque of Queens" in the following lines :—

“ And I ha’ been plucking plants among
 Hemlock, Henbane, Adder’s Tongue
 Nightshade, Moonwort, Libbard’s bane,
 And twice, by the dogs, was like to be ta’en.”

The fall of the three men, Fadl-ibn-Sahl, his brother Hassan, and ‘Alī-ibn-Mûsa, paved the way for Mâ’mûn’s reconciliation with his Arab subjects without exposing him to the anger of his Persian ones. Meanwhile he was advancing by easy stages to Baghdad. The villages and towns along the line of his advance were rejoiced by remissions of revenue and large reductions of taxation. The progress of the Khalîfah resembled that of some beneficent divinity, who showers benefits in his passage through the land. His secret emissaries, in the meantime, had penetrated to the metropolis and assured the chief men there of a complete amnesty and pardon for the past if they would abandon Ibrâhîm and return to their allegiance. This they were ready to do. They had espoused the cause of Ibrâhîm merely to avert the impending danger of a Persian ascendancy. That danger appeared no longer to threaten: and Ibrâhîm, without money or resources, and with a mere handful of beaten troops, was not in a position to resist his nephew. At Nahrawan, 18 miles north-east of Baghdad¹, Mâ’mûn was met by all the members of Ibrâhîm’s family, the officers of his army, and the chief men of Baghdad, and acclaimed as Khalîfah. He laid aside the green garments of the ‘Alids and resumed the black robes of the ‘Abbâsids; and on the 14th Safar, in the year 204 of the Hejirah (818 A.D.), made his triumphal entry into Baghdad. Fadl-ibn-Rabîa’ was pardoned and permitted to reside unmolested in the metropolis, and Ibrâhîm-ibn-Mahdî escaped from the city disguised as a negress slave.

The news of the flight of Ibrâhîm in this guise is said to have been conveyed to Mâ’mûn by one of the Court poets reciting the following lines:—

“ Who has not heard of dragons fierce and strange, of
 wondrous make,
 With pow’rful jaws like crocodile, and tails like
 those of snake,
 While fire and smoke, from nostrils come, to foul the
 air around.

(1) The Nahrawan Canal is an ancient irrigation work, east of the Tigris, still in many places 25-40 feet deep, 150-200 feet wide.

Must it be ? but no ! 'tis impossible (mumtani) !

Must the patrimony (*mal mawruth*) pass from one reprobate to another ? ”

Muharik, Zulzul, and Marik, the persons mentioned in the foregoing lines, were public singers at the time.

Although a fugitive, Ibrâhîm was still popular among the masses, and Al-Mâ'mûn, who, in his younger days, had often ridden on his back and listened with pleasure to his playing on the *nay*, still retained an affectionate feeling for his uncle. The verses of the poet, Dibil-al-Khozai, were rewarded with a much smaller in'âm (gratuity) than it was usual for a monarch to bestow upon poets, and this was taken as a sign that the Khalîfah did not feel revengeful against Ibrâhîm. After the quondam Khalîfah had been in hiding for a little over a year, another of the Court poets, Hârûn Mustafa by name, ventured to recite the following lines before the Khalîfah :—

“ The quality of mercy is a jewel rich and rare,

“ This the most precious diadem that any king can
wear,

“ What need a monarch just and good, a tiny ant to
slay,

“ 'Tis better far to smile on it and listen to its lay ! ”

The allusion to the *namleh* (ant) in the above verse was very appropriate, as the Arabs hold a belief that those extremely industrious insects sing at their work. Al-Mâ'mûn was struck with these lines ; he ordered a substantial *in'am* to be given there and then to the poet and calling for one of his secretaries, bade him forthwith issue a *manadah* (proclamation) that Ibrâhîm was absolutely pardoned and might at once return to his home and family.

Ibrâhîm took immediate advantage of this decree, and on his return to his home repaired to the palace to thank the Khalîfah personally for his clemency. What occurred on this occasion is best related in his own words :—

“ Al-Mâ'mûn said to me, on my going to see him after having obtained pardon : Is it thou 'amm (uncle) Ibrâhîm, who art the negro Khalîfah ? to which I replied : Commander of the Faithful ! I am he whom thou, in thy

gracious mercy, hast deigned to pardon ; and it has been said by the slave of the Banû'l-Hashas¹ :—

“ When men extol their worth, the slave of the family of Hashas can supply by his verses the defect of birth and fortune.

“ Though I be a slave, my soul, through its noble nature, is free : though my body is dark, my mind is fair.”

To this Al-Mâ'mûn replied : ‘ Uncle ! a jest of mine has put you in a serious mood.’ He then recited these verses :—

“ Blackness of skin cannot degrade an ingenious mind, nor lessen the worth of the scholar and the wit.

“ Let darkness claim the colour of your body ; I claim as mine your fair and candid soul.”

A more modern Arabian poet, Ibn Kalakis, whose life will form the subject of another article, has versified the above thought of Al-Mâ'mûn, with some clever additions of his own, and expressed it most happily in the following lines :—

“ Maidens there be whose skin is dark, aye e'en as black as ink,

“ In conduct spotless yet they be, and from all evil shrink,

“ So clear and pure their conscience is that of them e'en the sight

“ Causes kâfûr² to earnest wish that it was black, not white,

“ ‘Why am not I sweet smelling musk, this maid to emulate ?’

“ So sighs kâfûr, in whispers low, not content with its fate.

“ Regard the eye, look at it well, its *bubbu*³ may look dark.

(1) This poet's name is said to be Shaim. The Banû'l Hashas were a branch of the tribe of Azad. He is believed to have lived in Arabia during “ the days of ignorance,” before the advent of the prophet Muhammad. Tabrizi cites a verse of his in the commentary on the Hamasa.

(2) *Kafur*, camphor. In Arabian poetry camphor is often used as a symbol of whiteness, and *musk* as emblematic of black.

(3) *Bubbu*, the pupil of the eye.

" Yet merely it doth concentrate the light within
its ark,

" And seeming dark, yet is the light, 'tis to the eye
the heart

" O man, then know, that, in the eye, 'tis the important
part."

The adventures of Ibrâhîm after he had been pardoned by his nephew, as well as his hair-breadth escapes from arrest during the time he was a fugitive, form a very long narrative as related by many of the Muslim historians, particularly by that famous Arabian author, Ibn-Ja'far Muhammad-ibn-Jubair at-Tabarî¹. It is related that before Al-Mâ'mûn got Ibrâhîm in his power, he consulted his vizier, Ahmad-ibn-Abî Khâlid-al-Ahwal as to what should be done with him if he was captured. The vizier was a freedman and had been employed as *Katib*, or scribe, in the government offices before his nomination to the highest position of vizier. He was a man of great intelligence, prudence, and foresight, and possessed, besides, the talent of expressing his ideas in an elegant and correct style², replied: "Commander of the Faithful! If you condemn him to death, you will only be doing what other monarchs have done in like circumstances, and will thus only rank as one amongst many; but if you forgive and pardon him you will show yourself more magnanimous and greater than they, and be peerless among sovereigns. Is it not written, O Khalifah of the Muslims in the imperishable and eternal Qur'ân, 'He who forgiveth and maketh peace, shall find his reward for it from Allâh,' and again in another *ayah* of the same *surah* is it not declared, 'Whoso beareth wrongs and forgiveth—this is a bounden duty'? O, Commander of the Faithful, *Al-Afu* ("one who erases, cancels, pardons and forgives")

(1) Abn-Ja'far Muhammad-ibn-Jubair at-Tabarî was born in Amol, the chief city of Tabiristân, in the 224th year of the Hejirah (889 A.D.), the same year wherein Ibrâhîm ibn-al-Mahdî died. The surname At-Tabarî implies that he was a native of Tabiristân. His chief works are a commentary on the Qur'ân, and a "History or Chronicle of the Creation to the year 302 of the Hejirah." The Chronicle of Tabarî was abridged and continued by Elmâcînus, and the section commencing with the birth of the Prophet Muhammad has been published in Arabic and in Latin. Tabarî was famous for his profound knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence. He died at Baghdad in the 310th year of the Hejirah (922 A.D.).

(2) The vizier, Ahmad ibn-Abî Khâlid al-Ahwal, died in the year 210 of the Hejirah (825 A.D.), according to Fakhr-ud-Dîn.

is one of the ninety-nine precious names and attributes of Allâh, and 'Verily, Allâh pardons and forgives.' The best of men is he who obeys Allâh and His Holy Prophet and keeps his Law." Powerfully affected by this eloquent speech of his prudent and intelligent vizier, and also influenced by his own feelings of affection towards his uncle, the Khalîfah pardoned his erstwhile rival.

Despite his conduct towards his first vizier, Fadl-ibn-Sahl, and other deeds of violence, the Khalîfah Al-Mâ'mûn, after the pardon of Ibrâhîm, and under his influence and that of his able and learned vizier, Ahmad-ibn-Abî Khâlid al-Ahwal, encouraged learning, and caused translations to be made into Arabic of the books that had been sent to his father. The first Arabic version of Euclid's Elements was dedicated to him. He was also the first to measure a degree of the meridian, which he did on the plain of Shinar. Mathematics, astronomy, medicine, music, and poetry were cultivated at his court, Al-Mâ'mûn himself was no mean scholar; he wrote several treatises—one on the Qur'ân, one on prophecy (*Nabuwat*), and another on rhetoric (*Ilm al-fasahat*).

"He was a scholar, and a ripe and good one;
Exceeding wise, fair spoken and persuading;
Lofty and sour to them that lov'd him not;
But to those men who sought him, sweet as summer.

(Shakespeare, "King Henry VIII," Act IV., Scene 2.)

During the last years of his life, he suffered greatly from insomnia, and even when he was able to sleep his slumbers were troubled with extremely unpleasant and nerve-racking dreams, which prevented him from deriving much benefit therefrom. One of his physicians suggested to him that he should try the effect of soft music being played in an ante-room to his bedroom, as thereby sleep might be induced and have a soothing effect upon his mind. This was accordingly tried and to a certain extent proved beneficial. The reputation as a skilled musician that Ibrâhîm-ibn-al-Mahdî possessed has already been mentioned, and he was requested to occupy the ante-chamber to the Khalîfah's bedroom and discourse sweet music on his *nay*. He did so, and tradition states that within five minutes of his playing Al-Mâ'mûn fell into a sound sleep, and while in that state had a most vivid dream, wherein he saw himself standing at the bar of Judgment.

The Great Judge of the Universe presided, and the accusing counsel brought forth ninety-nine huge books, wherein were recorded all the evil deeds done and words uttered by the accused during his earthly career. And the Great Judge said to him : "Do you deny anything in these books ? Have my scribes injured you at all therein ?" And Mâ'mûn replied : "O my Lord ! I deny nothing that is written therein." Then the Judge said : "Have you an excuse to offer for committing all this wickedness ?" Then Al-Mâ'mûn hung down his head and was dumb. And lo, the Angel of Mercy stood up and pleaded for him, and said ; "O Most Merciful and most Compassionate One ! Behold, I have here the books containing the records of the good deeds of this man !" And the Judge said : "Let them be produced and opened and read." And this was done, and the heart of Al-Mâ'mûn sank within him, for there were only ten books produced, and each of them was smaller than those which had been offered in evidence against him, and he saw standing beside the Great Judge the archangel Jabra'îl (Gabriel), who held in his hand the *Mizan* (the balance), wherein the actions of all men are weighed, and, behold, the scales were so huge that one scale hung over the Garden (Paradise) and the other over Jahannam (Hell), and he feared that the 99 huge books would outweigh the 10 smaller ones. And the Great Judge said : "Read what is in these last produced books." And the angel read. He first mentioned that Al-Mâ'mûn was a patron and friend of science and learning, and had provided salaries and support for learned men. And the Great Judge said : "Place that book in the scale," and it was done and the *mizan* inclined towards Paradise ; but the accusing angel cast ten books of the accusations into the other scale, and behold they weighed down the balance towards Jahannam. Then the angel of compassion set out many good deeds and meritorious actions of Al-Mâ'mûn, but whenever the *mizan* inclined towards Al-Jannah (the Garden), more accusing books were cast into the opposing scale. Then the angel of compassion read aloud how Al-Mâ'mûn had shown mercy to Ibrâhîm-ibn-al-Mahdî and pardoned and forgiven him, and this was cast into the scale, and against it were 19 books, all that remained of those containing the accusations, cast into the opposite scale, and, behold, the *mizan* remained equally poised. And the Great Judge asked of the angel : "Hast thou ought else to urge ?" And the angel replied : "Yea, verily." and he produced a piece of paper whereon was written the *Kalimah* (There is no God save Allah, and

Muhammad is His messenger ”), and he said : “ Five times each day of his life has this man repeated this sentence.” And the Great Judge said : “ Cast that paper into the balance ; ” and he did so, and lo, the scale came down heavily towards the Garden and six angels came and clothed Al-Mâ’mûn with a robe of white and led him into the Garden.”

Then Al-Mâ’mûn awoke, and sent for his vizier, and recounted the dream to him, and said : “ Oh, Ahmad, thou art called al-Ahwal (the Squinter) but thou shalt be known in future as *al-‘Arif* (“ the Sage ”), for thy advice was good, and through it have I been saved from the flames of Jahannam.”

Al-Mâ’mûn died in the 220th year of the Hejirah, corresponding with the 1st August 835 A.D. and his brother Qâsim al-Mu’tassim reigned in his stead.

It is stated that on one occasion the Khalîfah Qâsim al-Mu’tassim, was seated on his throne, having at his side, to the right, Al-‘Abbâs, a son of Al-Mâ’mûn, and on his left Ibrâhîm-ibn-al-Mahdî, when the latter commenced playing with a *mahbas* (finger-ring) he held in his hand. “ What ring is that ? ” said Al-‘Abbâs. “ It is a *mahbas*,” replied Ibrâhîm, “ which, owing to my necessities, I had to pledge during the reign of your late father, but which, owing to the munificence of the Commander of the Faithful in whose presence we have the honour and felicity of sitting this day, I was able to redeem yesterday.”

The young man, Al-‘Abbâs, took this remark as a reflection upon his father, the deceased Khalîfah, as Al-Mâ’mûn was reputed avaricious, and that Ibrâhîm alluded to this and implied thereby that a monarch should not have permitted any member of the royal family to remain in impecunious circumstances, and in his anger he said : “ By Allah ! since you are ungrateful to my father, who forgave you *khiyanat* (treason), and who spared your life notwithstanding the enormity of your crime, you will not be thankful to the Commander of the Faithful for having given you, in his munificence, the means to redeem your ring.” Ibrâhîm made no answer to this retort. When, subsequently, in the course of private conversation with al-Mu’tassim, that monarch asked him why he made no retort to Al-‘Abbâs, Ibrâhîm replied with the following couplet : —

adds an eighth form, namely, "Samarrai," in one of his poems.

"A name unmusical to the Arabians' ears,
"And harsh in sound to thine."

After the death and interment of Ibrâhîm, the following poem, styled "*As-sirr*" ("The Mystery"), by some ascribed to Abû Nuwwâs, and by others to a less known poet named 'Alî Yûnus, was circulated:—

"Behold a mystery I'll tell, a thing surprising rare,

"So come with me to Sarr-man-rai, and see what's
lying there.

"In narrow space and close confin'd, within a chamber
dark,

"There doth repose in quietude a man who made
his mark,

"Who, in his time play'd many parts—I think, at
least, a score.

"Them to relate, much time would take, a month
or even more.

"A prince, a king, a dragon brave, a singer of sweet
lay,

"A fisherman, a negress slave, a player on the *nay*,

"One who could charm upon the lute the am'rous
horned goat,

"And also soothe a king to sleep with music sweet
to note.

"You doubt my word, you scorn my muse, as a mere
passing whim,

"But all is true, if thou wilt view, the tomb of
Ibrâhîm."

HARUN MUSTAFA LEON.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

VIII. FINANCES.

(Continued from "Islamic Culture" Vol. II, No. 4, p. 610.)

ALTHOUGH the Muslim legislation on the subject of taxation seems clear and simple enough in the works of theorists from Abû Yûsuf to Mawardî and in the collections of Traditions, it was in reality complicated, diverse, and difficult. The contrast between the systems of finance in the provinces which were formerly Byzantine and Persian respectively is not done away with; further in pre-Arab times there was a difference between the systems of taxation current in Syria, Egypt, and North Africa just as there was between the Babylonian, Khorasanian and South Persian systems.

Only those taxes which were purely Islamic were consistently maintained in the whole Empire: the poll-tax paid by Christians and Jews and the alms paid by Believers. These were calculated by the month, as was also the case with the rents on hereditary tenements, on mills and city sites, etc., etc., and the monthly payments in all these cases followed the lunar year. Actually, the lunar Calendar was only followed in their exaction in those great cities which were less dependent on the harvest. Taxes in the country had to be arranged to suit the needs of the cultivator, and his sowing and harvest, which involved the solar year¹. This solar year was the Coptic and Syrian in the portion of the empire which had formerly been Greek, the Persian in the East. In the latter the collection of taxes started with the new year². This was natural in the earliest period, when the new year began with the summer solstice which was harvest-time³. At our period it started at the commencement of spring, before harvest, hence the Caliphs in the 3rd/9th century

(1) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, 1,273, who here draws upon a special work, *the history of al-Mut'adid* by 'Abdullah ibn Ahmad ibn Abî Tâhir.

(2) In the further East, Afghanistan and Transoxiana, the land-tax was levied in two annual instalments. Ibn Hakal, 1,308, 341.

(3) Al-Bîrûnî, *chron.* p. 216.

at times endeavoured to institute a different fiscal New Year. Mutawakkil fixed it for June 17th in 243/857, but died before making his innovation effective. It is asserted that the Caliph al-Mut'adid noticed when hunting that the corn was still quite green, while the officials were already trying to collect the taxes. Consequently in 281/894 he enacted that the fiscal year should commence on July 11th, and at the same time had the different calendars of the fiscal bureaux harmonized. The East had to adapt itself to the West. Whereas the Persian calendar intercalated a month after every 120 years, the Caliph enacted that a day should be intercalated after every four years according to the Greek and Syrian systems¹. Since, however, on religious grounds the lunar year could not be abolished; there were now two concurrent years of different lengths, which occasioned serious confusion; for instance, the lunar year (*as-sanatu'l-hillaliyah*) 300 was distinguished from the fiscal year (*assanatu'l Kharajiyah*) 300, and since the two years ultimately synchronised so little "that the fiscal year called 300 came after a lunar year which had already passed, and as it was improper to attach a thirteenth month to a lunar year, since then the sacred months would be displaced, and as the taxes of a whole year would have been lost" it was decided in the year 350/961 to drop a fiscal year once in 32 years, and so harmonize to a certain extent between the two methods of calculation. The fiscal year 350 was immediately re-named 351. The enactment worked out by Sabî is preserved².

Another peculiarity of the Muslim financial system was that the Provincial tax-offices served as State-treasuries. Out of the revenues the ordinary expenses were defrayed and soldiers paid, the balance only being remitted to the central treasury³. Thus the money remitted to the

(1) Maqrizî, 275; al-Bîrûnî, Chron. 32 ff: Tabarî, III, 2148; *Rasa'il es-Sabi*, 213.

(2) *Rasa'il es-Sabi*, 209 ff: Maqrizî, 1,277 Prof. Margoliouth writes to me: The words "*die monatsjahressteuern zu kurz gekommen waren*" (in Mez) are far from clear. Suppose lunar year 300 to end when fiscal year 300 begins. If we make them synchronize by adding a month to lunar year 300, so that they coincide for one month, the dues for that one month will be liable to be paid for the whole year 300. It does not seem to me that the expedient resorted to avoided that difficulty. Tr.

(3) Misk, V, 193: Al-Faragh 1,51: Ibn Hakal, 128: *Mafatihul 'ulum*, 54. Even in the provinces of the Byzantine Empire the prefect defrayed, direct out of the revenue, the expenses of the province. The practice, among the Omayyads, is said to have been for the carrier of

central treasury was only meant for the court, the garrison of the capital, the ministries, and the East of Baghdad, belonging, according to Law, to Court. The western portion, that is to say the real town itself, formed part of the district of Baduriya¹.

The Khawarazmî introduces us to the system of book-keeping obtaining in a Khorasanian Customs-office in the 4th/10th century². We find there :—

The amount of assessed taxes (Qânûn)³, the amount paid by each tax-payer on account of the tax assessed, the journal containing daily income and expenditure, the amounts totalled up at the end of every month. The yearly account : this was a register in which amounts paid in were systematically entered for easy reference. The statements were shown in three columns : first, the amount taxed ; second, the amount actually collected ; and third the difference between the two. In most cases the amount paid in was less than the amount assessed. The quittance receipt for the tax. Final settlement. Release.

We possess the Imperial Budget of the year 306/918. It is based upon the statement of accounts of the year 303. Similar to what we find in the books of individual tax-officers, here, too, revenues are set against expenses ; and expenses, exactly as with us, are divided into ordinary and extraordinary expenses. And, as is frequently the case with us, it closes with a deficit. Therein the taxes of Babylonia, Khûzistân, Fâris, and Irân are shown only in current coin ; whereas, even up to 269/873, payment of taxes is shown both in coin and in kind. This indicates a distinct progress in the financial administration of the Eastern part of the Empire. In the Syrian and Mesopotamian provinces, on the other hand, taxes were yet

taxes to be accompanied by ten men from the particular province who swore before the Caliph that nothing but what was permissible had been taken and the soldiers and all, entitled to be paid, have been paid. *Ajbar Makhmûa*, 22 ff : Abulfoyyad, according to Simonét *Hist. de los Mozarbes*, 158. In all statements in the budget and rent-rolls the actual amount must be understood.

(1) Wuz, 11 ff. (Guy Le Strange, *Baghdad*. 1 p. 51,315.—Tr.)

(2) *Mafatihul 'Ulum*, 54.

(3) In the post-Diocletian period *Qanun* is the common term for regular taxes. Wilken, *Griech, Ostraka*, 378.

assessed both in kind and current coin¹. The steady growth of the practice of noting down taxes in current coin only and the consequent disappearance of the earlier picturesque customs made the accounts simple and uniform and, at the same time, strikingly different from the diversified tax-list of the western countries during the Middle Ages.

Only of the town of Asbigah in Turkistan, on the extreme frontier of the empire, it is reported that it sent in an annual Khiraj (land-tax) of four copper coins and a broom². About the year 300/912 it became customary to send in with the tribute and the taxes some curios to the Court. In 299/911 with the Egyptian revenue, came a he-goat with milking udder³; in 301/913 from 'Omân a white parrot and a black gazelle⁴; and in 305/917 again from 'Omân black antelopes and a black bird which spoke Persian and Indian languages better than any parrot⁵.

An important form of landed property throughout the Empire was the fief (Iqta)⁶. Both in the East and the West it was of ancient origin. Abû Yûsuf⁷, writing expressly about the East, says: the hereditary lease (the fief) is a Persian institution. In the West it is a Roman institution. In this way here, as in the East, the crown-lands and *agri deserti* passed from the government to the private individual⁸. The tax, payable by the tenant, was determined by the individual contract but, according to the theorists, tenants only paid a tenth of the proceeds⁹. They, indeed, were not better off than the ordinary

(1) Kremer, *Einnahmebudget der Abbasiden*, 309, 323; Qodamah, 239; Wuz, 189.

(2) Muq, 340. This statement is confirmed by Yâqût, (*Geography* 1,249), according to which Asbigah is the only town in Khorasan and Transoxiana which paid no khiraj, for as the greatest frontier-town it needed its revenue for military purposes. (3) Ibn al-Jauzî, Berlin, fol. 6a. (4) Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 9a. (5) Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 15 b. (6) Agnides *Intro. to Moh. Law* (Columbia University, 1916) pp. 484 sqq. Tr. (7) *Kit al-Khiraj*, 32. Along with this there was the lease for life but of this there is very little talk (*Mafatihul-'Ulum*, 460).

(8) Becker, *ZA* 1905, 301 ff. (9) Qodamah, Paris, fol. 90a: Tenth-land is of six kinds: (a) Lands, whose owners have become Muslims and who are still in possession thereof. Such as is the case in Yaman, Medinah, and Taif. (b) Waste-land cultivated by the faithful. (c) Fiefs. (d) The quondam enemy land distributed by the Caliph among the faithful. (e) The quondam Persian crownlands. (f) Lands, (as is the case in military frontiers) abandoned by the enemy and occupied by the faithful. Along with the *Diwan el-Khiraj* there was a special tax-office for manorial estates (Diwân ad-dfya). Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs*, p. 235 et sqq.

landholders. In a work of the 4th/10th century an anecdote is related which runs thus. Hârûn al-Rashîd expressed a wish to invest his physician with a fief but the latter begged for money instead to buy land, urging that he had no fief in his landed possessions¹. There was, indeed, a large number of cases where it was argued whether the land in dispute was a fief or an ordinary taxable landed property; the landholders maintaining the former, the tax-officers urging the latter². By confiscation or abandonment—the latter was oftener the case on account of heavy taxation—fiefs constantly escheated to Government. Thus, under the Safarids, in the 3rd/9th century so many land-owners, liable to taxes, emigrated from Fars that the then Government felt itself constrained to realize the entire amount of the taxes from those who had remained behind. This cumulation of taxes weighed heavily upon the country. When the province reverted to the Empire, a Persian deputation went to the Caliph at Baghdad (303/915) praying for the discontinuance of the practice of exacting cumulated taxes (*takmilah*); in other words the practice of making up the deficit of taxes from those that still retained lands³. In the East this practice appears to have been somewhat exceptional. In Egypt, on the other hand, the liability of the community to pay the taxes due from those that had left was the rule. In Mesopotamia this rule applied only to the capitation-tax. In France the responsibility of the community for taxes was only done away with shortly before the Revolution; in Russia not until 1906.

The Government, indeed, retained other lands in its direct possession as crown lands (*Diya Sultaniyyah*). In prosperous times crown lands were augmented by purchase of other lands⁴ but in times of stress the very opposite was the case. In 323/935 the government had to sell some crown lands to pay back a loan⁵. When the Government was weak, these crown lands were always in danger of being absorbed by neighbouring landed proprietors⁶.

To escape the burden of taxation smaller landlords were wont to hold lands in the names of the more powerful ones. The result was that these lands appeared in the names of the latter and, instead of the land-tax, paid only

(1) *Kit alfaragh*, II. 103. (2) Wuz. 220.

(3) Wuz, 340 ff: *Kit al-Uyun*, fol. 81 a. (4) Qodamah, 241.

(5) *Misk*, V, 515. (6) Wuz, 134: *Kit. al-Faragh*, I, 50.

the tenth due from fiefs¹. The possession, indeed, remained with of the actual owners who were at liberty to sell or to deal with them as they pleased. This was an old device. Through large landed-posessions this practice came into vogue in Byzantine Egypt. The existence of such a practice is even reported during the Omayyad times² but in the 4th/10th century we find a special book in the tax-offices of Khorasan dealing with such cases³. About 300/912 strikingly common was this practice in tax-ridden Fars⁴. In the East these small landlords never lost their proprietary right as they did in Egypt, where, in 415 A.D., their position as clients was secured and ratified by law⁵.

Moreover, to the treasury came in a fifth of the treasure-trove; a fifth of the things raised from the mines or found in the sea; the sale proceeds of slaves of untraceable owners; stolen properties recovered from robbers and, finally, the treasury was the ultimate heir when no legal heir was forthcoming⁶. The rule, regarding the ultimate succession of the treasury in case of an heirless decease, applied only to the case of an heirless Muslim. Thus the property of Khatib al-Baghdâdî (200 dinârs) passed, after his death, to the State⁷. According to a saying of the Prophet: "A Muslim cannot inherit from an unbeliever and *vice-versa*"; the Caliph in 311/923 rules that the property of heirless Christians and Jews should pass on to their respective communities and not to the State⁸.

Among the jurists many principles, surprisingly modern were fought out, such as the principle that property should go to the State in preference to distant kindred. And this was all the more significant as, according to many jurists, even some near relations could *only* inherit such shares as were definitely fixed by the Qur'ân, with the result that the treasury often became their co-heir⁹. In the

(1) See the note at the end of this chapter Tr. (2) Qodamah, 241.

(3) Khwarezmi, *Mafatih al-Uhum*, 62. (4) Istakhri, 158. (5) Matthias Gelzer: *Studien zur Byzantinischen Verwaltung Agyptens* 72 ff.

(6) Qodamah, Paris 1907, fol. 91a: Schmidt, *Die occupatio im Islamischen Recht*, Islam, 1, 300 ff. (7) Yaqût, *Irshad* 1,252. (8) Wuz, 248.

(9) (There are three classes of heirs in the Hanafi Law: (1) Sharers, (2) Residuaries, and (3) Distant kindred. 'Sharers' are those who are entitled to a prescribed share of the inheritance. 'Residuaries' are those who take no prescribed share but succeed to the 'residue' after the claims of the sharers are satisfied. 'Distant kindred' are all those relations by blood who are neither 'sharers' nor 'Residuaries.' The question as to which of the relations belonging to the

3rd/9th century under the Caliph al-Mut'amid (256-279/869-892) a special department dealing with Inheritances (*Diwan al-Mawarith*) was established: a splendid pond for greedy officials to fish in¹.

"Woe to him whose father dies rich! Long does he remain incarcerated in misfortune's home, the unrighteous officer saying unto him: How do I know that you are the rich man's son? And when he rejoins: "My neighbours and many others know me." they pluck his moustache one by one, assault him, knock him about, until strength ebbs away from him and he faints. And in the dungeon he languishes until he flings his purse to them²."

Thus complains Ibn al-Mut'azz at the end of the 3rd/9th century.

The Caliph al-Râdhî, did indeed, control the princely greed for capturing inheritances; for when the Sultan of Babylon confiscated a large inheritance he compelled him to restore the spoil to the rightful claimant³.

Saif-ud-Dawlah, however, officially confiscated inheritances. In 333/944 he appointed Abû Husain Qâdhî of Aleppo. When confiscating the properties of the dead, Abû Husain was wont to say: "The inheritance is Saif-ud-Duawlah's, mine the commission only⁴."

Great was the temptation to treat the property of deceased strangers as heirless and, as such, to confiscate it. Some such practice was, indeed, legalized in England in the 13th Century but in Islam it was never applied to the property of deceased Muslims⁵.

In 401/1010 a considerable sum of money was brought to the Buwayyid Governor at Baghdad, which had been class of 'sharers' or 'Residuaries,' or 'distant kindred' are entitled to succeed to the inheritance depends on the circumstances of each case. Tr.). In the absence of 'sharers' the Shaf'ites assign to the State the surplus left after distribution among the Residuaries (Sacha, *Muh, Recht*, 211 and 247). In 283/896, the Caliph al-Mut'adid decreed that distant kindred should be taken into consideration. (Tabari, III, 2151): Abûlfedâ, *Annales*, year 283, according to the *Tarikh* of Qâdhî Shahâbu'ddîn (d. 642/1244) Muqtafi followed al-Mut'adid and in 300/912 renewed that law. In 311/923 this very Caliph annulled his law and ordained that, in case of failure of 'near relations,' the surplus was to be divided among the 'Residuaries,' with the result that the state and the 'distant kindred' got nothing. In 355/966 the Amîr Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah enforced the older practice (Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 98b: 100a).

(1) According to the edict of the year 311, *Arib*, 118. (2) *Diwan*, 1,181. (3) Al-Sûlî, *Auraq* Paris 4836, 147.

(4) Wüstenfeld, *Die Statthalter von Agypten*, IV. 35.

(5) Caro, *Soziale und Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Juden* 1,817.

left by a deceased Egyptian merchant, with the information that he was heirless. The Governor, however, ruled that nothing which was unlawful should find a place in the treasury and that the money should not be touched until further enquiry. Some time after a brother of the deceased came from Egypt with a document empowering him to receive the heritage and he duly obtained delivery thereof. The report spread and throughout Egypt resounded the fame of the Governor who heard it with pleasure and satisfaction¹.

Different, however, was the case with people of other faiths. In the XIIth Century the Rabbi Petachja fell ill at Mosul and his case was declared hopeless by the physicians. "There, according to law, the Government takes half of the property of every Jew that dies; and as the Rabbi was well-dressed they said: he must be rich, for the government officials have already come to take his property *as though he was dying*." A portion of the property of the rich, in many instances, was taken away in their life-time. The practice, indeed, grew up of exacting a part of the ill-gotten gains of officials; not unlike Napoleon I, who extorted for the State large sums from his enormously wealthy marshals. Even the merchants, whom they fleeced, probably had made good business out of their dealings with the State.

Thus, in describing the oppressive rule of Mut'amid, Ibn al-Mut'azz says:—

"And to many a prosperous merchant possessed of gold and precious stones it was said: with you the Government has large deposits. And he rejoined: no, by God, I have neither little nor much. I have only made money in trade and never have I cheated.

But they fumigated him with smoke from burning-straw and singed him with heated bricks until life became a burden to him, and, dispirited, said he, would that all this money were in hell! He gave them what they wanted and then was he sent away, stiff and weary and sad²".

In Hilâl (Wuz, 224 ff) the list of such instances only shows cases of officials and bankers who dealt with the government. In the literature of romance not a single case appears of Government confiscating private property in this unjust fashion. Ibn Muqlah, the Wazîr, hated Abû'l-Khattâb but he could not find any administrative

(1) Ibn al-Athîr, IX. 158.

(2) *Diwan*, I, 181.

reason (Tâ'riq Dîwânî) to extort money out of him¹ for he had left Government service twenty years before and was living peacefully in retirement at home. Let us trace the growth of this practice. At the beginning of the 4th/10th century it was regarded in the light of punishment but later, on any pretence it was resorted to against all who had dealings with the government and were suspected of foul play. The Ikhshid viceroy of Egypt, who outdid all other princes in extortion between 300/912 and 350/960, vigorously pursued this policy of confiscation. "He took from every one what he could; especially, armed slaves of distinguished men with their weapons, horses, liveries and incorporated them in his body-guard²." And he who escaped this fate while living was sure to lose his property after death. This became a settled practice with the Ikhshid. When an officer, a stranger, or a rich merchant died he prevented the heirs from taking possession of the property until they had paid him a certain amount of money³. Thus in the year 323/934 he took 100,000 dînârs from the heritage of the cotton merchant Sulaimân, the richest merchant of the country⁴.

At the death of Muhallabî, (d. 352/963) who had served for 13 long years, Mu'izz-d-Dawlah confiscated his entire property and extorted money from all his servants, "not even the muleteers and boatmen or even those who had served him for a single day excepted⁵." This provoked general horror and aroused universal resentment among the people. And when Sahib, who had ruled North Persia as the all-powerful Wazîr for many years, died, his house was forthwith put under guard and the Prince personally conducted a search and found a purse with receipts for 150,000 dînârs deposited elsewhere. He at once had the deposits collected and all that was found in his house and treasury taken away to the palace⁶.

In these circumstances every artifice that could be employed was employed to thwart the treasury in its designs upon the inheritances. They deposited their properties with different persons⁷ and showed them in their books under false names⁸. When the Wazîr Ibn al-Amid, put to death in 366/976, saw that there was no longer any hope for him, he flung the inventory of

(1) Misk, V, 398.

(2) Tallquist, p. 16/17. (3) Tallquist, 36. (4) Tallquist, 17.

(5) Misk. (Eng. tr.), Vol. V, p. 213, "With his death," says Misk, "the generosity and nobility of the clerical profession came to an end."

(6) Yâqût, *Irshad*, 1, 70. (7) Wuz, 74. (8) Ibn al-Jauzi, 198 b.

his property—money and goods—into the oven, saying to his judges : ‘ Of my hidden property not a single dirham shall go to your master’. Even torture failed to secure a clue from him¹. After Bejkem’s death (326/941) the Caliph al-Muttaqî, a very pious ruler, went forthwith to his house, dug everywhere, and got two millions in gold and silver². He even had the soil washed and thereby recovered another sum of 36,000 Dirhams³. But Bejkam had buried some of his treasure in the desert. He is said to have killed those who helped him in burying the treasures but Thâbit ibn Sinân declares this to be a piece of falsehood. Bejkem himself has described the process to Thâbit as follows : “ I thought about the treasure which I have buried in my palace and it occurred to me that some accident might prevent my having access to my palace, in which case I should lose not only my property but my life, since one in my position cannot live without wealth. So I buried some in the country, knowing that I could not fail to have access to the country. I have been informed that people defame me with a story that I murder my companions on these occasions. I assure you that I have never killed any one in that way. I will tell you what I used to do. When I wished to make an expedition for the purpose of burying treasure, I used to have mules laden with empty chests brought to my palace. In some of the chests I would place the treasure, after which I would lock them. Into the rest I would introduce the men who were to accompany me while they were on the mules’ back ; I would then cover the chests, lock them and lead the mules, taking the rope which led the train, and sending away the attendants of the mules, which I would myself lead to the place which I wanted. When I was by myself in the middle of the country, I would let the men out of the chests, they having no idea where they were ; I would then have the treasure taken out and buried in my presence, while I made some private marks. After this I would make the men get back into their chests, which I would then cover and lock. I would then lead the mules to such place as I chose, and there let the men out. They neither knew where they had gone nor by what way they had returned and no murder was necessary⁴.”

(1) Yâqût, *Irshad*, V. 350. (2) Ibn al-Jauzî, Berlin, fol. 68a.

(3) Misk VI, 39.

(4) Misk (Eng. tr.), Vol. V, pp. 11-12 Tr.

To seize the property left by the treasurer (d. 350/961), whom Mu'izz-ad-Dawlah always regarded as poor, the Wazir resorted to the arts of a detective. By those methods he eventually succeeded in tracing the treasure to the room of his Nubian barber and in discovering the actual amount and the exact spot. These were inscribed in secret letters on the back of a scale-pan of a weighing machine.

The death of a well-to-do man was a veritable catastrophe to his family and friends. His bankers prevented inspection of his will by officials in order that they might not know how and where his property was deposited. But all this notwithstanding, the family, in the end, had to buy itself off by payment of large sums; in some cases amounting to as much as 50,000 dinârs¹. According to the strict law of Islām customs duty is forbidden and yet everywhere customs-offices were found². The Jurists solved the difficulty by bringing customs-duty under the heading of Poor-tax (zakât)—at all events, so far as the Muslims were concerned. Hence the fiction that a merchant could have free passage across the frontier for a year, should he pay the customs-duty once during that year. But he had also to pay 10 per cent. on all cash that he took along with him. In reality the tariff varied very much. At Jeddah, the port of Mekka, they levied half a dinâr on every camel-load of wheat; on every bale of Egyptian

(1) Misk, VI, 248. (2) Qalqashandi, Wüstenfeld, 162. According to theory, the non-Muslim merchant has to pay on the frontiers the very same customs-duty as Muslims; generally 10 per cent. on his wares. On payment he receives a pass, available for a year, which releases him from any further obligation to pay customs-duty during that period (Sarakhshi d. 495/1102) in his commentary on Shaibânî. *MS. Lediën in de Goeje: Internationale Handelsverkeer in de Middeleeuwen, Verslagen en Mededeelingen der K. Akad. V. Wetenschappen*, 1909, 265). But on this point there is no consensus of opinion among the learned. Some fix the customs-duty on foreign merchants at 5 per cent; only on imported wine 10 per cent had to be paid (Yahya b. Adam, 51)—others fix the customs-duty at 10 per cent. all round (*Kit. al-Khiraaj*, 78). According to Shafai this 10 per cent. customs-duty may be increased or decreased by half as the exigencies of the State may require. In any case this was a purely personal tax and, when the same merchant happened to come again within the year with goods, he had nothing to pay except according to mutual agreement (Qalqashandi, 164). In the 5/11th century the Greek, the Spanish and the Maghribian ships had to pay the tenth to the Sultan at Tripoli (Nâsir Khusrû). The word 'tenth,' in the end assumed merely the meaning of 'customs-duty.' The commercial treaties of 1154 and 1173 A.D. with the Pisans fix customs at 10 per cent. (Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der rom. Völker*, 149). (See the note at the end of this chapter, Tr).

linen 2 or 3 dînârs according to quality ; on a camel-load of wool 2 dînârs. At Qulzum (Suez) they levied on every camel-load 1 dirham. Even at other Arabian ports customs-duty was levied, but the rate was generally lower. The ships, coming from the West to Egypt, paid customs-duty at Alexandria ; those from Syria at Farama¹. The different Arab potentates had their own custom-houses with different tariffs². One of these levied half dînâr on every load, most of the others only charged one dirham.

Babylonia was richly blessed with sea, river and street tolls. On account of its exacting searches and harassing interferences Basra bore a bad reputation. There in Muqaddasi's time lay the frontier between the territory of the Caliph and that of the Karmathians and, at the gate of the town, were located face to face custom-houses of the two powers ; so that on a single sheep as much as four dirhams (double its worth) was levied. The gate, indeed, opened for only an hour a day (Muq. Eng. tr. p. 217). At Yahûdhîya, the merchant quarter of Isfahan, 30 dirhams were imposed as *octroi* for every camel-load (Muq. 400). In one of the provinces of Sind the customs-duty was differentiated according as the merchandise came from India, when the duty was higher than when it came from other parts of Sind³.

As was the practice everywhere in ancient times here too export duties were charged. According to jurists the frontier garrisons are to search the travellers, to take away arms and slaves from them, to inspect their papers to see if they contain any information relating to the faithful⁴. In Transoxiana they charged for a passage across the Oxus for every male slave 70 to 100 dirhams ; for

(1) Muq. 104. (2) "The provinces of this country" says Muqaddasi, "are under separate governments. Al-Hijjâz has ever belonged to the sovereigns of Egypt. Al-Yaman belongs to the Al-Ziyâd dynasty whose origin is of Hamadân. Ibn Tarf has Aththar and over San'a an independent governor rules, who is, however, subsidized by Ibn Ziyâd in order to read the Khutbah in his name. Sometimes 'Aden would be wrested from their hands (on the break-up of the Ziyâdite kingdom Aden passed into the hands of the Banû Ma'n who had held a semi-independent rule over it since the days of Al-Mâ'mûn). The family of Qahtân are in the mountains. They are the oldest dynasty in Al-Yaman. The 'Alawîyah of Sadah read the Khutbah in the name of the Al-Ziyâd dynasty. 'Umân belongs to Ad-Dailam. (It came under the power of the Dailamites in A.H. 355. See Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 419) and Hajar to the Qarâmitah. Al-Ahqâz is ruled by a native chieftain" Azuh's tr. pp. 158-59. Tr.

(3) Muq. 485.

(4) *Kit. al-Khiraj*, 117.

every Turkish slave girl 20 to 30 dirhams and for a camel 2 dirhams. For the luggage of the passenger a charge of 1 dirham was imposed¹. In the small South Arabian town of Athar only export duty was levied². Kirman, amazingly rich in dates, only perhaps paid the export prize. There the drivers of caravans exporting 100,000 camel-loads of dates to Khorasan, received a reward of one *dinâr* per head from the government³.

The Custom's searches in 'Omân were particularly said to be objectionable⁴. In the 6th/12th century the Spanish Ibn Jubair complains of the conduct of the custom officers at Alexandria: "Scarcely had we arrived when the government officials boarded the boat to take charge of everything that was there. Every Muslim was produced one after another: his name, his personal description, the place he came from—all was noted down. Everyone was questioned as to the goods and the cash that he had with him. On all he had to pay *zakat* (poor-tax) without any enquiry whether he had paid it already or not for the year. As most of the travellers were on pilgrimage by sea they had nothing with them except provisions for the journey⁵. For these they had now to pay the poor-tax without being asked whether a year had or had not elapsed since the last payment. Ahmad ibn Hasan was brought ashore for information regarding the Maghrib and the goods on the boat. He was taken to the authorities, then to the Qâdhi, then to the custom officers, then to a band of the Sultan's servants, and was interrogated about everything. They commanded the faithful to unpack their luggage, their provisions. Guards were quartered on the bank to see that everything was actually brought in to the customs office. They then questioned the passengers one after another. Everyone's luggage was brought in until the customs office became choked full. This was followed by searches of things—big and small—and everything was thrown pell-mell. They felt the pockets of travellers to see if there was anything there. When this was done they made them swear if they had anything else besides. In this process and, owing to a pressing crowd, many things were lost. After a degrading and humiliating scene the travellers were sent away. We prayed to God for a liberal reward for all our troubles."⁶

(1) Muq, 340. (2) Muq, 485. (3) Muq, 104. (4) Muq, 105.

(5) Provisions for the journey, according to the jurists, were exempt from duty. Qalqashandi, *Wüstenfeld*, 162,

(6) Ibn Jubair, 351.

The assumption, made in all seriousness from the very beginning of Islam, that the Empire was the empire of the faithful, led to the separation of the State-treasury (*Bait al-mal*) from the privy-purse of the sovereign (*Bait mal-al-khassah*). But as one and the same person could draw from both without accounting to any one, it was but a matter of his own conscience how far he would keep the two separate¹. In later centuries touching stories were invented regarding the care and attention which Abu Bakr and 'Omar bestowed on the moneys of the faithful. And yet an understanding did exist that in the event of the exhaustion of the treasury the privy-purse could be drawn upon to meet the situation². We know from a letter of the Wazîr Ibn 'Isa that the Caliph Al-Mu'tadid (279-289/892-901) and even the parsimonious Muqtafi (289-295/901-7) placed the privy-purse at the disposal of the State³. Under al-Mu'tadid, however, it was still something uncommon. When in the absence of the Wazîr, his son, who was representing him, borrowed money of the Caliph for purposes of State, the father wrote to him saying that he had committed an offence against them both. He should have raised the money from the merchants and paid interest to them out of his and his father's money⁴. Under Al-Muqtadir (295-320/907-932) the privy-purse was, indeed, very largely drawn upon; always, to be sure, on the understanding that the moneys, so drawn would be repaid. In 319/931 the Wazîr laid before the Caliph a deficit of 700.000 *dînârs* (7 million marks) on account of urgent State expenditure, and saw no other way out of the difficulty than payment by the Head of the State. But to the Caliph this suggestion seemed monstrous and he very gladly accepted the offer of an aspirant to office who undertook to pay the entire sum, and a million *dirhams*, over and above that amount, to the privy-purse of the Caliph. This benefactor was installed as Wazîr but, in the following year, he was deposed as they discovered that he manipulated accounts to his own advantage⁵. In 329/940 the Wazîr asked for

(1) A certain check lay in this, that the Wazîr (the Finance Minister) was at the same time the chief of the privy-purse and as such had to countersign the orders of the Steward of the Royal Household. Wuz, 140.

(2) Thus, in our own days, the Sultan 'Abdul Hamîd supplied money to the State-treasury from his own immense fortune.

(3) Wuz, 284.

(4) Wuz, 188.

(5) Misk, V, 352 : Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 176.

and obtained 500,000 *dînârs* from the Caliphs' privy-purse for the pay of the troops.

As the spiritual head, the Caliph had to meet out of his own purse the expenses of the pilgrimage and the annual campaigns against the unbelievers. He had also to pay for the ransom of prisoners and the entertainment of foreign ambassadors¹. On the other hand the entire appanage and the court were maintained at the State cost².

We possess a statement of the sources of income to the privy-purse dating from the beginning of the 4th/10th century³ :—

1. Ancestral Property. Among the Abbasids Hârûn al-Rashîd is said to have left the largest amount in cash : 48 million *dînârs*, *i.e.*, about 480 million marks. But the Caliph al-Mutadid (279-289/892-901), by economy and good management, increased his cash to over 9 million *dînârs*. This immense sum was considered so extraordinary that people ascribed to him all manner of schemes which he had in view as soon as the savings amounted to 10 million *dînârs*. He wanted, it is reported, to reduce the land-tax to a third. He wanted, so it is also said, to melt down the gold pieces into one single block to be placed before the gate of his palace that the princes might know that he had at his command 10 million *dînârs* and that he did not need their help. But he died before he actually got together 10 million *dînârs*⁴. His successor Al-Muqtafi (289-295/901-907) raised the privy-purse to 14 million *dînârs*⁵.

2. Land-tax and tax paid for lands held in fiefs in Persia and Kirmân, (*i.e.*, the net income after deduction of expenses). From 299/911 to 320/932 the annual amount

(1) Wuz, 22. It was, therefore, not very unnatural for the Wazîr to ask the Caliph al-Muqtadir for the cost of the Baqra'id feast but the Caliph resented the demand. Wuz. 28.

(2) Wuz, 10 ff.

(3) Misk, V, 381 ff.

(4) Wuz, 189. For his private treasure he built a house, the joints of which were filled with lead. The money was kept in purses bearing the stamp of the treasurer responsible for them. (Wuz. 139). Other princes of the 4th/10th century kept their money in chests. Only the far sighted Ikhshid, Prince of Egypt, kept his money in the armoury in sacks made of net-work of steel-wire, where no one suspected it to be. Tallquist, 43.

(5) Besides Misk, see Wuz, 290 (p. 139 other figures are mentioned); Elias Nisibenus, (b. 364/974) p. 200. According to Muh. ibn Yahya.

that came in was 23 million dirhams of which 4 millions were credited to the treasury and the rest (19 millions) to the privy-purse. True, the Caliph had to meet extraordinary expenses of these Provinces; *e.g.*, in 303/915 he had to pay 7 million *dînârs* for their reconquest¹.

3. Moneys from Syria and Egypt. In theory the Capitation-tax levied upon the Jews and Christians should come to the private treasury of the Caliph as the representative of the faithful and not to the State-treasury².

4. Moneys that came in by way of 'compensation' confiscation, and inheritance³.

5. Moneys from the land-estates and land-tax in general from Babylonia and Khûzistân.

6. Savings: The last two Caliphs of the 3rd/9th century used to lay by every year 1 million *dînârs*. By such economy, after a reign of 25 years, al-Muqtadir is said to have saved over 700 million marks; that is to say, double the amount of Hârûn al-Rashîd. But after the Karmathian trouble of the year 315/927 there was only half a million *dînârs* (5 million marks) left in the privy purse⁴.

Fars always was the most difficult province to govern and because of its complicated system of taxation it served as a rare training ground for administrators⁵. Says Muqaddasî: "Ask not about the multiplicity and oppressiveness of its taxes." He appears to have read in a book in the library of 'Adad-ud-Dawlah that the Persians of Fars were so drilled into obedience that they became the most patient of men under injustice⁶. They were

(1) This amount is arrived at by a comparison of the statements: the campaign and the donative cost 10 millions (Misk.), of which, according to Wuz. (p. 290), the donative cost 3 millions.

(2) Ibn al-Jauzî, 196b.

(3) The Caliph inherited the property of the eunuchs and childless freedmen of the family. And as these were high-salaried officers, wealth flowed into the Caliph's treasury. Thus in 311/923 died the old general and armed slave Yanis al-Muwaffaqî whose house was guarded by 1,000 picked soldiers and who, from his landed estates only, drew an income of 80,000 *dînârs* (Arib, 115). In 302/914 died Bidah, "the most trained, the most beautiful, the most talented, and the most coquettish of Mâ'mûn's slave-girls leaving behind a considerable sum of money, jewellery, landed-estates and country-houses. The Caliph confiscated them all," *Arib*, 54.

(4) Misk, Eng. Tr. pp. 208-204, Vol. IV. Tr.

(5) Istakhri, 146.

(6) Muq, 451.

weighed down under most oppressive of taxes and knew not what justice was¹. In 303/915 Fars was by far the most heavily-taxed of all the provinces². Not for nothing does Balkhî devote to Fars the longest of his political excursus³. Already under the Sassanids diversified may have been the constitution of this mountainous country; un-approachable rocky castles, forests and a landed aristocracy constituted a perfect feudal frame-work. Most of the lands there were held in fiefs⁴ and yet the financial system was so minutely worked out that even the ordinary labourers on the crown-lands had to pay their taxes in dirhams⁵.

The taxes were assessed on the basis whether the land could be irrigated and, if irrigated, could be irrigated by or without machinery. In cases where the irrigation was not by means of machinery they paid a certain sum which was made the standard of assessment. Two thirds of this amount was raised on lands irrigated by machinery and only one half on lands which could not be irrigated at all⁶.

Fruit culture (the vine was included in it in Islam) was freed from taxation by the Caliph Mahdî but at the instance of the corn-dealers in 303/915 this privilege was withdrawn and heavy taxes were imposed. The vine-planters, henceforth, paid for every 150 AR. of irrigable vine 1425 dirhams as tax⁷. For every palm-tree a quarter of a dirham was charged⁸. Mills and rose-factories belonged to the Caliph⁹. In the towns of Fars the Bazar-ground belonged to the government who realized rent—the houses, of course, belonged to the owners.

All taxes, beyond the recognized canonical taxes (such as land-tax, poor-tax, capitation-tax on Christians and Jews) were regarded as illegal by Muslim jurists. And thus the pious Wazîr 'Alî ibn 'Isa removed indirect taxes (Maks) in Mekka and the wine-tax in Mesopotamia¹⁰. And for this very reason precisely, the Egyptian Caliph Al-Hâkim, when he wanted to be pious, removed all taxes

(1) Muq, 448. (2) Von Kremer, *Einnahmebudget*, 308.

(3) Istakhri, 156 ff : Ibn Haukal, 216.

(4) Muq, 421.

(5) Istakhri, 158.

(6) Istakhri, 157.

(7) Wuz, 340 : Istakhri, 157. (8) Muq, 452.

(9) Istakhri, 158. (10) *Kit. al-'Uyun*, IV. fol. 81. These are the *Dara'ib al-khamar* in Ibn Haukal, 142.

and tolls beyond those sanctioned by Law. His successor, however, soon restored them¹. Just as Fars was famous for land-tax², so was Egypt famous for indirect imposts. The lists of the Fatamid times show everything as taxable—scarcely was the air immune from taxation³. Over and above the authorized legal amount—one twelfth of the net sum was charged as 'discount'; one tenth as 'exchange' and one per cent. as stamp duty⁴. The Arab historians, assuming that the administration was conducted on the basis of the canonical Law, call Ibn Mudabbir, the director of the Finances in Egypt in 247/861, "Satan's clerk," who introduced these illegal exactions⁵. But, as a matter of fact, these were not innovations, they were already in existence under the Ptolemies the Romans and the Byzantines. "People involuntarily asked if there was anything in Egypt which was not taxed" (Wilcken, *Griechische Ostraka*, 410); and, evidently the old Islamic time did not lay a restraining hand upon fiscal exploitations. (Taxes on shops were for the first time revived both at Baghdâd (Ya'qûbî, II, 481) and in Egypt (Kindi, ed. Guest, 125) under the Caliph Al-Mahdî, 158-169 (775-786).

Muqaddisî (p. 213) reports that in Tinnîs, a Peninsula known for its weaving trade, taxes were so oppressive that the people, about the year 200/815, complained to the Patriarch who happened to be passing through the town that they were compelled to pay five dinârs a year, an amount which was difficult for them to find and that no quarter was given or mercy shown in realizing it.

The old practices continued down to the minutest detail. The singular position which Alexandria once held as a separate district for purposes of taxation, she continues to hold at the beginning of the 4th/10th century of the Muslim era. In the budget it is stated: "Egypt and

(1) Yahyâ ibn Sa'îd, Paris, fol. 123a, 133b.

(2) See Balkhî's *Province of Fars* (tr. by G. Le Strange) pp. 83-85 Tr.

(3) Maqrizi, I, 103.

(4) Hafmeier, *Islam*, IV, 100 ff.

(5) Maqrizi, *Khitat*, I, 103. He declared that when he administered Babylonia—West and East—he finished his work by the evening, but in Egypt business kept him occupied many a night through. (Ibn Haukal, 88). Also the Christian Wazîr 'Isa ibn Nestorius is mentioned by his contemporary and fellow-Christian Ibn Sa'îd as one who imposed many new taxes (p. 180).

Alexandria¹”. Even later Qalqashandî mentions that Alexandria pays taxes direct to the privy-purse of the Sultan².

Even the Pharaonic theory of the State-ownership of the land, inherited by the Ptolemies, the Romans, and the Byzantines, plays an important rôle in the Arab theories of taxation. Nor is the old Ptolemaic principle of monopoly lost sight of. Speaking of the first Fatimid times Muqaddisi says: The taxes are very heavy in Egypt, especially in Tinnîs, Damietta and on the banks of the Nile. The Copts of Shata are only allowed to use materials stamped by the Government and effect sales through Government brokers. And whatever was sold was entered in a book kept by a government official. Not until the entry, indeed, was the stuff allowed to be rolled, tied with bast, packed into cases. All, who had anything to do with any of these processes, had to be paid a fee. Something more was exacted at the gate of the harbour and before the boat sailed she was thoroughly searched. On every bag of oil one dînâr was levied at Tinnîs and heavy were the imposts at Fostât, on the Nile. I was told that at Tinnîs the daily customs duty was to the extent of 1,000 dînârs and there were quite a number of such places on the banks of the Nile, in Upper Egypt, and on the coast near Alexandria³. In the second half of the 4th/10th century it became a general practice in the East to levy duties on sales of goods. Towards the end of his reign ‘Adad-ud-Dawlah (d. 372/982) introduced a tax on the sale of horses and household utensils and established a monopoly in ice and flowered silk. Hence the angry verses: “A toll lies on all the markets of Babylon and a tax of a dirham on things sold therein⁴”. When in 375/985 ‘Adad-ud-Dawlah’s son sought to levy a tenth of the price on sale of genuine silk and woollen stuff, the town rebelled and compelled the withdrawal of the measure⁵. In 389/998 this measure was again re-introduced and as before, it led to an open rebellion. The people prevented the Friday service in the old town and set fire to a house where tax-rolls were kept. The rioters were punished,

(1) Von Kremer, *Einnahme-budget*, 309.

(2) Tr. by Wüstenfeld, 158.

(3) Muq, 213.

(4) Jauharî, Dict. S. Mks.

(5) Ibn al-Jauzî, Berlin, fol. 123b: Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 16, 28 according to the *Taghi* of the contemporary Sabî.

but only the tax on genuine silk was retained. Thus every piece, as it came out of the loom, was stamped. But taxes did not stop with articles of luxury. In 425/1033 the saintly Dinawarî¹ impressed upon the prince the mischief which the imposition of the salt-tax caused to the people. It was accordingly repealed and the announcement was made in the sermon at the mosque. At the door of the mosque curses were inscribed on him who would impose the salt-tax again. The salt-tax, then, brought in an annual revenue of 2,000 dînârs².

The Egyptians, indeed, never protested or rose against these taxes.

In Syria the taxes on merchandise were light and continued to be so even under the Egyptian Caliphs³. Only there existed, particularly in Jerusalem, the rule that goods could not be sold save in authorized market-places, which had to pay heavy sums to government⁴. The peculiar feature of this province was the 'Himâyah', the license tax, as for instance 'license' for keeping a carriage. These 'licenses' yielded quite as much as the high land-tax in force⁵. The taxes and imposts varied according to the ruler. Since 330/941, says Ibn Haukal, the taxes depended upon people who tried to swindle each other and people whose one aim was to make hay while the sun shone. No one thought of or cared for the country⁶. This very traveller saw the Syrian budget for the year 296/908, which showed 39 million dirhams after the deduction of official salaries⁷.

In these two countries—Egypt and Syria—the State-chests were in the form of dome-shaped structures standing on high columns within the chief mosque. At Fostat the State-chest stood in front of the pulpit. It had an iron-door with a lock. Access to the door could only be had by means of wooden steps. On account of the State-chest the mosque was cleared and closed at night⁸. Was this

(1) Wuz, 368. (2) Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 188a.

(3) Muq. says: Taxes are not heavy in Syria with the exception of those levied on the Caravansaraies (Fanduk); here, however, the duties are oppressive. The property-tax, called Himâyah, also is heavy. 'Himâyah' literally signifies 'Protection.' It was an uncanonical tax levied on goods and premises, and of the nature of a ('license') granting the protection of the State to the occupier and possessor. Description of Syria by Muqaddasî (circa 985 A.D.) Trans. by Guy Le Strange, pp. 91, 92. Tr. (4) Muq, 167. (5) Muq. 189. (6) p. 128. (7) *Mafatih al-'Ulum*, 54. (8) Ibn Rosteh, 116: Muq, 182. It is mentioned that at Barda, at the foot of the Caucasus, the treasury, according to the Syrian practice, stood on nine columns in the mosque. It had a leaden roof and iron doors. Istakhri, 184.

an old Egypto-Syrian practice? In ancient times, was the Church-chest similarly kept? Was the church in Byzantine times at once the Temple and the State-treasury¹?

Down to late in the 4th/10th century leases of royal domains were renewed every four years in the chief mosque²—also an old Egyptian practice.

Through the greater half of the century (up to 370/980) Mesopotamia stood under the almost independent Hamadanids. These Beduin princes, of whom only Saif-ud-Dawlah, in Aleppo, showed any splendour or possessed any chivalry, oppressed their subjects with the supine indifference of nomads. They were by far the worst rulers of the century. Compared with them, the Turkish and Persian rulers were angels of benignity. Characteristic of their nomad upbringing was their aversion from trees. When Aleppo, in 333/944, held out against the troops of 'Adad-ud-Dawlah, they cut down all the beautiful trees in the neighbourhood which, according to the contemporary poet Sanaubarî constituted its most striking charm³. They forcibly purchased the greatest portion of the lands in Mesopotamia for a tenth of their actual value. In his long life, Nâsir-ud-Dawlah is said to have converted the entire district of Mûsul into his private property⁴. He had fruit trees cut down. He replaced them by crops such as cotton, rice and others. Many emigrated. The entire tribe of the Banû Habîb, cousins of the Hamadanids, went over with 12,000 (one MS. has 5,000) horse men to the Greeks, where they found a friendly welcome and whence they vigorously plundered their quondam, unfortunate home. The property of the unhappy emigrants was naturally confiscated by the Prince. "Many, however, preferred to remain in Muslim countries out of love for their home where they had spent their youth. But they had to make over half of the entire harvest and the Prince assessed and fixed their share of taxes, as he pleased, in gold and silver."

In 358/968 the district of Nisbis alone yielded five million dirhams apart from the capitation-tax, which brought in 5,000 dinârs; wine-tax which brought in 5,000 dinârs; taxes on domestic animals and vegetables which brought in 5,000 dinârs and the taxes from mills, baths,

(1) cf. Wilcken, *Griech. Ostraka*, 149.

(2) Maqrîzi, *Khitat*, 1, 82. (3) Wüstenfeld, *die Stathalter von Agypten*, IV, 36.

(4) Misk, VI, 485.

shops and crown-lands which brought in 10,000 dînârs. After the expulsion of the Hamadanid trees were replanted and vineyards restored¹.

It is not surprising, then, that about 370/980 Ibn Haukal declares the Hamadanids and the Spanish Caliph Abdal-Rahman III to be the richest princes of the time². In 368/978 'Adad-ud-Dawlah stored away in his strongest castle treasures worth about 20 million dirhams³. And yet there was constant quarrel for tribute both with Baghdâd and Byzantium⁴.

In the East which, in the course of the century paid homage to different princes, specially to the Samanids and the Buwayyids, taxation in the 4th/10th and 3rd/9th centuries was fairly uniform. Ibn Haukal states this to be the case even with Afghânistân. He gives the best certificate to the Samanids for having devised a sound and uniform system of financial administration for the whole of the extreme north and the east of the ^{thern} ~~thern~~ ^{the} ~~thern~~ e. Says Ibn Haukal: "The taxes are lower and yet the salaries of officers higher than anywhere else. The taxes are collected twice a year and yield 40 million dirhams per annum. The salaries are paid every quarter and amount to 5 millions a quarter—half of the revenue. The State-officers, such as the Qâdhis, tax-collectors, civil servants, heads of the Police and post-masters of a particular district receive the self-same pay which is fixed according to the taxable resources of the district. The great difference between the income and the expenditure points to just and mild administration of the taxes⁵."

In Fars, in 306/918, under 'Adad-ud-Dawlah, the most outstanding ruler of the century, the revenue rose from 18 87,500 to 21,50,000; that is to say it increased by one-sixth of the original amount. He could thus afford to spend freely and secure an annual revenue of three and a quarter million dînârs, for, as Ibn al-Jauzî⁶ says, "he valued the dînâr and despised not even the smallest copper coin⁷."

(1) Ibn Haukal, 140 sqq. (2) Dozy, II, 57. (3) Misk, VI, 496. Misk was entrusted with the counting of the booty.

(4) For instance, Elias Nisibenus, p. 215, according to Thâbit b. Sinan, Ibn Sa'id, 61 ff.

(5) Ibn Haukal, 341. (6) Ibn Balkhî, *J.R.A.S.*, 1912, p. 889.

(7) Ibn al-Jauzî, Berlin, fol. 120 b. There another authority sets down his revenue at 320 million dirhams; a further proof that a dînâr was only worth 10 dirhams. He wanted to raise his revenue from 320 to 360 millions; that is to say, a million per day.

On the whole Egypt also maintained an equally high level. In the 3rd/9th century the all too powerful Ibn Tûlûn managed to extort about 5 million dinârs from the country. In the troublous times about the middle of the 4th/10th century it yielded 32,70,000 dinârs a year and about the end of the century under the Wazîr Ya'qûb ibn Killis it rose again to four million dinârs¹. Of a general financial collapse there can be no talk. Everywhere it depended upon the man at the helm of the State. In 355/965 the Wazîr represented to the Buwayyid Rukn-ud-Dawlah that the district of Adherbaijân would yield 50 million dirhams if he personally assumed the administration. To a weaker administrator, he pointed out, it cannot yield more than 2 millions at the outside because of the fiefs of the Dailams and Kurds and the difficulty of forcibly realising taxes from such as were powerful and heedless of their obligation and because of waste and want of care.

Only in Babylonia the taxable resources of the country declined and this decline shows itself in the second half of the 3rd/9th century. About 240/850 Ibn Khurdadbih estimates the revenue of Babylon at 78 million dirhams. About 290/893 a large portion of Babylon, about half, is leased out for two and a half million dinârs². The Budget of the year 306/918, however, only shows just a little over one and a half million dinârs—less than a third³. The revenue, indeed, increases somewhat in the 4th/10th century. In 358/968 Ibn Fadl leased out Babylon for 42 million dirhams⁴. Later 'Adad-ud-Dawlah only offered 30 million dirhams for it⁵. Very violent was the contrast from the early times, for then "the land-tax of Babylon constituted the largest sum in the world⁶" but now 'Adad-ud-Dawlah affirmed that he would rather have title from Babylon and revenue from Arragan (the coast land in Fars)⁷. The main reason for the decline was the gradual conversion of the country into a swamp, due to maladministration. The peasants were compelled to emigrate. Most of the people of Mûsul, for instance, were Arabs who, in the 4th/10th century, had come to

(1) Abû Sâlih, ed. Evetts, fol. 23a.

(2) Wuz, 10. The statement (Wuz. 188) that under this very Caliph, al-Mutadid, Babylon yielded the same revenue as it did under 'Omar I, does not fit in with the figures. (3) Von Kremer, *Einnahme-budget*, 312. (4) Ibn Haukal, 169/178. (5) Misk, VI, 440. (6) *Aghani*, IV, 79. (7) Muq, 421.

Mesopotamia to cultivate the alluvial lands¹. Thus Babylonia was unable to contribute anything to the central treasury.

The lopping off of the Province of Fars from the Empire by the Saffarids caused the first financial embarrassment to the Baghdad Government. This crisis, in the 70th year of the 3rd/9th century suggested, for the first time, the idea of compulsory loans. Al-Muwaffiq proposed to the Wazîr "loans from merchants and also an imposition of a sum of money upon them, upon the Wazîr (himself), upon the clerks and treasury officials to meet the expenses of the equipment and despatch of an army to Fars." But the Wazîr was not very pleased with the proposal². When, about the year 300/912, money from the Province of Ahwâz, which had been farmed out, came in in dribblets, the Government at Baghdâd made the Jewish Financier Joseph, son of Phinehas, advance money to make up the deficit³. In the year 319/931 the Governors of Fars and Kirmân conspired together to hold back the revenue in the future, with the result that the Wazîr was compelled, for the first time, to sell crown-lands of the value of 50,000 dinârs⁴ and also to take a loan of half the amount of the taxes realizable in 320/932. Thus for the year 320 very little in the way of taxes was left. Moreover he had to borrow 200,000 dinârs (2 million marks) at the rate of 1 dirham per dinâr, that is to say seven per cent. per month⁵. In 323/934 the loan could not be repaid. The Wazîr was, therefore, compelled to give the creditors in part orders upon the treasury officials of Babylonia and in part to sell domain-lands⁶. In 324/935 the Wazîr again borrowed from rich merchants; and State properties, such as houses near the wall of the old town, etc., etc., had to be sold to repay the loan⁷.

In the method of collecting taxes the bad pre-Islam practices now recur. The tax-farming in the East began with the Government loan, which was adopted for the

(1) Ibn Haukal, 143. (2) Sabustî, *Kit. al-Dhiyarat*, Berlin, fol. 119a.

(3) Wuz, 178.

(4) In such circumstances the neighbouring land-lords combined together and purchased the land for much below the real value: Ibn hamdûn, *J.R.A.S.*, 1908, 434.

(5) Misk, V, 342, 345, 364; Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 165.

(6) Misk, V, 505.

(7) Al-Sûlî, *Auraq*, p. 108.

first time under the Caliph al-Mut'adid (279-289/892-901)¹. At that time "the world was deserted and the treasuries empty." It took quite a long time to collect the taxes and yet, in spite of all retrenchments, they required 7,000 dinârs per day to meet the necessary expenses. Two shrewd officers induced a capitalist to advance this sum as against the taxes of some of the districts of Babylonia. With this device the Wazîr and the Caliph were delighted for it was at once novel and ingenious². With the exception of the manorial estates, the tax roll of 303/915 shows Ahwâz and Wâsit as farmed out³.

(1) [See Von Tischendorf, *Lehnwesen in den Moslim, Staaten*, Leipzig, 1872 Tr.] (2) Wuz, 101 et sqq. (3) Von Kremer, *Fars*, was also farmed out but as the lessee neglected to pay, it was taken away from him and brought back under State control. (Wuz, 340).

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

(To be continued.)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

A NEW GEOGRAPHY OF MUSLIM SPAIN¹.

HISTORY gives us numerous instances of the rise and fall of great and mighty Empires which have left indelible marks on the countries over which they held sway. The Empires of Chandragupta and his grandson Asoka, of Alexander and Augustus, of Changiz and Taimûr of Babylon, Assyria and Persia, and many others which need not here be mentioned, are but some with which the average student of History is familiar. But few empires have lasted so long and, in spite of fierce struggle against sheer fanaticism and petty provincialism, held their own and delivered their message of civilization to the world at large, as the Empire of the so-called 'Moors' of Spain. These swarthy tribes from sultry and far distant lands, perhaps some thousand miles away from their homes, conquered the great peninsula of Spain, harassed the European continent as far as Tours near Paris, planted their colonies in South-Eastern France, North-Western Italy and Switzerland, and shook the very foundations of the throne of the Emperor Charlemagne. It seems strange to-day that it was these Asiatics and Africans, this expatriated and friendless medley of peoples, which sowed the seed of toleration, religious liberty and learning, which afterwards struck root in the West; to whose sovereigns ambassadors came from distant courts loaded with rich presents, and to whose seats of learning scholars came from Germany, England and France in order to study Science and Philosophy, Medicine and Astronomy, and even Muslim Law and Theology.

The history of such a period and such a country must be a very fascinating study indeed. In order fully to appreciate the importance of the subject, and to get the right perspective I here quote a few sentences from the preface to Lane-Poole's extremely concise and well-written book on the "Moors" of Spain. "For nearly

(1) *Jughrafiya-i-Andalus* by Maulvî 'Enâyatullah Sâhib, B.A., (Alig.) Translation Bureau, Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan) Rs. 7/8.

eight centuries" says the learned author. "under her Mohammedan rulers, Spain set to all Europe a shining example of a civilized and enlightened State. Her fertile provinces, rendered doubly prolific by the industry and the engineering skill of her conquerors, bore fruit a hundred-fold. Cities innumerable sprang up in the rich valleys of the Guadalquivir and the Guadiana, whose names and names only, still commemorate the vanished glories of their past. Art, literature and science prospered, as they then prospered nowhere in Europe. . . . The surgeons and doctors of Andalusia were in the van of science: women were encouraged to devote themselves to serious study, and the lady doctor was not unknown among the people of Cordova. Mathematics, astronomy and botany, history, philosophy and jurisprudence were to be mastered in Spain, and Spain alone. The practical work of the field, the scientific methods of irrigation, the art of fortification and ship-building, the highest and most elaborate products of the loom, the graver and the hammer, the potter's wheel and the mason's trowel, were brought to perfection by the Spanish Moors. . . . whatsoever makes a kingdom great and prosperous, whatsoever tends to refinement and civilization, was formed in Moslem Spain."

Târiq-ibn-zîâd, once a Berber slave, then the Commander-in-chief of the Islamic army which was to dominate the Iberian peninsula and adjacent lands, first set foot on the soil of Europe in 711 and the last Muslim king of Spain, Abû 'Abdullâh Muhammad el-Ahmar ('Boabdil'), handed over the keys of Granada to Alfonso of Aragon and Isabella of Castille in 1492, so that the period of complete or partial domination of the Muslims in South-Western Europe lasted nearly eight hundred years. We are also aware that there was a migration of the Arab and Berber tribes almost *en masse* to such an extent that the historian Ibnî Sa'id recounts that while there was hardly a man or a woman of the tribe of Khazraj left in the City of the Prophet, one found them in abundance in the cities of Andalusia. Under these circumstances there is little doubt that the Arabic speaking Muslims of Spain must have founded numerous cities, towns and villages, built lofty palaces, planned numberless buildings of public utility such as bridges, roads, baths and caravanserais, and must have left an impress of their stay in the country. This is not mere idle fancy; for if we were to look at those splendid remains of Islamic culture, the Great Mosque of Cordova, the Alcazar of Seville and the Alhambra of Granada, the

mere remnant of what was once a veritable paradise from end to end, we are forced to admit that the Muslims had implanted an entirely new civilization on this part of the continent of Europe. The difficulties which beset a student who wishes to study the history of Muslim Spain is that while there are but few of the landmarks of the Arabs still existing, all the names of places with which he has to deal are either in Spanish and Portuguese or in Arabic, and he has to sift through the intricacies of bilingualism to find out the exact equivalents, especially when the Arabic name has been corrupted in the Spanish so as to become almost unrecognizable. Mr. Le Strange deserves the thanks of all students of the history of Islam for having made researches in the Geography of the Eastern end of the Muslim Khilâfat, but he himself knew that his work was incomplete, as he says in the preface to his valuable book on the 'Lands of the Eastern Caliphate: ' "Perhaps some other scholar may take up the subjectdescribing the various provinces of North Africa, with the outlying and shortlived, though most splendid, western Caliphate of Spain." The book under review is a partial fulfilment of the desire of this author, and it can safely be said that it fills a great gap in Muslim historical scholarship.

The author of the *Jughrafiya-i-Andalus*, Enâyatullah Sâhib needs no introduction to Urdû literary circles. He belongs to a literary family of that home of Urdû literature, Delhi, and has sat at the feet of that great master, the late Sir Sayyîd Ahmad Khân, at whose bidding and under whose immediate guidance he translated Professor (now Sir Thomas) Arnold's epoch-making book, *the Preaching of Islam* into Urdû as far back as 1896. His father, the late Moulvi Zakâullâh Sâhib, was himself a man of eminence in the world of learning, and, besides that, our author was at the Aligarh College (now the Muslim University) when such literary giants as Shibli, Arnold, Hâlî and Salim touched shoulders in its corridors. It was during the translation of Dr. Arnold's work that our author was first brought into contact with the difficulty of finding out the correct equivalents of the Spanish names in the original Arabic, and since then he has made it almost his life work to study the history of Spain from this point of view. Unfortunately his avocations did not permit him to devote much time to such pursuits, and it was not until he was called to Hyderabad by the Government of our benign sovereign His Exalted Highness the Nizam

a few years ago that he was able to systematise and arrange his work.

The work is divided into a preface and six chapters, the last of which dealing with the description of the various places in the Iberian peninsula according to the writings of the Arab as well as Spanish historians covers as much as nearly four hundred and fifty pages. The first chapter (pp. 1-22) deals with the geography of the peninsula according to the old Arab writers and its comparison with the Geography of modern Spain and Portugal, together with a systematic co-ordination of all the names for which Spanish or Arabic equivalents could be found. The second chapter (23-35) describes the physical features of the peninsula with the Arabic and Spanish names of the chief mountains and rivers. In the third chapter (36-56) the reader is informed of the political sub-division of the country both at the time of the Muslim domination as well at the present day ; and this has been illustrated by means of a couple of maps in which we are shown the two sets of divisions. The fourth chapter (57-72) describes the composition of the population of Spain before the coming of the Mussulmans, and includes a complete list of the 'Adnâni and Qahtâni tribes of Arabia which made this country their home, while the fifth (73-86) deals with the industries, products and manufactures of the peninsula in the time of Muslim rule. Finally in the last and by far the longest and the most important chapter of the book *i.e.*, the sixth (87-514), an attempt is made to find modern Spanish and Portuguese equivalents for as many as eight hundred and fifty names of places mentioned in the Arabic authors.

The difficulties in the path of the author of such a work seem to be almost unsurmountable. Life in an outlying district of an Indian province or even in the capital of a large Indian state like Hyderabad can hardly be helpful to research work on a period of Spanish history. Moreover the paucity of public libraries in this country as well as the dearth of books in modern European languages except English must have added tremendously to the difficulty of the undertaking. He seems to have been through most of the published works in Arabic and English, a list of which he has given in his preface. Naturally he could not have recourse to the books in the far off libraries of Spain, but this makes absolutely no difference to the value of the work so far as it goes, and if someone

in future takes up his pen to supplement what our author has here said, this work will serve as an excellent basis for him.

The first striking thing which meets the eye of the reader of the *Jughrafiyah* is the comprehensive list of the Arab and Berber tribes which made Spain their home. On a perusal of this list we are struck by the fact that these Asiatic and African races had converted the Iberian peninsula into a new Arabia, and had colonised it in much the same manner as a modern European nation would colonise the parts of Africa or America already inhabited by the Negro or the Red Indian race, with the important difference, however, that while the colonizing nation to-day generally aims at the total extermination or enslavement of the natives of the country, the Muslim colonizers of Spain acted upon the law of Islâm and not only left the inhabitants free to live their own lives, but actually appointed an officer, called the Katib-uz-Zimâm, to look after the welfare of the native Christians and Jews. We find among these Muslim colonists the names of practically every tribe of Arabia including the tribes of the Hijâz, Yemen and the central tracts, as well as parts of Northern Africa. Some of these tribes settled in definite parts of the country, while others were distributed throughout the length and breadth of the peninsula. Among the former might be named the Banî Jûdi of Gharnâtah (Granada), the Banî Asad of Wâdi (Guadix) Ash the Banî Sirâj (Avencerrages) of Qurtubah (Cordova) the Banî Fehrâm of Qal'al Rubâh (Calatrava) and many others, the name and description of which cover a whole chapter of the book before us. Apart from the Arab tribes the Berbers came and settled down in the country in large numbers. They colonized the northern portions of the peninsula, later on migrating to the districts of Coria, Merida, Badajoz and Medellin (p. 71). Unfortunately the learned author could not have recourse to an extremely valuable work on the colonization of South-Eastern France and North-Western Italy by the Mussulmans, otherwise he could have added more information which is not to be found in the Urdu language. It is a work by M. Reinaud in French, named '*Invasions des Sarrasins en France, et de France en Savoie, en Piemont et dans la Suisse*,' published in 1836. The present writer has prepared a complete English translation of this valuable book and hopes that when it is published, it will add greatly to the information of the English-knowing public.

‘Enâyatullâh Sâhib distinctly says (p. 3) that so far as the Muslims were concerned, the name ‘Andalus’ connoted not only Spain and Portugal but the southern parts of France as well. This was due to the fact that Provence and Languedoc were included within the Kingdom of the Visigoths when it was subdued by the Muslims, and it was only natural that the conquerors should reckon these tracts as part and parcel of the conquered lands. It was for this reason that they invaded France twice, once during the first half of the eighth century A.C., by land, and then towards the end of the ninth century A.C. by sea. It was during the first invasion of France that they subjugated Narbonne, Carcassonne, Arles, Avignon, Grenoble, Lyons and Bordeaux, taking their armies to within a few miles of Paris. The Muslims were masters of the best and the most fertile parts of France for more than eighty years but were in the end expelled from the country. After this venture they gave up the idea of carrying on a land campaign, and invaded France by way of the sea instead. They went thither on seafaring boats, made the Gulf of St. Tropès their headquarters, and after conquering Narbonne once again, carried on their incursions into the Swiss heights and the rich plains of Lombardy, by the road which traverses the Pass of St. Bernard, the same which was traversed by Napoleon Buonaparte nearly a thousand years later. They were not content with subjugating the country, but actually planted their colonies in it, such as Fraxinet, which was the centre and capital of the new plantations right up till 975 (Reinaud, Part 2). It is necessary to bear these facts in mind, firstly, because the Spanish Muslims always regarded South-eastern France and the adjacent lands as part of their dominions, and secondly because few books or maps exist in any modern language in which these lands are shown as ever having been under Muslim rule, or in which full justice is done to the Arab colonists, who regarded them as their home for a very long time.

It was in the nature of things that Muslim Spain should have produced men who proved to be leaders in the branch of knowledge which they made their own. The historian Ahmad ibn Muhammad el-Kinânî, the theologian ‘Abdullâh ibn ‘Omar ibn Khattâb of Seville, the legist ‘Abdul Malik ibn Habîb es-Salmî, the physician Abdul Malik ibn Zohr, the literateur and musician Muhammad ibn Yahyâ ibn Sâigh (surnamed ibn Bâjah, Sp. *Avempace*) and the poet al-Makhzûmî are the names of

but a few of the host of learned savants of Andalusia ; and they are by no means the most renowned, for who has not heard the names of the grammarian Abû Hayyân of Granada, the historian and political theorist ibn Khaldûn of Sevilian parentage, the historian Muhammad ibn Hazm of Cordova and Muhammad ibn Ahmad ibn Muhammad ibn Rushd, the great philosopher and savant, whose name has now been Europeanised in the distorted form of *Averroes*. It was not merely men who excelled in arts and sciences for, as our author says (p. 322), there were women as well who were known to be versed in the different branches of scholarship, poetry and literature, such as Nazhûn ul Qala'iah Zainab binti Ziâd and Hafsa-tur-Rukûniah of Granada. All this was due to a certain extent to the patronage of learning on the part of the rulers of Andalus, among whom were to be found sovereigns such as Hakam II (el Mustanîsr b-illâh), who besides being a literateur of eminence, especially well versed in the sciences of genealogy, Tradition and history was not only a collector but an annotator of books as well ('Jughrâffiah' p. 382). It is estimated that in those far off days, when printing was unknown, his library contained as many as four hundred thousand volumes, and among these there was hardly any book which was not read by him. He was not the only royal patron of learning, for as Maqqarî says (Gayangos, Book II, chap. 3), there was a king of Badajos, el-Muza'ffar ibnul Aftas, who wrote a repository of arts and sciences, history, poetry and literature, in fifty volumes, called *al-Muzaffari*.

It was not merely theoretical arts but applied sciences as well which were developed and specialized in Andalus, and the country was known throughout Europe for its arts of war and of peace. Shipbuilding yards were to be found at el-Meriah (Almeria), arms and ammunitions were manufactured at Toleytulah (Toledo), and Ishbîliah (Seville) was well-known for the manufacture of swords. Spain also excelled in the arts of peace, and Gharnâtah (Granada) was the centre of the glassware industry, Shatîba (Jativa) manufactured enough paper for home-consumption as well as for export to other European countries, Jiân (Jaen) was the home of silk apparel, while excellent needle work and lace was made by the Muslims of Bâjah (Beja) in Portugal, and of Qal'at-Rubâh (Calatrava) in Spain. Agriculture flourished in almost all the provinces of Spain, and when nearly two hundred thousand poor Muslim agriculturists were expelled from their homes

during the terrible days of the Inquisition and persecution it was practically the whole country which suffered and there was a veritable famine of agriculturists in the provinces of Batalyûs (Badajos), Qâseresh (Caseres), Mâlaqah (Malaga), Gharnâtah (Granada) and Al-Meriah (Almeria). ('*Jughrafiyah*' chap. 5).

It is generally supposed that, in the heyday of their glory, the Muslims did not pay enough attention to such fine arts as sculpture and painting; but this supposition is belied by the fact that the Muslims of Spain were equal to any other contemporary nation in these arts. Although it is not mentioned in the '*Jughrafiyah*,' it will not be out of place here to refer to the wonderful paintings of contemporary personalities and anecdotes on the walls and ceilings of the Alhambra at Granada. Here we see the representation of a Muslim judicial tribunal, of Muslim huntsmen and Muslim and Christian subjects of the King, in the Hall of Justice (Calvert's *Granada*, plates 115 to 119), and of the Kings of Granada, *ensemble*, on one of the ceilings of the chateau (*Safarnama-i-Andalus* by Walî Muhammad, plate opp. p. 222). These paintings are most remarkably life-like portraits of contemporary life, and exhibit a modernity in bearing and apparel which could not have been otherwise contemplated. Sculpture is represented in the effigies of lions in the famous Court of Lions in the Alhambra, and in the statue of the wife of the Khalîfah en-Nâsir, after whom the remarkable royal city of Medînatuz-Zahra' was named. This statue was erected, as the author of the *Jughrafiyah* says, on the principal gate of the new city (p. 454).

It will be almost a common place to mention the Mosque of Cordova and the Alhambra as the two characteristic specimens of Muslim architecture in Spain, and as a matter of fact even to-day the Peninsula is interspersed with buildings, the whole or some parts of which go back to the day when the civilising banner of Islâm flew over the length and breadth of the country. The Muslim water-works of Batalyûs (Badajos) serve their purpose even today, and there are still to be seen the remnants of the water clocks built by the Arabs at Tuleytulah (Toledo), the work of the Hispano-Arab astronomer Abû'l Qâsim 'Abdur Rahmân ez-Zarqal ('*Jugh.*' pp. 158 and 304). Our author aptly contrasts the way in which the site of the 'Mezquita' of Cordova was acquired by Amîr 'Abdur Rahman ed-Dâkhil after duly taking the consent of the

Christians and paying the proper price, and the way in which it was turned into a Christian church and desecrated by Fernando III. (pp. 361 and 377). We will only copy here the very apt extract from the writings of the Spaniard Amadeos de los Rios, quoted in Calvert and Gallichan's *Cordova* (App. I). "Neither the sumptuous Christian fabric that to-day rises in the midst of those countless columns, nor all the treasures of art lavished upon it by the celebrated artists of the sixteenth century who erected it, nor that interminable series of chapels of every epoch, which, resting against the walls of the mosque, disfigure it; nor the clumsy angels that seem to suspend their flight to shed glory over the divine service.....can dispel or banish in the slightest degree the majesty of those wandering shades, that in vain seek in the sanctuary the sacred volume whose leaves according to tradition, were enamelled with the blood of Khalif Othmân, martyr to the faith.... In spite of the mutilations which it has endured and of the changes it has undergone, there is impressed upon it, by a superior ineradicable law, the seal of the art that inspired it, and the character of the people by whom it was erected." (*Jugh.* p. 379).

The author has calculated the number of years during which the different cities of the peninsula were under the domination of the flag of Islâm. Gharnâtah or Granada was the longest under the Islamic protection, having been under various Muslim dynasties for over eight hundred years; after it, in point of the length of the Muslim occupation, come Qurtubah or Cordova (541 years, not 543 as the author has calculated it), Ishbiliah or Seville (553 years), Lishbûna or Lisbon (449 years) Sarqustah or Sarra-gossa (418 years), Tuleytulah or Toledo (386 years), Majrit or Madrid (386 years) and Narbûnah or Narbonne (twice, altogether nearly one hundred and fifty years). These periods of time remain meaningless to us if we do not compare them with some important recent occurrences, and it is only then that we are brought face to face with the exact perspective of the decades and centuries during which the Arab and Berber colonists made the Peninsula their home, from which they were so mercilessly expelled by the so-called Christians after the fall of Granada. Compare these decades and centuries with such events as the battle of Baxar, which occurred barely 154 years ago, with the French Revolution of 135 years ago and the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks which took place just 470 years ago, and it is only then that you will have an

exact idea of the tremendous length of time which must have elapsed between the conquest of South-Western Europe by the Muslims in 711 and their final expulsion eight hundred years afterwards. The story of this last event is one of the saddest and the most pitiful in the annals of human society. It was a case of ruthless and inhuman extermination pure and simple. First of all, science and arts were extinguished and the works on literature, history and science burnt wherever they could be found. One of the scenes of such a bonfire was the *Plaza de la Bab er-Rambla* of Granada. We will content ourselves by quoting a passage from S. P. Scott's *History of the Moorish Empire in Europe*. "A diligent search was made of every house throughout the entire city, and every manuscript in the Arabic language which could be found was seized. Among them were.....the contents of public libraries whose preservation and increase had been the especial care of the enlightened Alhamares;.... and the literary treasure of every scholar and philosopher in the capital. The works on Chemistry, Botany, Astronomy and Medicine—subjects which had always engaged the curiosity of the Spanish Arab—predominated.....All of these inestimable stores of learning were heaped in one immense pile in the centre of the Plaza and consumed!" It was after this that the Moriscoes, as the now miserable Muslims of Spain were called, bidden to change their faith or else to quit the country. This is really beyond the scope of the present article, and I shall not detain the reader much longer over it. I will only refer to a very apt paragraph in the late Mr. Ameer 'Alī's *Spirit of Islam* where he estimates the effect of the expulsion of the Muslims from Spain. He says (p. 398) that had the Arabs been able to drive the Christians before them, "the Renaissance, civilization, the growth of intellectual liberty, would have been accelerated by seven hundred years. We should not have had to shudder over the massacre of the Albigenses or of the Huguenots, or the ghastly slaughter of the Irish Catholics by the English Protestants under the Tudors and the Protectorate,....the story of the *auto-da-fe*, of the murders of the Inquisition, of the massacres of the Aztecs and the Incas.....Above all, Spain, at one time the favourite haunt of learning and the arts, would not have become the intellectual desert it now is, bereft of the glories of centuries."

Maulvi 'Enâyatullah's book, which contains 7+514+80 pages, is printed in lithography and that being so is

singularly devoid of mistakes which are usually a curse on practically all Urdu printing. The great desideratum of the book seems to be that while a list of Arabic and English books consulted is given in the preface (p. 3), there are no references to the sources of information given either in the text or in the footnotes. The difficulty of the reader is doubly enhanced when he has to go through extract after extract within inverted commas, and has to be content only with a reference to 'an Orientalist' or 'an Arab author.' It was with the greatest difficulty, overcome sometimes with the help of the learned author himself, that the present writer was able to find out where the quotations exactly came from. This might well be rectified in the next edition. Moreover, while the author himself says (p. 3) that the Spanish Muslims regarded the Southern portion of France as part and parcel of their patrimony, only one of the maps of the Muslim dominions contained in the book includes that portion of the European continent. It is a pity that the learned author could not have recourse to the information about the latest excavations carried on over the site of the destroyed city of *Az-Zahrâ*, as he himself confesses (p. 457), and we all hope that he will be able to add materially to our present knowledge of that splendid monument of Islamic art when he revises the present edition. There are some minor slips of the pen, as when on p. 378 he calls the King of Spain in 1526, Charles V, when as a matter of fact he was then merely Charles I and did not become Charles V till his elevation to the throne of the Holy Roman Empire four years later. Lastly, it is rather a pity he has not appended a list of the Arabic names of several hundred towns and villages for which he could find no Spanish or Portuguese equivalents (Pref. p. 4), for it would have made the work of the future student of the Historical Geography of the Peninsula ever so much easier to have such a list at hand. Perhaps it is for the reason that our author considered any further addition to this list useless that he did not utilise the important Arabic Geographical Dictionary, the *Mo'jam m'asta'jam* of Al-Bakrî (Wüstenfeld, edit., 1876). These are, however, merely minor details, which do not impair the value and importance of the work a jot.

HARROON KHAN SHERWANI.

AGRARIAN REFORMS IN TURKISTAN.

IN two recent numbers of "Islamic Culture" we have noticed articles on the subject of Soviet legislation in regard to Muslims which had appeared in the "Revue des Etudes Islamiques" (Paris). Another important article in the same valuable review treats of the agrarian reforms undertaken by the Soviet government in Turkistan. The main article is by M. M. Nemchenko and an introduction is contributed by M. Joseph Castagné, to whom chiefly we are indebted for these lights on Soviet Russian policy and who has here translated the Nemchenko monograph. It has been recognised from the first by the central authorities in Moscow that the problems of Central Asia differ radically from those of European Russia. For one thing there is no "proletariate" (to use the horrid word) in Merv or Ashqabad, since the capitalist regime has never been established there. That does not mean that there are no inequalities, no hardship for an indigent majority of the population; it means that the inequalities and hardship, while analogous to those to be observed in Russia, are owing to quite different causes and so call for different remedies if such remedies are to be effective, not irrelevant. In Turkistan there was no serfdom of the cultivators of the soil nor any system of great landlords. The great landlord, where there was one—and there was for some time a sort of feudalism in those regions—farmed the land by means of the peasants on a basis of co-partnership, so much of the produce belonging to the peasant, so much to the landlord as of right. The communist writer does not confound, as so many other theorists have done, the Turkish *mulk* with "real estate" (as Europeans understand it). He writes:

"The formation and development of freehold property in land (*propriete fonciere*) is the most characteristic feature of the country's growth. Capitalist freehold property must not be confused with the Muslim *mulk* and above all with the Turkoman *Mulk*. *Mulk* is an individual form of land ownership which was proper to Society long before capitalism, feudalism and the tribal régime. Engels knew of *mulk* and yet he writes "that the absence of real estate is the key of all that constitutes the East. In it resides the whole political and religious history of the East."

Now *Mulk* is almost identical with the secure land tenure within the system (or theory) of national ownership

which the Soviet regime has conferred upon the Russian peasants ; therefor Moscow has no quarrel with *mulk* as such ; the reforms relate to other forms of tenure or to the distribution. In Turkestan the best lands, those nearest to the water were held as *mulk*, those furthest from the water as *sanachik*, land held in common by the settling tribe and later by the *aul* and redistributed each year, this last proceeding being hateful to the Russians because it formerly prevailed in Russia in the case of *Mir* lands and because it does not allow the farmer to take a proper interest in his holding. The result of this annual redistribution in Turkestan was simply that the peasant took everything out of the piece of land assigned to him and put nothing in so that great tracts of land thus rendered worthless were always lying fallow to recover from the drain upon them. The tribe which first established itself by the waterside took all the land which belonged to all its families individually or in common, the distribution was made by the tribal council among members of the tribe. When, as nearly, always happened, other people came from other tribes to join the polity there was no land available for them excepting the unirrigated tracts beyond the river basin. If they wished to take part in the real agriculture of the community they had to purchase the right to do so (the property could not be alienated) or to do so on a more or less servile footing. Thus before the Russian conquest there were already many landless folk connected with the cultivation of the land in Turkestan.

After the coming of the Russians everything became more complicated, and this is the dark period from the Soviet point of view.

M. Nemchenko writes :

“ Outside capital, penetrating into Turkestan by force, pushed some roots into the life and tribal organisation of the Turcomans. The agents of the capitalists were no other than the clerks of Russian commercial houses and industrial firms : representatives of commercial and financial capital, Russian functionaries, prospectors and business men, all kinds of intermediary agents, money-changers, etc. After the conquest of that country a crowd of individuals of every rank and profession poured into it in the hope of getting rich, others with the object of placing their money to advantage.”

The introduction of cotton-growing and of other kinds of cultivation such as market-gardening for the benefit of foreign markets was a consequence of the invasion and gave the capitalists their opportunities.

“The absence of reserves of labour in Turkestan, its relative clearness, had a decisive influence on the development of the plantations. The owners of capital preferred to subsidise the peasants, to allow them credit to plant cotton or some other precious crop, to investing their money directly in land. It was thus that a whole host of intermediaries, commission agents, managers of cotton firms, mere usurers came into existence who, having caught the peasants in their toils, bound them by a whole system of credits. According to an official testimony on every rouble 50 of cotton 25 kopeks — *i.e.*, 15 p. c. — went into the pocket of the agents of the cotton firms; if to this we add the percentage levied by usurers and creditors, and if we take into consideration the fraud in weighing and measuring which was largely practised, and the acceptance of first-quality cotton as second-quality, second as third, and so on it will be seen that the capitalists reduced the price of cotton to their own profit by a third at least, if not a half. Rents went up at the same time, and small peasant undertakings were swallowed by the capitalists on one hand there was seen the capitalist *kulak* (rich peasant) who appropriated the rent and on the other the peasant who cultivated the cotton, a really cyclopean task, and who received for it only a very little, not to say a famine wage. Conditions of exploitation were established within the *aul*. The small farmer being in fact transformed into a paid labourer; farming out (*charikerstvo*) became one of the hidden forms of hired labour.

“The more the cotton cultivation grew, the more grew the demand for labour; but the quantity of labour which the country threw upon the market annually could not suffice to meet the exigencies of the moment; in these conditions, small agricultural holdings could easily support the competition. Usually, under normal conditions of the growth of capitalism, the great landowners, as a result of the dearth of labour and of the departure of workmen from the country districts, try to provide them with land. If it happens that the small producers are too much supplanted, the great landowners try to strengthen or revive them by selling

or letting out the land¹. That is why the capitalists did not wish to deprive the peasant of his land; on the contrary, they kept him as the legal owner, leaving him the semblance of independence; but really the swallowing up of the holdings continued. The peasant was no longer free even to choose his crop, and it was no rare sight to see the peasant properties of a whole *aul* in the hands of two or three persons.

"It must not, however, be supposed that no great estates were formed, and that the process of the concentration of the land was altogether absent in Turkistan. The tribal forms of ownership of the land prevented new-comers from getting hold of it; the native capitalists were still not strong enough to gather all the land to themselves, the more so that their interests clashed with those of the middlemen and cotton agents; thus a fierce struggle around the question of liberating the land from tribal forms of tenure began, a struggle in which the Russian administration itself was involved. However, the fact of the concentration of land was incontestable and in the archives of the chief of the Transcaspian Province very curious documents can be found on the "cornering" of lands by the rich natives and the fraudulent and speculative methods to which they had recourse in their struggle for land-ownership.

"This process continued even in our own days, after the Revolution. At Merv vast territories were leased to one or two individuals; at Bairam-Ali, wide lands belonged in fact to the great *bais*, who distributed them in small lots to those members of the tribe who had no land Certain private individuals owned lands in various districts simultaneously (at Merv, at Bairam-Ali, at Tejen, at Ashqabad, etc.) It is very difficult to explain this process by means of statistics, first of all because the exact statistical description of *Turkmanistan* (the former Transcaspian region) is a new thing, and then because it is sometimes impossible to discover the real owners of the land since the *chairikars* (large farmers) at the time of the statistical inquiry, declare the land received by them upon the basis of a temporary holding as their private property."

Nevertheless the writer gives a number of tables of statistics in support of the above statements—statistics

(1) Lenin works. Vol. IX.

which we need not quote since they are less illuminating than the verbal statements.

Having thus made it clear that there was considerable injustice even under the tribal distribution of land in Turkmanistan—a system which the Soviet thinkers view with tolerance as a natural and to some extent a communistic system—and that the injustice was enormously increased owing to the actions and reactions of a capitalist policy and administration on the tribal system, M. Nemchenko goes on to speak of the reforms which the Soviet government has instituted. These were not undertaken hurriedly, but only after close and careful study of the facts and conditions. Roughly stated, they comprise: the redistribution of the land upon a basis of residence and occupation rather than of ancestry; the abolition of all *Waqf* lands—lands placed in mortmain for the benefit of mosques or public institutions or the descendants of a certain stock (all these are counted *waqf* though M. Nemchenko seems to think the term restricted to religious foundations)—and their distribution among the altogether landless members of the rural population; the reduction of holdings which much exceed the Soviet definition of a peasant competency for the benefit of holdings which fall short of that conception; in the case of *sanachik* or community lands (a term which in Turkmanistan generally connoted comparatively unprofitable, because hardly irrigable, land) the substitution for the annual re-allotment of a much more permanent tenure; and, last but not least, the abolition of the former water privileges.

“In Russia the basic mass of the peasantry has been transformed by the march of the Revolution into a mass of moderate land owners, the number of *kulaks* (wealthy peasants) and of poor has considerably diminished. In Turkmanistan, on the contrary, the Revolution has hardly touched agrarian conditions, the revolutionary crises have contributed still more to the impoverishment and ruin of the peasants. It is quite evident that the work of reconstruction upon Soviet principles could not be begun in an *aul*, so long as the general conditions of peasant economy remained unchanged. Agrarian reform became the forerunner of all economic and political activity in the *aul*. Land and water reform could not but affect social relations. While they castigated the *kulak* (wealthy peasant) they safeguarded the interests

of the landless peasant or the poor peasant, without touching the average peasant at all; that is why these reformswere bound to rouse antagonism and provoke a bitter strife of classes, a strife between the poor and the *bais*. The clergy, the *bais* and a party of the "intellectuals" of Turkmanistan have undertaken an energetic, and none too scrupulous, campaign, trying by all means to compromise the men responsible for the agrarian and irrigation reforms by inveigling them into undesirable actions, and even going so far as to oppose the partition of the land as an organised block. But these..... reforms affected much more sensibly the tribal way of life and tribal relations; they have shaken the structure on which the *kulak* stood, they have made a breach in the ideas of social forms and the world—standpoint in which the rural capitalist was born and on which conditions of exploitation were created. A pitiless struggle for water and land was carried on not only between tribes, but even in the heart of tribes, assuming more and more the colour of a regular strife of classes. This struggle aspect demanded and still demands today a particular vigilance on the part of the Soviet power, the more so that the reactionary elements of the *aul* have not disarmed and still pursue the fight against the land and water reforms. The struggle on behalf of the tribal organisation, for the re-consolidation of the tribe, has been carried into the council of the *aul*, into the union of the *Koshchi*, into the (local Soviet) party and above all into the domain of rural economic measures instituted by the Soviet Government, which the more powerful tribes are trying to utilise for their own consolidation. Cases in which *bais* have taken back their lands, have used the rural economy for their agricultural exploitations, in which the council of the *aul* has been turned into an arena for the struggle between two powerful tribes, have been so frequent all this year that the question of the need of strengthening the agrarian and irrigation reforms systematically and on a determined plan, of extending their efficacy and of closely watching their results, is very evidently placed before us. In reality, the land and water reforms have done no more than state new principles concerning the conditions of the exploitation of the land and, in their first phase, have been concerned only with new partition of lands, only roughly outlining a project of new forms of exploitation of those lands. Many things have not been done; much remains to be done. The peasants are only partly satisfied and the reforms have not achieved

the whole effect expected. That is why the mass of the peasants is a little disillusioned..... We have now to pursue the development of these reforms, which transform themselves into the seizure of the lands, the creation of legal norms, just organisation of the machinery of supervision, the strengthening of the Party and of social organisations in the *aul*, political struggle with the *bais* against the tribal organisation and a system of measures for the complete reconstruction of the peasant economy on the principles of Socialist rationalisation. The agrarian and irrigation reforms are a turning-point in the development of the peasant economy, which, having traversed the road of capitalist growth under the pressure of Russian imperialism, now enters on a new phase, socialistic development.

We must not allow any disconnection between the land and water reforms and the work of reconstructing rural economy on the one hand, and the fight for new relations in the *aul* on the other; or the rural economy of Turkmanistan will be threatened with relapse..... ”

Thus, it will be seen, that the land reforms in Turkistan are being undertaken cautiously and are still far from complete. Their result, when they are given full effect, will—be practically, to the Turcoman’s intelligence—to make every peasant a landowner; to abolish holdings too large for the members of a family or two to cultivate and holdings too small to provide a living for a family; and to extend *mulk* tenure (as the term is generally understood in central and Western Asia and not in the special sense it had in Turkistan, where it was applied to lands nearest to the irrigation source) to all holdings. Except in the last point, it does not differ greatly from the original tribal settlement, and will not therefor in itself seem foreign to the people. But such a sharing-out of land on an equality is, more than any other mode of distribution, subject to destruction in the course of years, for reasons which would seem inherent in our human nature. The ultimate success of the Soviet project must, therefor, depend on the “machinery of supervision that still, it seems, remains to be set up; which also will be subject to deterioration and misuse.

SYRIAN FOLK-LORE.

It must be as a result of post-war conditions in Palestine and the presentment of that country as a Jewish national home among the Arabs that a work in Hebrew upon Arab folk-lore as it bears upon the Jewish Scriptures has appeared, which, incidentally, has been considered worthy of translation into English and publication by a most discriminating firm of publishers*. The translation is now before us—an attractive volume. So far as we are aware, the task of separating from the mass of Arab folk-lore those stories which refer to Bible characters and making of them a connected narrative has not before been undertaken; though J. E. Hanauer's "Folk-lore of the Holy Land" has many pages given over to this class of folk-tales set forth separately and in divers versions with mention of the place where it was gathered and the religion of the narrator. Such details would but bore the general reader, for whom the present book is obviously designed, but their absence causes occasional bewilderment to the connoisseur in Palestinian folk-lore when he finds a Muslim version wander off into a Jewish or a Christian version of the same legend. It must be remembered that among the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of Palestine there are Muslims, Christians and Jews who, while they have this Arab folk-lore as a common property, each give to it their own colour where it touches their respective Scriptures. The confusion becomes worse confounded when we recollect that, through Jewish converts to Islam, many rabbinical legends were long ago acclimatised among the Muslim Arabs, that Christian legends were assimilated in the same way, and that books in Arabic containing nothing else than folk-lore, some of a Muslim, others of a Christian tinge, have circulated among the people for the last 1,000 years. The best ancient work of that kind known to us is the *'Unsu'l-Jalil* of Majr-ud-din and the best of many modern chapbooks *Bada'i'au'z-zuhur fi Waqa'i'ai-d-Duhur* by Muhammad ibn Ahmad Al-Hanafi, both from the Muslim point of view. If the purist attitude of some modern folk-lorist were here to be assumed and all that had been published in a book at any time were to be disregarded, it is probable that very little out of all the immense wealth of Arab folk-lore could

* *Bible Tales in Arab Folk-Lore*. By Joseph Meyonkas. Translated from the Hebrew by Victor N. Levi. London, Alfred a Knopf 1928.

be accepted as pure tradition. The compilers took their material from the story-tellers, and were often themselves story-tellers. If they were Muslims they did not disdain a Christian or a Jewish source provided the material was such as would delight or thrill an audience or throw light upon some point that was not clear before. Thus the lore as it exists today is a concocted and elaborated mixture. Still there are some plain characteristics which distinguish a legend as a Muslim would tell it from the same legend as a Christian or a Jew would tell it. It is the confusion of those characteristics often, and their absence sometimes, in the present work which makes us suspect that the author, while intending to describe the folk-lore of the Muslim majority, derived a good deal of his information from the lips of Jews and Christians. Thus, where the stories comment in a naive way on the narrative of Holy Scriptures, most of the versions in this book follow the Bible rather than the Qurân. The legend of Al-Qarînah (Lilith), though known to all creeds in Syria—and in North Arabia, too, and Anatolia—is definitely Jewish, and has not been really taken into Muslim folk-lore, as its absence from the orthodox and most popular Muslim chapbooks shows. Al-Khidr (a name which for some reason has been transliterated al-Hadr) in these pages figures largely as Elijah—a purely Jewish identification—and the author has omitted mention of the fact that he might equally from an Arab Christian's point of view be called St. George, since at the places where the Muslims go in honour of "al-Khidr Abû'l-'Abbâs *aleyhi's-salam*," the Jews pay respect to Elijah and the Christians to St. George. Hanauer has shown that all those places from the Lebanon to Sharon were of old associated with the worship of the god Tammûz, a worship which has left deep marks on Syrian folk-lore and folk-customs. On the other hand the chapters about Joseph follow the Qurân and not the Bible. We here miss generally the wild fantastic note so characteristic of the peasant story-teller, and also the well nigh ribald turn to jest which is as usual in our experience. A reader of this work might well imagine that all these legends were as serious and sacred to the Muslims as the Talmud is to the Jews, which is by no means, and has never been, the case.

The inclusion of Lukman (Luqmân) seems to belie the title, "Bible Tales", for nowhere is he mentioned in the Bible, nor do any of the stories told of him bear the

least relation to that Book. As an example of what we have already stated as to the omission of the fantastic touches characteristic of Syrian narrators, in the story of "the first operation ever performed on earth" when Luqmân drove the crab off the man's heart with a hot iron, the point that Luqmân's nephew called to him through a hole in the roofs when the surgeon stood aghast before the sight revealed: "Touch him up with fire O ass" is not included, though when the present writer has heard the story it has been the crowning point. In the course of the story of Lot, the legend of the Tree of Life is disposed of in a page and a half, and, as here set down, belongs to no creed that we know of, being but a fragment of the Christian legend—or rather cycle of legends—known already to Origen, which links the fall of man to the Crucifixion, showing the Cross on which Jesus (peace be upon him) was crucified to have been made of the wood of the Tree of Life, a shoot of which was brought to earth from paradise, and watered and preserved miraculously through the ages—a story which, when told the present writer, beguiled a whole long summer afternoon and evening. The author rather strangely places the tomb of Adam at Hebron whereas every Christian Arab (and most Muslim Arabs of Syria accept their report) knows that it is in Jerusalem. In the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, under the chapel on the rock known as Calvary, there is another chapel cut in the same rock. That is the traditional tomb of Adam and around its walls some quaint old Oriental frescoes (which were much defaced when last seen by the present writer) depict the whole long legend of the Tree of Life. In the story of Lot as told in Muslim Scripture there is no mention of that Prophet's wife having been turned into a pillar of salt. She is said simply to have "been of those who stayed behind"—*i.e.*, she did not flee with Lot, but, preferring to remain behind with her own people, was destroyed with them. We wonder upon what grounds the author identifies 'Uzeyr (always identified with Uzra) with Jeremiah and where he found a Muslim peasant who had ever heard of Isaiah. Needless to say, considering the wealth of Syrian folk-lore, there are innumerable stories about Scriptural events and characters which are not to be found in these pages. The whole mass of legend which has gathered round the tombs of Abraham, Sarah and Joseph at Al-Khalil (Hebron) and the Tomb of David is unmentioned. Jonah, whose tomb is in the land, is fully treated, but Nabî Rubin (Reuben) is a personality in the Plain

of Sharon where his mosque and tomb between the marshes and the sea are visited by thousands every year, and around his name much legendary lore has gathered. He is left out and it would be possible to compile a book of greater length covering almost all the same ground and drawing on the same source—the stories told among the *fellahin* of Syria—without using a single story which has here been used.

But all our criticisms are for the student. For the general reader it is a delightful book, which will entertain him hugely while affording insight into a world of fancy and romance before undreamt of.

M. P.

A BOOK OF POEMS.

Captain Robert Gordon Canning is already known to many of our readers as the Englishman who so gallantly espoused the, by diplomacy unsanctioned, cause of the Moroccan Rifis in their struggle against Spain and subsequently against France as well. They may be surprised to hear, though there is really no call for surprise as there is no discrepancy and it is now some years since the publication of his "Death of Akbar", that Captain Gordon Canning is a poet as well as a large-hearted adventurer. The work* before us bears this dedication: To all those who work for the co-operation and not the rivalry of Islam and Christianity. Civilisation, like Truth, is found in many places and in many forms, but the heart of Civilisation, like the soul of Truth—whether in Pataliputra, Delhi or London—is identical; that is, charity in daily actions between man and man, kindness to animals, and a wide toleration and sympathy towards all humanity irrespective of race and creed."

In *Boabdil*, a poetic drama in six Acts, which fills five sixths of the book, the author takes us from the Moorish to the Spanish court and back repeatedly in his dramatic effort to display the hearts of Muslim and of Christian Spain at a time when the great Arab power was gone and but one bright spot remained round which the shadows gathered fast to blot it out. Faithful to his creed just stated, he does not blacken or idealise either side, though his sympathy, of course, is with the victims of his cosmic tragedy. The theme is so lofty that the greatest of poets could have done full justice to it. It is no "faint

* *Boabdil or The Twilight of Granada and other Poems.* By R. Gordon Canning. London, J. F. Hodgson and Son, Ltd. 1928.

praise " when we say that Captain Gordon Canning's treatment of it is invariably interesting and occasionally touches heights of poetry. He knows the nature of the folk of whom he writes and seems to feel *with* them as well as *for* them. He has also mastered, his historical period. His technique is occasionally faulty, but the heart beats true—in contrast to too many poets of today, who are perfect in technique but dry of heart. The following is a fair example of the style.

" Why, why despair ? Have not we Arabs always
 " Fought against odds and vanquished spite of all ?
 " Have we not in our veins the splendid blood
 " Of those who conquered Spain ? Banish despair,
 " All weak and strength-dissolving fears.....
What we have left
 " Out of our chivalry is seasoned hard by war :
 " A veteran force to lead and to inspire
 " The young and yet half-hearted citizens
 " To fiery deeds, defending their own homes
 " Beneath the very eyelids of their wives.
 " Where instinct fails shame shall impel their arms
 " To wield their swords in eager rivalry."

The last lines of the epilogue are

" Return with thy words of mercy,
 " Prophet of Galilee.
 " Return with compassion and mercy,
 " Prophet of Araby
 " Side by side down the sunlight
 " Descend to this world of woe,
 " Hand in hand in the one light
 " Of Love and its healing glow."

which further emphasize the author's standpoint among the shorter poems in the book, that " On the Death of Zaghloul Pasha " and the " Lament of a Dying Riffi " are of interest to Muslims.

ISLAMIC CULTURE

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Under this title the first instalment of Professor D. S. Margoliouth's translation of the recently discovered eighth volume Tanukhi's famous book of anecdotes of Baghdad under the Abbasid caliphs will appear in the October number of " Islamic Culture." All rights reserved.

Ed.—" I. C."

THE ANGLO-DUTCH RIVALRY IN BANTAM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

The history of Java has not been dealt with by any impartial historian with that fullness and breadth which its cultural importance demands. The early history is lost in mist. Legends swarm round us ; myths take root in a country where imagination is a substitute for concrete reality. My object here is not to trace the primeval savages who roamed through the dense forests, but to give a very brief account of an important episode in the life of a small section of the peninsula. The Dutch East Indies are inhabited by 50 million Muhammadans, one million Chinese and about 200,000 Netherlanders. Students of Islamic history will be naturally interested in the vicissitudes of Java, and the various steps through which Dutch supremacy was established there. Java played a very important part in the struggle which was waged by European nations for the mastery of trade. The Dutch fought with the Portuguese, the English and the Arabs, and the mighty drama that was unfolded there, had reverberations throughout Europe. For the importance of Java lies not only in the fact that it contains a very large number of Muslims, but also in the fact that it was the subject of important negotiations between the English and the Dutch in Europe. The account given here is based mainly upon documents transcribed from the Public Record Office, Chancery Lane, London, but it has been supplemented by notes in which an attempt has been made to collect all available references. Information has been obtained, and relevant material has been brought together, from various sources.

I have deemed it necessary to give a brief account of the important dates and incidents in the History of Anglo-Dutch Negotiations relating to Bantam, as, otherwise, it will be difficult for a student to find his way through the maze of despatches reproduced below. These documents show the intensity of the conflict between the English and the Dutch. No changes have been made in the

spelling. Wherever possible, notes have been appended to words and passages that needed elucidation or explanation. I hope the notes will prove useful to the student.

In this work, I have received valuable assistance from Srijut Bimalananda Ghosh, M.A., Research Scholar in this department, who has worked under my guidance and looked up and arranged various references under my supervision.

The Portuguese were the earliest European nation to trade with the Spice Islands. In 1594, the Dutch formed the "Company of Foreign Merchants" and sent Cornelis Houtman to the East Indies. He reached Bantam in 1596 and found that the Portuguese were not on good terms with the King¹. Houtman ingratiated himself with the latter and was able to establish a Dutch factory there².

After Houtman's return to Holland, the price of pepper rose, and profits in this trade were considerable. The example of the Dutch was infectious, and the English, not to be outdone by the former in the race for commercial monopoly, launched a project of their own, and founded the East India Company (December 31, 1600), to which monopoly of trade in the East Indies was granted for fifteen years by Queen Elizabeth, though it could be terminated at any time after two years' notice, should it be found unprofitable to the nation. The first venture of the company was undertaken by James Lancaster, who reached Bantam in 1603. He was welcomed by the King, and obtained permission to establish an English factory there.

The Dutch traders had, meanwhile, combined into a strong and powerful organization, called the United East India Company, in 1602. As I have pointed out in my work, *East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century*, the Dutch outstripped the English, because their company had the support of the State, and used all the resources which a State could command for the furtherance of its object. This advantage was striking and decisive, and the English Company with its limited resources; its

(1) "Before the Dutch conquest, Bantam was a powerful Muhammadan state, whose Sovereign extended his conquests in the neighbouring islands of Borneo and Sumatra"—*Encyclopædia Britannica*. Vol. III pp. 355-356.

(2) Grey and Bell: *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard* (Hakluyt Society) in 3 vols. Vol. II, pp. 161-164. Also Hunter, W. W.: *A History of British India*. Vol. I, p. 278.

weak organisation, and its internal conflicts, was gradually driven away from the East Indies in a short time.

So far as the inhabitants were concerned, they looked upon the English at once not only as rivals, but also as opponents of the Dutch, and the King of Bantam declared that "England and Bantam are both as one"¹ (1605).

Suspicion and distrust now took the place of mutual confidence and trust, and the two nations started that career of commercial rivalry, which ended only with the complete decline of Holland, and the virtual commercial supremacy of England, in the eighteenth century. This supremacy was, later on, transformed into political supremacy in India. In the East Indies, however, the advantage lay with the Dutch, and they have maintained it there ever since.

The English regarded the Dutch as ungrateful parvenus, who did not acknowledge their debt to England in the last war of liberation against Spain. The Dutch regarded the English as interlopers, who had come to share with them the monopoly of the spice-trade. However, in the initial stages of the conflict, the Dutch were obliged to be discreet and circumspect in their dealings with the English, while the latter secured only a precarious foothold in the East Indies².

About 1615, Coen, the Dutch Commander, sought a pretext for a quarrel with the English. Their position was rendered unbearable, and it deteriorated till 1619, when an agreement was arrived at³.

However, the agreement hid the sore that continued to fester beneath. It declared that the officers of the two companies should in future act in cordial co-operation. The commerce of the East was declared free to either country. Thenceforth, neither company was to exclude the other, either by constructing fortifications, or by private contracts. The Treaty, however, was bound to prove ineffective, as the parties were unequally matched, and the Dutch with their superior organisation, their discipline and experience, were immeasurably stronger

(1) Hunter : *Ibid.* Vol. I. p. 352.

(2) *Cambridge Modern History*. Vol. IV. Chap. xxv ; James Mill : *History of British India*. Vol. I. p. 37.

(3) Hunter : *Ibid* Vol. I pp. 376-77 ; Dr. Khan, Shafa'at Ahmad : *East India Trade in the Seventeenth Century* p. 22 ; Dr. Khan, Shafa'at Ahmad : *Sources for the history of British India in the Seventeenth Century* p. 24.

than the divided, disunited, and weak English company. The Dutch company was a great military organisation while the other was merely a trading venture. The English soon after complained that, instead of being admitted to their stipulated share of the spice-trade, they were almost excluded from it; they said that, on the pretext of a conspiracy, the Dutch had executed great numbers of inhabitants at Banda, and reduced Pularoon to a desert¹.

The Massacre of Amboyna (1623) is too well-known to need recapitulation here. One result of this dreadful blunder was the expulsion of the English from a number of places in the Moluccas and the adjacent islands, and their concentration for a time on the island of Lagundy in the Straits of Sunda (1627). In Lagundy, however, they found the climate unhealthy, and returned, willy-nilly, to Bantam soon after (1628)². The execution of the English at Amboyna showed the supremacy of the Dutch in the Spice Islands, and the vicissitudes of the English at Bantam consolidated the power and prestige of the Dutch throughout the Spice Islands.

In 1630, Bantam, the head-quarters of the English in Java, was declared subordinate to Surat. The Presidency was suppressed, as also the power of judicature in the Council there³. During this period, the English Agents at Bantam repeatedly asked permission to build a house there for health and safety, and the Company at home at last consented. However, they forbade any extra expenditure on "ostentation and glory"⁴. President Hoare of Bantam remarked in 1630 that "Bantam was a good place for abode, not for trade, except for the quantity of pepper which must be bought for money⁵." However, in 1634, Bantam was again raised by the English East India company to the rank of a Presidency, "for the more commodious government of these stations" and the eastern coast was placed under its jurisdiction⁶.

But at home the financial position of both companies was far from secure. Heavy military charges encroached on the profits of the Dutch and economy could not be effected. The English Company, too, was suffering from

(1) *Cambridge Modern History*, *Ibid*, Mill : *Ibid*, Vol. I p. 46.

(2) Mill : *Ibid*. Vol. I p. 58.

(3) Hunter : *Ibid*. Vol. II. p. 59. Sainsbury, W. N. : *Colonial Papers. East Indies*. 1680-34. pp. 103, 179, 203.

(4) Sainsbury : *Ibid* pp. 326, 501, 502, 604.

(5) Sainsbury : *Ibid* p. 89.

(6) Mill : *Ibid* Vol. I. p. 59.

continued Dutch aggressions. The Puritanic spirit was diverting men's minds elsewhere and the poverty of Charles I made him a very untrustworthy patron. Then, "The Assada Association"—a body of interlopers—did considerable damage to the company's trade, and it was only in 1649, after a prolonged struggle, that the matter was ended by the coalition of rival interests¹

People in England were so absorbed in their domestic struggles, that they paid no attention to their brethren in foreign lands, and it was not till Oliver Cromwell had defeated the Dutch that the threads of the old struggle were resumed, and reparation sought for the maltreatment of the English in the East Indies. Relations between the English and the Dutch Republics had, ever since the murder at the Hague of the Parliamentary envoy, Doreslaer, in 1649, been strained. The right of fishing, the Massacre of Amboyna, the striking of the Dutch flags in the Narrow Seas, the disputes of the two East India Companies—these were the sores that rankled. Cromwell was no longer willing to acquiesce in the Dutch monopoly of the carrying-trade in English harbours, or to yield one tittle of English pretensions to the dominion of the seas. His first ideas were peaceful—he sent an embassy to the sister republic. But this achieved nothing².

Then Cromwell adopted more effective measures. On October 9, 1651, he passed the celebrated 'Navigation Act.' The Dutch protested in vain, and the First Dutch War followed (1652). The Treaty of Westminster (1654) demanded from the Dutch the restitution of the island of Pularoon in the Bandas.

In 1657, George Downing was sent to the Hague as the English Envoy. He was specially charged to negotiate between Sweden and Holland as to the Baltic question. But the difficulties in his way were enhanced by the Dutch support to Spain. Thurloe wrote to Lockhart in Paris, "The reasons of his (Downing's) going are to negotiate on the affairs of the East Sea and Portugal." Downing was successful in preventing a breach between Sweden and Holland, and in maintaining good relations between England and the latter country. The choice of an agent, able, bold and skilful in commercial affairs and disposed to carry out instructions with the utmost vigour, showed that the intervention of England had to be taken seriously.

(1) *Cambridge Modern History. Ibid.*

(2) *Cambridge Modern History. Vol. V. pp. 137 ff.*

The success of Downing's mission made the United Provinces more conciliatory, thus rendering possible a peace between them and England¹.

The prosperity of the Dutch East India Company in 1567 is recorded by John Evelyn. Nieuport, the Dutch Ambassador, told him that the East India Company of Holland had constantly a stock of £ 400,000 in India and forty-eight men-of-war : he spoke of their "just and exact" keeping of their books and correspondence. He laughed at the English Committee of Trade which, he thought was composed of men wholly ignorant of trade and opined that these men were the ruin of commerce, by gratifying some for private ends².

In 1658, disputes about prizes further embittered the relations of the two republics. "They do in everything carry themselves as if they sought an occasion for quarrel," complained Thurloe, when the Dutch refused a demand, made by Downing, for the punishment of some offending captains. The capture of some English ships at Bantam by the Dutch added fresh fuel to the fire. The merchants who owned them protested that they were peaceable traders; the Dutch declared that they had furnished gunners and war-materials to a state at war with Holland. Nieuport, the Dutch Ambassador, returned to England at the close of July to settle the matter. Downing pressed the matter home at the Hague, and on August 6, the Dutch Government resolved to restore the ships and goods taken at Bantam. Downing wrote, "The directors of the (Dutch) East India Company declared plainly that it were much better to have a war with England than to restore those ships, and are returned to Amsterdam in great rage." He concluded by saying that the agreement could be reached only through the good offices of De Witt, who was a friend of peace³.

In spite of the defeat of the Dutch in Europe, their power and influence in the East Indies showed no signs of diminution. Wherever they suspected the natives of siding with the English, they declared war against them, and inflicted losses on the English shipping and seized their goods. Their pretensions knew no bounds. They proclaimed themselves, "Lords of all the South

(1) C. H. Firth : *Last Years of the Protectorate*. Vol. II. p. 235.
See also S. R. Gardiner, *The Commonwealth and the Protectorate*, on Cromwell's foreign policy.

(2) *The Diary of John Evelyn (Globe Edition)* p. 192.

(3) C. H. Firth : *Ibid.* Vol. II. pp. 236-238.

Seas, and the Coast of Malabar, from Cochin to Cape Comorin," prohibiting all natives whatsoever, from trading upon the said coasts for pepper, under forfeiture of ships, goods and persons¹.

Charles II ascended the English throne in 1660. He followed the Protector's policy of upholding the commercial interests of England. He had, moreover, no zeal for Protestantism, which had made Cromwell so anxious to end the Dutch War. He had also a natural dislike of the republican Dutch who had maltreated him and his retinue during his exile. This made King Charles II a more dangerous enemy to the Dutch. In 1661, the King received the Governors of the East India Company and promised to be very careful of the India trade²—a promise that he kept throughout his reign.

In 1661, Agent Hunter and Captain John Dutton went to the East Indies, to take delivery of the island of Pulo-roon, which had been promised to England in 1654. But the Dutch Governor refused to hand over the island to them³.

In Europe, also, there were sources of conflict between the English and the Dutch. This unfriendly spirit was fostered by the quarrel between the States and Portugal. England was bound to Portugal by the marriage of King Charles II and, therefore, favourable to her. In June 1661, however, a treaty between the two powers was being arranged, when Downing, who had been reinstated in his old place in April 1660, interfered. Downing's boldness in this matter was disliked by Lord Clarendon who was then at the helm of affairs in England⁴.

Another ground of ill-will between the two Protestant nations arose from the circumstance that disaffected persons, dangerous to the tranquility of England, found an asylum in the State⁵.

This strife was sedulously encouraged by Louis XIV of France, through the agency of D'Estrades. Clarendon seems to have been genuinely desirous of accommodation with Holland, and his instructions to Downing⁶ show that

(1) Dr. Khan, Shafa'at Ahmad : *East India Trade*. pp. 110-111, 116.

(2) G. G. Smith : *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (Globe Edition) p. 109. Also, Lister : *Life of Clarendon* in 3 volumes. Vol. II. Chap. X pp. 228-257.

(3) Miss Sainsbury and Sir William Foster : (*Court-Minutes of the East India Company* (1660-63). Introduction pp. xiii-xvii.

(4-5) Lister : *Ibid.*

(6) Lister : *Ibid.* Vol. III (Clarendon's correspondence).

he was prepared to forgo many advantages for the sake of peace.

In accordance with these sentiments a treaty of peace and alliance between England and the Dutch was signed at Westminster on September 4, 1662. This treaty professed to establish "peace, amity, confederation and friendship" between the two nations. They were bound to aid by sea and land against those who rebelled against either power, and not to harbour fugitive rebels. The Dutch were required to lower their flag to English vessels in British seas. Pularoon was to be restored. All actions and claims of damages committed in India were to cease, with this exception, that claimants of compensation for loss of two ships, *Bona Esperanza* and *Bona Adventura*, should be at liberty to prosecute the suit already commenced¹.

Serious causes of quarrel continued to multiply. In 1664, Pepys refers to letters from the East Indies, which complained of Dutch atrocities there². Downing was instructed vigorously to demand redress for the losses suffered by English merchants. Burnet represents Downing as purposely preventing satisfaction in order to bring on a war. His statement is borne out by Temple and Clarendon³. Downing has been charged with fomenting quarrels with a view to providing a pretext for war. He vigorously intervened in the question of the indemnity to be paid for the seizure of the two vessels, referred to above. To this was added the fresh grievance regarding Pularoon.

Then again, merchants bitterly complained of the means by which the Dutch attempted to extend their colonial power in Africa and the East, and impede the commerce of other nations. A war was fought on the Gold Coast of Africa, and the Dutch captured two English ships. Similar complaints were made respecting the conduct of the Dutch in the East Indies. An English ship, the *Hopewell*, was seized upon the pretext that she was bound for Cochin, on the coast of Travancore, which the Dutch were besieging by sea and land. Another, the *Leopard*, was seized because she was alleged to be bound for Porcat, the Raja of which, the Dutch asserted, had submitted to them by treaty⁴.

(1) *Ibid* Vol. II. Chap. X. Also, Ranke : *History of England in the Seventeenth Century* in 6 Vols. Vol. III. p. 419 ff.

(2) Pepys : *Ibid.* p. 224.

(3) *Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. XV, pp. 399-401.

(4) Lister : *Ibid.*

A more serious grievance arose from the seizure, in February 1664, of some Dutch possessions on the west coast of Africa by an English expedition, commanded by Sir Robert Holmes on behalf of the Royal African Company, of which the Duke of York was the patron. In October 1664, came the news that another English expedition had captured the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam in North America.

Such cases, involving questions of deep interest to the colonial and commercial prosperity of England, were among those which roused the anger of the English public, and caused complaints to be laid before the Parliament in the spring of 1664. The Parliament resolved that the Dutch excesses were detrimental to the interests of English trade. The king expressed approbation of their zeal and promised enquiry into their complaints. He instructed the Minister at the Hague to demand speedy reparations and the prevention of the like in future¹.

On February 22, 1665, the King issued a declaration of War. Clarendon thinks that this war was caused by the Duke of York, who was ambitious of military glory². In 1667, the Peace of Breda brought the war to a close. It gave New Netherland to the English, and Pularoon to the Dutch, who also acquired the colony of Surinam and the island of Tobago.

The same year, Downing was recalled from the Hague and was succeeded by Sir William Temple. But in the autumn of 1671, Charles II again determined to pick up a quarrel with the Dutch. The King had, in the meanwhile, concluded the Secret Treaty of Dover (1670), with Louis XIV, and Charles II was pledged to help him in his war against the Dutch. So Sir George Downing replaced the conciliatory Temple at the Hague. He was secretly informed by the King that he was so offended by the conduct of the Dutch that he had determined to engage with the King of France for a joint war at the earliest possible moment; he therefore, had sent him (Downing), not to obtain satisfaction, but to employ all his wit and skill to embitter matters, so that the English might desire the war and concur in it with good-will³.

A war with the Dutch soon followed, but immediately after, Downing was compelled to escape to England owing to the fury of the mob at the Hague. In this war,

(1) Lister : *Ibid.* Vol. II Chap. X.

(2) *Ibid.* p. 235.

(3) *Dictionary of National Biography* : *Ibid.*

advantage certainly rested with the Dutch. On 19th February 1674, peace was concluded. All Dutch ships were to strike the flag even when meeting a single English man-of-war; and the United Provinces were to pay a large war-indemnity.

Thus, by the year 1674, the Anglo-Dutch War in Europe was concluded. But hostilities went on in the East. The king of Bantam, who had early entered into negotiations with King Charles II, wrote frequent letters to the King and the Company, sent them presents and wanted in return¹ ammunition, gelding, powder, barrells, guns etc. In 1681, he wrote to Charles II, "he had resigned all authority in Bantam to his son, and being free from the horrible captivity and glorious misery of a throne, did enjoy the pleasures of a retired life." But he complained of Dutch aggressions in the East, which were highly prejudicial to English interests there. About a year later, we find the disillusioned King reporting further progress of Dutch arms, and requesting King Charles to mediate. Soon after, he sent two ambassadors, who arrived in London in June 1682².

The Dutch, taking advantage of the quarrel between the King of Bantam and his son, interfered in the dispute and assisted the son, whom they set upon the throne³. They entered Bantam by force of arms, and conquered the city in a few days with the loss of about 40 men. Then they prevailed upon the new king to expel the English and all other Europeans resident there.

A petition of Anne White stated that her husband, an agent at Bantam, had been "abroad in the usual place of watching," when he was most barbarously murdered by some of the natives. Other letters speak of the insolence of the Dutch. More light is thrown by a letter from the King of Bantam. He informed Charles II that the Dutch had been invited by his son into his country. They had turned out the English, the Danes, the French, and had given all the pepper of Bantam and Lampoone for gratuity⁴.

Captain Alexander Hamilton, who visited the East between the years 1688 and 1723, wrote: "In Bantam, the English and the Danes had their factories flourishing

(1) Miss Sainsbury and Foster: *Court-Minutes*. Also, Dr. Khan, Shafa'at Ahmad: *Sources*. pp. 49, 54, 123.

(2) Dr. Khan, Shafa'at Ahmad: *East India Trade* pp. 131-132.

(3) Dr. Khan, Shafa'at Ahmad: *Sources*. p. 252.

(4) Dr. Khan, Shafa'at Ahmad: *East India Trade*, pp. 132-134.

till A.D. 1682, when the neighbouring Dutch fomented a war between the old King of Bantam and the new. As the father would not agree to their measures and be their humble slave, they struck in with the son, who was more covetous of a crown than of wisdom. They put the son upon the throne, took the old King prisoner and sent him to Batavia; and in 1683, they pretended a power from the new King to send the English and the Danes a-packing, which they did with a great amount of insolence. They next fortified, by building a strong fort within a pistol-shot of one that the old King had built before to bridle their insolence¹."

The Court of Committees of the English East India Company then petitioned to King Charles II for redress of the injuries and insults at Bantam. Charles wrote a very strong letter to the Dutch Government at the Hague, and sent Sir John Chardin² to negotiate a settlement with the Dutch. The King "demanded a positive order to their officers and soldiers at Bantam to restore to the English the quiet possession of all their rights."

The Dutch tried to evade the issue and pretended that the insults offered to the English flags were only consequences of a war with the old King of Bantam, who was their mortal enemy³.

Meanwhile Charles II had secretly approved of the scheme of the English Company to send armed ships to Bantam under Sir Thomas Grantham. On August 14, 1683, the King granted a commission to Sir Thomas Grantham, Knight Commander of the ship *Charles*⁴.

At home, Dutch Commissioners were appointed to settle the dispute and they came over to London to confer with the English East India Company's commissioners (1685). The English Commissioners demanded damages estimated at £335,775⁵. In March 1686, however, the commissioners wrote that they were unable to reach a final settlement, and so they decided to leave the matter to the judgment of the King of Great Britain and the Dutch States-General⁶.

(1) Captain Alexander Hamilton: *A New Account of the East Indies* (Edinburgh. 1727). Vol. II. p. 128.

(2) Dr. Khan, Shafa'at Ahmad: *Sources* p. 77.

(3) *Ibid.* 78.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 156, 208.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 208.

(6) *Ibid.* pp. 197-200.

King James II, too, was in earnest about East Indian affairs. This will be clear from a reference to Miss Foxcroft's *Supplement to Burnet*. Burnet stated that the King intended "to make a quarrel of it as soon as his affairs put him in a condition to make a war." The French were at the same time making preparations at Toulon, and it was generally believed that the Kings of England and France were again resolved to fall upon the Netherlands¹. This shows that the expulsion of the English from Bantam was resented not only by the East India Company, but also by Charles II and James II. The consequences of this step are well-known. The English concentrated on their trade in India, which ultimately led to the foundation of the British Empire in the eighteenth century. The Dutch, on the other hand, became the undisputed masters of the South Seas. The Portuguese had been crushed; the English had been expelled; the Arab traders had been driven out and their trade practically eliminated. There was nobody now to fight for supremacy, and the Dutch established an administration and evolved a constitution, which worked with imperfect success till the end of the nineteenth century. A brief account of the administration of the Dutch East Indies will be found in the *United Empire*, the Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute, London, for January 1928. It contains a most instructive lecture by Le Jonkeer A. H. Van Karnebeek, in which the Dutch statesman gives a summary of the constitution and administration of the Dutch East Indies¹.

"The Netherlands East Indian Archipelago covers an area of 734,000 square miles, about equal to the combined areas of Germany, France, Spain, Portugal and Italy, with a population of 51,000,000, comprising nearly 50,000,000 natives, mostly Mahomedans, nearly 1,000,000 Chinese and other foreign Asiatics and 200,000 Dutch and other Europeans.

"The Netherlands East Indies is an island Empire, situated at the most important junction of the waters of the Indian Ocean and the Pacific. Not only because of its configuration, but also as regards the composition of the population do the Netherlands East Indies differ from British India. Another important point of difference should be mentioned. In the Netherlands East Indies the number of native States is comparatively small and their

(1) Quoted in Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan's *East India Trade* p. 134.

significance, both historically and politically, not to be compared with the native States of British India. With us they are of less account and have been subjected to Dutch authority in various ways. Dutch rule may now-a-days be described as effective throughout the whole Archipelago."

Already in 1798 the rule over this extensive and scattered Empire was transferred from the East India Company to the Netherlands Government. The rule was purely official also during the English interregnum in the days of Napoleon, and may, as regards India, be described as absolute, although since 1848 under the very effective supervision of the States-General, which always took a large interest in colonial affairs. The highest legislative and administrative power was vested in the Crown, although any subject might be legislated for by Act of the States-General. Legislation was only obligatory in certain important matters, such as the monetary system and the constitution itself of the colony.

For more than a century this system, which had its centre of gravity in the mother country, remained unaltered. The population, left as much as possible under the immediate leadership of its own chiefs, was given no share or voice in the rule exercised by the Netherlands Government. Public opinion, as far as it existed, could only be expressed by means of the press, but its character was such as to prove that the native population was not ripe for participation in the government or for public life. Consequently, the Governor-General ruled directly in the King's name in accordance with the responsible Minister. He was also bound to consult the Netherlands East Indian Council, which was an independent body, with whom agreement had to be reached in all legislative matters. In case of necessity the Governor-General might act independently, over-riding the Council's objection, but in other cases the final decision lay with the crown which could thus eventually carry through the intended legislation. I would emphasise in this connection, the fact that the heads of the departments are not members of the Netherlands East India Councils as in British India; this Council has always consisted of five members appointed by the Crown, and usually selected from among the most experienced senior officials.

The following account of Bantam, culled from different sources, will be found interesting.

The account of Java and Bantam may be supplemented by the curious details with which the industry of a host of travellers to this romantic spot has supplied us.

Bantam is now the western-most residency of the island of Java, Dutch East Indies. It is bounded on the west by the Strait of Sunda, on the north by the Java Sea, on the east by the residencies of Batavia and Preanger and on the south by the Indian seas¹.

The first notable traveller to visit Bantam was

Francois Pyrard 1606².

“ The island of Java is at the southern end of Sumatra, turning away toward the east, and separated by only a narrow arm of the sea, whereof the beginning is under the seventh degree towards the south. It is a very great, rich and wealthy island, containing many kingdoms. The most renowned is that of *Bantan*; also it is more resorted to than any other part.....

“ *Bantan* is a great city, thickly populated, situate on the sea at the very end of the island and near the Strait (called the Strait of Sunda) that separates Sumatra from Java, from which it is distant only five-and-twenty leagues. On both sides of the town flows a river which bathes and surrounds it, and then falls into the sea..... The town is surrounded with brick walls, of not more than two feet in thickness. Every hundred paces near the walls are lofty erections raised upon ship-masts, serving in the defence of the town, both as watch-towers and for firing at long range and with better command and view upon an enemy attempting to approach.

“ The buildings are constructed of canes, the pillars are of wood, and covered with palm-leaves. The rich and the well-to-do have their houses hung on all sides with tapestries and curtains of silk, or of cotton cloth nicely painted. There are five large spaces, wherein everyday is held the market of all sorts of merchandise and provisions, which are cheap, and living is therefore very good. The fruits and animals are all similar to those of other Indian countries and are very cheap.

(1) *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Vol. III, p. 355.

(2) Grey and Bell: *The Voyage of Francois Pyrard*. (*Hakluyt Society Publications*) in 3 volumes. Vol. II. pp. 161-164.

"The town is situated on low and marshy ground lying between two arms of the river, so that for the most part of the winter, the river is all overflowed throughout the town.....The streets are not paved: in nearly all parts of the town, there are quantities of coco-trees. Outside the walled enclosure are a great number of houses for the foreigners.

"As for their *religion*, the most part are Mahomme-dans: there are, however, great number of gentiles and idolaters. There is a great mosque in the town

"The *inhabitants* are of a yellowish colour; they are habited in a cotton or silk cloth, which they wear all round the body from the waist downwards; on the head they wear a little turban passed twice around.

"Their *arms* are daggers or poniards, called by them '*cris*'; the blade is waved, and it is a dangerous weapon... ..These are worn at the side of all, high and low: it would be considered a disgrace not to wear it.....

"The *people* are of a very stubborn race, also exceedingly proud in their gait, and great liars and thieves. [James Lancaster, the first Englishman to go to Bantam (1603), says that he traded with them peacefully, "although the Javanese he reckoned among the great pickers and thieves of the world."] They are extremely idle; the slaves do the greater part of their business....

"The *town* is thronged with many people, for there is a great traffic and commerce there, carried on by all sorts of foreigners, as well as Christians and Indians.....These come chiefly in search of pepper, which grows abundantly in this island and is usually a *sol* a pound.....

"The *Hollanders* have at present in this town many houses that they have built; they always keep there a factory and factors for managing their trade; for the king had an affection toward them and the people love them...

"The *King* has his residence in the town. He is exceedingly courteous and kindly, and has numerous wives who are guarded with great rigour....."

*John Huyghen van Linschoten*¹ (1683-1692).

"South south-east right over against the last point (or corner) of the isle of Sumatra, on the south side of the Equator lies the island called Java Major, where there is a straight or narrow passage between Sumatra and Java,

(1) Burnell: *The Voyage of John Huguen van Linschoten (Hak-luyt Society Publications)* in 2 volumes. Vol. I, pp. 111 ff.

called the Strait of Sunda.....This island begins 7 degrees on the South Side, and runs east and by south 150 miles long, but touching the breadth, it is not found, because as yet it is not discovered, nor by the inhabitants themselves well-known.....

“ This island abounds with rice, and all manner of victuals, as oxen, kine, hogs, sheep and hens, onions, garlies, Indian nuts, and with all kinds of spices, as cloves, nutmegs and mace, which they carry into Malacca.

“ The principal haven in the island is Sunda Calapa, whereof the strait bears the name : in this place of Sunda there is much pepper, and it is better than that of India or Malabar.....It has likewise much frankincense, folic and camphor, as also diamonds.....

“ The wares that are there desired by them in barter for their spices are divers and different sorts and colours of cotton-linen, which came out of Cambay, Corromondel and Bengal.....

“ The *Javanese* are of a very fretful and obstinate nature, of colour much like the Malayers, brown and not much unlike the men of Brasilla [Brazil], strong and well-set, big-limbed, flat-faced, broad, with thick cheeks, great eye-brows, small eyes, little beard ; the hair on their heads are thin and short, yet black as pitch.....”

Captain Alexander Hamilton (1688-1723)¹.

“ The first place of commerce on the west end of Java is the famous *Bantam*, where the English and the Danes had their factories flourishing till Anno 1682.....

“ The only *product* of Bantam is pepper, wherein it abounds so much that they can export 10,000 tons per annum. The road is good and secure for the safety of shipping. It is in a pleasant bay, wherein are several small islands, which retain their English names still ; and the natives still lament the loss of the English trade among them, but the king has more reason than his subjects to regret the loss of their commerce. The good-will the natives bear to the Dutch may be conjectured from their treatment, when they find an opportunity ; for if an Hollander goes but a musket-shot from their fort, it is five to one if he ever returns, for they are dexterous in throwing a lance, or shooting of poisoned darts through a wooden pipe or trunk ; and the king never redresses them, pretending the criminal cannot be found.”

(1) Alexander Hamilton : *A New Account of the East Indies* (in 2 vols.) Vol. II. pp. 127 ff. (Edinburgh. 1727).

*John Splinter Stavorinus (1768-1769)*¹.

[Stavorinus reached Bantam on 11 May 1769. His ship contained eight chests of money, containing fifty-thousand Spanish dollars, which were to be given in payment for pepper to the King of Bantam.]

“The gulf or bay at Bantam, bounded by the point of the same name, forms a commodious retreat for ships, large numbers of which may anchor in it in safety. Many islands lie scattered up and down in it; and they afford an agreeable prospect to the ships in the road. There is plenty of fine ships.....

“It is at the bottom of the Bay that the city of Bantam is situated, full a quarter of an hour’s walk from the sea-side. It lies between two branches of a river, which descends from the mountains.

“The distance from Bantam to Batavia is 13 Dutch miles [1 Dutch mile being equivalent to 3½ English miles]. The communication between these two places by land is very difficult, owing to the thick forests and deep morasses, which lie between them. For this reason, people go by water, making use of the land and sea-winds, which seldom fail.

“The river of Bantam is only about 170 or 180 feet over, at its mouth. It is likewise very shallow. It is beset with wooden piles on both sides, as far as Fort Speelwyk.

“Bantam lies in an extensive plain, behind which there is a range of high and massy mountains, that extend far to the southward. I cannot determine respecting its size, but it must certainly be called a large city, for I have walked straight for an hour without reaching the end.

“A quarter of a league from the city, there is a large open field, where three roads unite to the west-ward of the river. This forms the eastern, as part of the city does the southern, boundary of the plot, while the royal mosque is situated on the north and the King’s palace on the west side of it.....

“The royal palace which stands on the west side is built within a fortress, which is called the Diamond. This is an oblong square, eight hundred and forty feet in length and nearly half as broad. It has regular bastions at the four corners, and several semi-circular places of

(1) Stavorinus: *Voyages to the East Indies* Vol. II. pp. 55-89. (Translated by S. H. Wilcocke. 1798).

arms on the sides. I counted 356 pieces of cannon in his fortification.

“The Dutch East India Company keeps a garrison in it. This force serves nominally to defend the person of the King from all hostile attempts ; but in fact, to have him always in the company’s power.....”

*Colonel Henry Yule and Dr. A. C. Burnell.*¹

“The province which forms the western extremity of Java is properly *Bantan*. It formed an independent Kingdom at the beginning of the 17th century, and then produced much pepper (now no longer grown), which caused it to be greatly frequented by European traders. An English factory was established here in 1603, and continued till 1682, when the Dutch succeeded in expelling them as interlopers.”

A Short Summary of the Documents² relating to Bantam.

The Documents begin with a demand by the English East India Company to the Dutch to deliver up the island of Pularoon in the East Indies (No. 1). This island had been in the possession of the English for a long time, till the Dutch occupied it about the year 1623. The Treaty of Westminster (1654) restored the island to the English, but they could not arrange for its occupation till 1661. The English Company now applied to the Dutch for letters to the Governor-General at Batavia and to the Governor of the Bandas, instructing them to hand over the island to the English (No. 2). The Dutch replied that they would surrender it on production of a Commission from the King. As regards other claims made by the Company concerning damages and injuries sustained, they thought that the English Company had already received adequate compensation and asked them not “to rip open several old sores which had long been forgotten,” (8 November, 1661) (No.3). The next letter from the East Indies, which will be found below, complained that John Dutton and John Hunter, the persons nominated by the Company to take delivery of Pularoon, had gone there on 11 March, 1662, with letters from the English East India Company and from the Lords States-General of the Netherlands. But Joan van Dam, the Dutch Governor of the island, refused to surrender it (No. 4).

(1) Yule and Burnell: *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 62.

(2) The figures within brackets refer to the documents printed below.

The next despatch is an answer from the States-General in Holland to Sir George Downing's claim, concerning the two ships, *Bona Esperanza* and *Henry Bonaventura*, both lost in 1643. A full account of these ships and the vicissitudes through which the negotiations regarding them passed, will be found in Miss Sainsbury's *Court Minutes of the East India Company* and Sir William Foster's *English Factories in India*. The Dutch refused to revive a controversy that had been settled amicably long before. Moreover, they thought that the matter had ended by the payment of 85,000 guildars to Sir William Courten, the owner of the ships (No. 5).

A Committee had been appointed by the King to decide the claims of Thomas Skinner on the East India Company, for the seizure of his ship, the *Thomas*. This case is of great constitutional importance, as it produced a rupture between the House of Commons and the House of Lords, and established a precedent regarding the relation of the two Houses, that is now regarded as authoritative. The Company replied that they had seized nothing out of the ship, and that they were ready to pay 2057 dollars as damages to Frederick Skinner, to whom the goods belonged. They claimed that Skinner's papers and affidavits were false and fictitious, and that they were not responsible for the loss of the ship (No. 6).

DOCUMENTS.

No. I.

RIGHT HONO^{BLE}:

Wee have here inclosed sent unto you, a Letter from y^e(the) High and Mighty y^e(the) Lords, Estates Gennerall of the United Provinces etc., w^{ch}(which) Letter was directed from them unto the Right Hono^{ble} English East India Company and from them sent by mee according to the true intent thereof, unto your Honour, the Contents thereof wee make no question but you understand to bee concerning y^e(the) delivering up of the Island of *Pula Rone*¹, unto the English East India Comp^a and for y^t(that) purpose wee come Impowred wth(with) his Ma^{tie} (Majesty) of Great Brittans Commission and all other things requesite thereunto, all w^{ch}(which) wee shall respectively make appeare when desired soe to doe, Our desire unto your Honour is that you will bee pleased to send your Commands and Orders unto the Governour of Banda, and if you please to Honour us soe farr, y^t(that) it may under our conveyance be presented unto him, for the performance of the promises wee shall Study Love,

C. O. $\frac{77}{8}$
Fol. 201
No. 120

Peace and Amity, wth(with) all y^e(the) parts of Good neighbourhood and make noe question but wee shall receive the like. In the last place Wee make it our request unto yo^r (your) Honours y^t(that) you will bee pleased to send us an answer hereof, wth(with) yo^r(your) orders there enclosed to y^e(the) governo^r(governor) of Banda², for Wee shall by the blessing of God, wth(with) in few days bee ready to Saile for those parts, thus desiring yo^r(your) Hono^r(honours) to dispose o^r(our) messenger to us againe as soone as conveniently you may, Wee commend you and all your affaires unto Gods Mercifull protection and Remayne. Bantam 23rd October 1661.

No. II.

TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAT^{ie} (MAJESTY).

The humble Peticon of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London Trading to East India.

HUMBLY SHEWETH.

C. O. $\frac{77}{8}$
Fol. 208
No. 211

That your Peticoners finding by y^e(the) 15 Article of y^e(the) late treaty made wth(with) y^e(the) Embassadors of y^e(the) States of the United Provinces, that a List is to be agreed, on both sides, of y^e(the) Damages, Injuries and Losses sustained, for w^{ch}(which) reparation is Intended by the said Article. And an Umpire to be appointed for Cases referred to the Commissioners, which shall not be by them agreed, wth(with) in y^e(the) time to them Limited. Your Mat^{ies} (Majesties) Peticoners in persuance thereof doe humbly pray.

That it may please your Mat^{ie} (Majesty) to provide that persons may be forthwith appointed on both sides to receive and consider y^e(the) demaunds of damages and Injuries which your Subjects have sustained by the Dutch, in Order to y^e(the) ascertaineing of the List of them according to y^e(the) Article.¹

And also to consider and resolve of a fitting Umpire or Super Arbitor, that soe these necessary Preliminaries may be adjusted with y^e(the) Dutch, before the Exchange of the Ratificacon of the said Treaty. That your Peticoners may not be left to incertainties, and thereby frustrated of all the Grace and Justice which your Mat^{ie} (Majesty) intends them by y^e(the) said Articles and Treaty

And your Peticoners shall Pray &c.

Tho. Chambrelan Gov^r.

(Endorsed in pencil)

East Indies
October 31 [1661]

No. III.

RIGHT WORSHIPFULL

Yours dated 23th October English stile have well c. o. $\frac{77}{8}$
received wherein we find Inclosed Twoc Letters, dated 18th F. 204
October last yeare from our Masters in Holland, y^e(the) No. 122
One directed to us, y^e(the) other to our Governor in
Banda, by w^{ch}(which) Letters their Honnours doe Order,
Command and advise y^t(that) wee should deliver and sur-
render up, to y^e(the) English nation, the Island of Polla-
roone in Banda, provided y^t(that) wee first have sight and
you produce a sufficient Act, and Comission from his
Matie(majesty) of Greate Brittain, and y^e(the) Honour-
able English East India Company.

And whereas you desire y^t(that) wee should Certifie
our Governor of Banda of your suddaine resolution to
Navigate for those parts, as to y^e(the) taking possession
of y^e(the) Island aforesaid.

Bee pleased therefore to accept this for answeare, y^t(that)
wee have bin allwaies ready and now are willing to
surrender the same, (provided) as wee have formerly said,
to have first a sight of your Commission, and then accord-
ingly shall make Deliverance.

But since y^e(the) date of those prementioned Letters
have by our last shipp out of Holland received further
Intelligence, adviseing that y^e(the) Honourable English
East India Company, doth pretend to have rec^d. (received)
much damage from or by us, and withall doth renew and
ripp open severall Ould sores and debates formerly enacted
w^{ch}(which) have bin long buried.

Wee therefore doe absolutely conclude, y^t(that) what
accord or agreement soever formerly made is not of Vallu-
ation nor in force, wherefore wee with greate right doe
Justly understand, y^t(that) Yo^r(your) Wor^{ps}(Worships)
cannot with reason, demaund a surrender of y^e(the) afore-
named Island untill wee receive further intillgence from
our Masters in Holland w^{ch}(which) wee howerly Expect.

In y^e(the) meane while earnestly desire your patience
as concerning this businesse, and withall intreate your
wor^{ps}(worships) y^e(the) prolonging of your Voyage for a
time, that soe wee may the better regulate our affaires.

Wee question not but y^t(that) your wor^{ps}(worships)
will more willingly comply with our desires, considering

ye(the) monsoone is not as yet accordant for yo^r(your)
Transportation to those parts in the meane time wee rest

Yo^r(your) friend and Servant ye(the) Governour
Generall and Counsell of India.

Joan Muttsuyker
Carell Hard Shinke
Arnold Flaming Vanond Shour
Joan Ver Burch
Verrick Sture

Battavia ye(the) 8th November 1661.

No. IV.

A Protest against the heere Joan van Dam¹
Governour and Councell for the hon^{ble} Nether-
lands East India Company in the Islands of
Banda scituated in the south sea.

C. O. 77
8
fol. 255
No. 128

Whereas Captain John Hunter Agent for the hon^{ble}
English East India Company, and Captaine John Dutton,
appointed Governour for the Island Pollaroone, arrived
at the said Island the 11th March 166 $\frac{1}{2}$ it being one of the
Islands of Banda; with Commission from the hon^{ble}
English East India Company and alsoe letters from the
Lords Stats Generall, of the united Netherlands, directed
to the Lords Generall, the heere Joan Mattsuyker, at
Battavia; and to the Governour of Banda; all tending for
their present and peaceable surrender of the said Island
Pollaroone, unto the hon^{ble} English East India Company,
according to a contract lately passed here in Europe,
Betweene the two Companies, with approbation of his
Mat^{ty}(Majesty) of Great Brittain, and the Stats Generall of
the united Netherlands, yet notwithstanding all these, and
profering to produce our Authoritie unto publique vew
with all other perswasions, wee could possibly use, yet
the said Governour persisted in a obstinate deniall to
surrender the said Island Pollaroone, whether by order
from the Generall and Councell in Battavia, or from the
Netherlands Company in Europe, or both, wee doe not
knowe, but by his the said Governours unjust deniall to
surrender the said Island, hath made void and frustrated,
the hon^{ble} English East India Companys good intents
and resolutions, for the planting and fortifying the said
Island, and to that purpose have byn at a very vast and
great charge, in preparing and setting forth severall ships,
in entertaining and having men both to serve by sea and
by land with all materialls. provisions and Amunitions

&c., for the carrying on, and as much as may bee the perfecting of soe great a worke as the busines of Pollaroone requires, soe that wee saie and protest againe that it is both just and Right, that the hon^{ble} Netherlands East India Company must and are liable, to pay and make good, unto the hon^{ble} English East India Company, all Charges, losses and Dammages, that shall accrew unto them by the unjust dealings of the Dutch, in not surrendring the said Island of Pollarone, with such Consideration as is usuall in such cases, wh^{ch}(which) will amount to no lesse than one hundred and twenty foure thousand two hundred and fiftene pounds, fiftene shillings, as shall in good time bee made truly to appeare.

This protest was delivered unto the said Governour the heere Joan Van Dam, by us whose names are here unto subscribed.

Nathaniell Owen
John Dale

Dated on board the said ship
London Riding in Pollaroone
Roade the 20th of March 166 $\frac{1}{2}$
and subscribed by us :

John Hunter	John Gosnall
John Dutton	William Mainestone
Robert Bowen	William Lymbre

[Endorsed :]

Copie of a protest against
the Dutch for non delivery
of Pula Roone, 20th March
166 $\frac{1}{2}$.

No. V.

Translated out of the Dutch.

The States General of the united Netherlands, having perused and considered a certain Memorial presented to their Lord^{ships} (Lordships) the 20 of April Last, by Sir George Downing¹ Envoie Extraordinary, of the King of Great Brittain, Concerning partly 2 several English ships, the one called the *Bona Esperanza* and the other the *Henry Bona aventura*, whereof the ffirst in the yeare 1643, had been taken in the streights of Malacca, by two ships of the East India Company, of the united Provinces, and the other was about the same time Cast away, upon the Isle

C. O. 77
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No. 182

called *Mauritius*², where she was seized with her loading, by those of the sayd Company. The sayd Extraordinary Envoie desiring, that a speedy satisfaction and reparation may bee made, to those who have been Interested, and wrong'd in this cause, with this addition, That although att the first sight, it may seeme some what strange, that this cause bee brought in question, for the present, whereas in the yeare 1654, there were named, and sent for England, certain com^{rs}(Commissioners) to determine divers actions, concerning the East Indies, as also that In the yeare 1659, causes of a fresher date, have been determined, it was notwithstanding to bee considered, that those who had an Interest in the sayd ships, had behaved themselves so faithfully, towards the deceased King, of Immortal Memory, that they themselves durst not claime, what was due unto them, whereby to this very time, they have not as yet received any satisfaction, notwithstanding many other causes, which happened a great while after the date aforesayd, have been determined, and a due reparation made of the same. Their Lord^{shps}(Lordships) having taken information of what is aforesayd, thought it meet to deliver unto the sayd Sir George Downing Envoie Extraordinary, this following answer: That their Lord^{shps}(Lordships) could give no consent to the Riviving, and a new disputing of any causes, that passed and happened before the date of the yeare 1654, contrary to the Solemn Treatyes, concluded about it, between the two nations, nor of any other that have been mortified by the treaty of the yeare 1657, and all this notwithstanding any reasons and exceptions, to the Contrary, it beeing of a most dangerous consequence, and able by many disputes about decided matters, to unquiet the Nations on both sides, and to interrupt the good intelligence which is amongst them, which by it selfe being sufficient, to decline this old cause (their Lord^{shps}(Lordships) from henceforth not intending to medle with any causes of this nature, nor to spend time, or paines, about the informing of the true state and condition of them) yet but for superfluous satisfaction, only, for this present time, and in the case, but without drawing it in to consequence to any other; Their Lord^{shps}(Lordships) Resolved To acquaint his Honour The sayd Envoie Extraordinary. First that the sayd Interested doe, abusively and contrary to the truth strive to deffend themselves with the aforesayd exception, against the aforesayd Generall rule pretending that they having been faithfull servants, to the deceased King of immortal Memory, durst not presente their Action, during the Last troubles in England.

And secondly, that also without the sayd Treatie, upon the ground of the sayd pretences there doth not accrue or belonge unto them any right to it.

Concerning the first, It is so farre amisse, that those who are interessed in this businesse durst not during the sayd disorders claime what was due to them, in this case, that to the contrary, they brought in their pretences in writing in the sayd yeare 1654, before the Com^{rs} (Commissioners) of both sides, and this in the name of William Tombess Executor of the Last will of Sir Paul Pindar, out of whose capitall these present pretences are now revived, having then extended most exorbitantly their demaunds, to the summe of three score and twelve thousand five hundred and six and fourty pounds, starling as may appeare clearer, by the copy of the said demaunds, here annexed under No. 1.

Whereby the aforesayd pretended exception being directly opposite to the knowne Truth, doeth fall downe.

Now concerning the second point their Lord^{ships} (Lordships) shall not repeat the reasons of the East India Company of the Netherlands, by them produced In the yeare 1643, for the Justefyng of their right and obligation to take the said ship *La bonne Esperanza*, about Malacca, and to confiscate her, nor yett in what manner, the ship *Henry Bona venture* was wholly abandoned, by the Master, and all his Mariners, with a declaration in writing to proove that they would not venture their Lives, to recover anything of her, and that therefore they very willingly suffered, that the people of the East India Company of the Netherlands did employ their best endeavours, towards the saving and recovering of the sayd ship and goods, as much as it might Lay in their possibility. But only that there having been made many complaints, about the one and the other, the said case was att the Last, wholly and amicably Composed and concluded through a final agreement, By the sayd East India Company of the united Netherlands, on the one side, and Jacob Pergens, with David Goubard as wel for himselfe, as beeing impoured by William Courten and other partners in the aforesayd differences on the other side, and this for the summe of 85,000 guilders.

Whereupon also on the side of the sayd East India Comp^a (Company) The real accomplishment and effectual payment was performed, so as his Hon^r (Honour) the Envoie Extraordinary can see by the Coppy of the sayd agreement, Act of caution, order and acquittancel

comprehended under No. 2 and here annexed. It beeing certaine that David Goubard hath been an Adventurer and owner of 5/16 of the aforesayd ship the *bonne Esperance*,¹ and who from time to time in the name of the Common partners hath been employed In the direction of it, having in this quality Let out the sayd ship to William Courten and Signed the Charte [r] party thereof, Besides that the sayd Pergens beyond all this had from all remaining partners and owners on authority and power to the same effect, whereby hee was substituted in dato of the 12/22 May 1648 and whereof his Honnour the sayd Envoie Extraordinary desiring a Coppy it shal bee tenderd to him. The Sayd Pergens having since bought and really payd the portions, of David Goubard an[d] his fellow-partners which may be proved to his Honnour. The Envoie Extraordinary by Exhibition of the Contracts and acquittances passed upon this particular, the which can bee produced If it should be needfull.

And to the End it may appeare to his Hon^r (Honnour) the Envoie Extraordinary, how abusively for the present is drawne in dispute the quality of the sayd Jacob Pergens about the Liquidation of the sayd difference, There is here annexed a procuration passed there unto the 27 October / 7 November in the yeare 1645. by the sayd William Courten upon the sayd pergens, as also twoo Solemn Transports of the afore sayd whole action, the one of the 10 December 1647 and the other of the 22 Feb. 1648 ensuing.

And how abusively the present pretenders are pleased to say, that the said Sir Paul Pindar¹, in whose name they doe act, should have gotten this Action by a transport of William Courten² and Sir Edward Littleton³ 19 December in the yeare 1642 doeth appeare most clearly, first by a letter of the Late king of Great Brittain of immortal Memory, written upon this subject to their Lord^{sh}ps (Lordships) the 9th of October 1647. Whereby his sayd Majesty doeth most evidently declare, that the right or title to the aforesayd twoo ships, doeth belonge unto the aforesayd William Courten and consequently not unto the sayd Sir Paul Pindar, Therefore recommending that satisfaction might be given to the sayd Courten, and yet much Clearer, by the letter written the same day, by his Majesty aforesayd to Sir William Boswel⁴, who was then his majestie's (majesty's) Resident in these Countreyes, wherein after the like Declaration the sayd Resident is expresly charged to take a full information of the sayd subject from the sayd Jacob

Pergens, as being in Commission for managing the affiairs of Mr. Courten in Holland, ordring him to advice the sayd Pergens in it, and to assist him from time to time, according to his best knowledge, which two letters are also heere annexed under No. 4. To which their Lord^{ps}(Lordships) could also adde, the like letters from the Parliament of England, and some more Acts tending to the confirmation of what is aforesayd, if they where not satisfyed, that his Hon^r(Honour) the sayd Extraoridnary Envoie, and the King of Great Brittain his Master, after such a solemn Declaration and writing of the King his father, of immortal Memory, will bee wholly contented concerning this particular. Yet they cannot dispense themselves, of giving only a touch of information to his Majestie(Majesty) that the aforesayd Sir Paul Pindar not withstanding the aforesayd relation, hath been pleased In the years 1650 and 1651 by his atturny Jonas Abeels (whose procuration is yett att hand) to sue In Law att Amsterdam the Directors of the East India Company of the Chamber of Amsterdam, concerning the aforesayd businesse, and there to make a Conclusion, that the sayd Directors might be condemned to pay unto the sayd Sir Paul Pindar and by provision to depose to the aforesayd summe of foure score and five thousand guilders, promised by the aforesayd agreement, unto the sayd Pergens, and David Goubard with the Interest of the Same summe from the very day of the sayd agreement to the effectuall enjoying of it, appearing att Large by the extract of the Record of the Schepens aforesayd under No. 5 heere annex[ed] but the same, and perhaps many other proofes which by lapse of time can not for the present bee brought to y^r(your) Lord^{ps}(Lordships) beeing then represented unto the sayd Pindar or his assignes as also that hee was notoriously in the wrong, hee did upon this abandon the cause without any further prosecution, and ever since to this very time, for all wee know it was left without any pursuit in these Contreys, their Lord^{ps}(Lordships), wondring very much, that the executor of his last will would come to that impudence in the sayd yeare 1654 as to revive the same cause before the Commi^{rs}(Commissioners) ordained on both sides in the same yeare, and there (from the same cause) to make those enormous demaunds of above three score and twelve thousand pounds sterlin[g], and much more, that his heires or any other person in his name made bould to revive again this is so fully a d-d and mortified action after such solemn treatise of 1654 and 1657, And thereupon to

importun the King of Great Brittain and put their Lord^{ps}(Lordships) to the trouble of reviewwing such an old and ungrounded case again, Requiring their Lord^{ps}(Lordships) by these presents, that the said Envoie Extraordinary would bee pleased to represent all what was sayd of this cause unto his Ma^{te}(Majesty) the King of Great Brittain in such a manner that his Ma^{te}(Majesty) thereby, may show his just indignation, against the persecutour, so that others heerby may be discouraged to Importun any more his Ma^{te}(Majesty) or their Lord^{ps}(Lordships) in regard of the lycke old and already mortified action. Thus acted and concluded in the assembly of the sayd States Generall att the Hague the 22 June 1662 and was subscribed

Johan Van Schrieck, etc.
and by order of the same

J. Spronsen.

No. VI.

S.O.	77	Reasons humbly exhibited by y ^e (the) Governour and
	9 ⁻	Committees of the East India Company, to y ^e (the)
Vol.	29	Lords Referred why they cannot refer y ^e (the) pretences
No.	19	of Thomas Skynner against that Company.

That they are only chosen by y^e(the) gennerallity of adventurers for India, for y^e(the) Conduct and mannagement of that considerable trade for one yeare and noe longer.

That by all their advices, and intelligence papers, bookes of accompts, etc., to this day received from India w^{ch}(which) have bine and may be exposed to y^e(the) perusall of any sober minded person, nothing hath bine seized and taken out of y^e(the) shippe *Thomas*¹ from either of y^e(the) Skynners, but y^e(the) Goods acknowledged amounts to 2057 Dollers as y^e(the) Estate of Ffderick skynner² y^e(the) Companies Factor at that tyme indebted to them a vast summe of mony, w^{ch}(which) afterwards hee accompting for, y^e(the) company accepted of an inconsiderable summe for y^e(the) same, in respect of his inability to pay more as was pretended, and w^{ch}(which) 2057, Dollers y^e(the) Company are and have bine over readie to make good as hath bine affirmed upon Oath.

That all Thomas Skynners³ papers, and affidavitts are false, and fictitious, as they have cause to believe all or many of them being in Java language not understood by any in this part of y^e(the) world, and that y^e(the) translates are made by himselfe or by his procurement, and subservient to his undue and indirect endes, and y^e(the) rather because they all runn contrary

to y^e(the) stile and usage of those people, as all men affirme that have bine Conversant in those parts.

That Thomas Skynner being by y^e(the) mothers side a Dutch man, did for a reward offer himselfe to assist y^e(the) Dutch against this Company, and to hinder them from obtayning their just satisfaction, for all y^e(the) injuries, oppressions, and indignities soe barbarously obtruded on this Company.

That y^e(the) East India Company never gave any Order nor Commission to meddle nor interrupt Thomas Skynner, nor his shipe, and if any ill language, or violence was offered Tohmas Skynner, by any of the Companies Ser-vantes, they disowne it, and leave him to his remedy.

That in y^e(the) late times of disorder, and Confusion, 30 or 40 sale of shippes were sent into India, by perticular persons, all of them invadeing y^e(the) Rights of y^e(the) Companies Charter, graunted, and Confirmed by Severall of his Mat^{ties} (Majesty's) Royall Predecessors, yet never-thelesse neither they, nor any of their ffactors, ever tooke any thing from any of them, but as Christians and English men, relieved succoured and protected them.

That Thomas Skynners Shipe was a rebuilt Flemish bottome, ill fitted for such a voyage, her provisions all spent, her men for want thereof all but five or six forsakeing her when she frest[sic] came to Jambee and was thereby disabled to proceede on any other voyage as they are well advised, and Thomas Skynner thus distressed, left her designedly, to make up his mean fortune by undue pretences against y^e(the) East India Company in England and gave out speeches to that purpose in India before he came away.

That hee carried out noe considerable Stock, a few knives, and lookeing glasses only, and yet raiseth a pretence of 40,000 D. that hee assured his wholle adventure of shippe and goods, as in y^e(the) office of assurance apperes, and renounced y^e(the) same for 1150 D. insured to y^e(the) Insurers, as lost and cast away at *Jambee*¹, and hath or ought to have received his satisfaction from y^e(the) Insurers, and they by y^e(the) Law of insurance have the wholle Right of y^e(the) said shippe, and goods, and that it may more clearely appeare how meane an esteeme Thomas Skynner had of y^e(the) shippe, and goods before his goeing out, hee mortgaged y^e(the) wholle to Thomas Merry Esq., for One hundred and eighty pounds taken up at Bottomary.

For these, and many other reasons y^e(the) Governour and Committees of y^e(the) East India Company, humbly

conceive they may not with discharge of their trust, and as ye(the) nature of ye(the) thing stands referr ye(the) matter appearing to them a practise, and Contrivance against them to gett mony out of them upon unjust pretences, it being his singular, and only busines, and designe soe to doe, in consideration of all w^{ch}(which) they humbly pray to bee dismissed from further trouble to your L^{or}^{sp} (Lordships) and themselves and left to ye(the) Law.

Tho. Chambrelan Governour.

November 16th 1663.

NOTES TO DOCUMENTS.

No. I.

(1) *Pulo Rone* an island in the Bandas. It seems to have been surrendered to the English in December 1616 and Nathaniel Courthope was sent there the same year. The Dutch had occupied it about 1623, and though they promised to give it up, they refused to deliver it up later--*East India Trade* (Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan). pp. 104 ff.

This island was restored by the Treaty of Westminster (1654); but the financial weakness of the English East India Company and the disturbed state of Anglo-Dutch relations had hitherto prevented any attempt to take possession of it, although in 1656, 1658 and again in 1659 the Company had made preparations for that purpose. In September 1660, however, it was decided to send out an expedition to claim and colonise the island, and Captain Dutton, who had been selected for its Governor in 1658 but had been dispatched to St. Helena instead, was to proceed from that island to Bantam in order to take up that post. Accordingly an application was made to the Dutch East India Company for letters to the Governor-General at Batavia and the Governor of the Bandas, instructing them to hand over the island to the English. The request was duly complied with, but on receipt of the letters, it was found that they stated that surrender was to be made on production of commissions not only from the Company, but also from the King. The English Company promised to obtain from the King a formal warrant, authorising the Company to take over the island.

The Dutch looked upon this with distrust and wrote that the States-General had taken over the negotiations and that application should be made to the Dutch Ambassadors in London accordingly. When the royal commission was ready, it was shown to the Ambassadors, who found it defective and raised objections. The Company then turned to the King. Already on January 28, 1661, a petition was addressed to him, complaining of the delay of the Dutch Ambassadors to deliver Pularoon up. When the Commission was rejected once more, the Company handed to John Hunter, the new Agent for Bantam, the two letters originally received from the Dutch Company in 1660. But this device proved useless, as the authorities at Batavia were fully apprised of the negotiations by now.—*Court-Minutes of the East India Company*. (1660-63). (Sainsbury and Foster). Introduction pp. xiii-xvii.

The *African* brought the intelligence that Hunter and Dutton had in October 1661 applied to the Governor-General at Batavia for orders to the local authorities to make over Pularoon, but had received a refusal

on the ground that, according to the intelligence received from Holland, the English Company had "ripped open old sores" and were making unreasonable demands upon the Dutch; the Governor-General and his Council declared, therefore, that they did not feel themselves at liberty to surrender the island until further instructions arrived, though they hoped that these would come before the monsoon served Pularoon. Therefore, Hunter and Dutton had resolved to proceed to that island, to see whether they could induce the Dutch authorities there to surrender it, in spite of the absence of instructions from Batavia. On receipt of this news the Company at once made a complaint to the King. . . . At the end of June 1662, the Company presented a petition to the King, begging him to take steps to secure the surrender of the island, with full reparations of the losses incurred. . . . But little notice was taken of these demands.—*Ibid.* pp. xxxiii—xxxiv.

Ultimately in 1667, the Peace of Breda gave this island to the Dutch.

(2) *Banda* a group of the Dutch East Indies, consisting of three chief and several lesser islands in the Banda Sea, belonging to the residency of Amboyna. Pularoon is a smaller island forming part on the south west.

The Banda Islands were discovered and annexed by the Portuguese, Antonio d'Abren in 1512; but in the beginning of the seventeenth century, his country-men were expelled by the Dutch. In 1608, the English built a factory at Wei, but it was demolished by the Dutch as soon as the English ships left. Shortly after, however, Banda, Nevia and Lonton were resigned by the natives to the British and in 1620, Pularoon and Wei were added to their dominions; but in spite of treaties into which they had entered, the Dutch attacked and expelled their rivals. In 1654, they were compelled by Cromwell to restore Pularoon, and to make satisfaction for the massacre of Amboyna; but the English settlers not being adequately supported from home, the island was retaken by the Dutch in 1664. They remained in undisturbed possession until 1796, when the Banda islands were seized by the English. They were restored by the Treaty of Amiens and finally restored by the Treaty of Paris (1814).—(*Encyclopædia Britannica* Vol. III. pp. 310-311.)

No. II.

(1) For damages sustained upon the ships, *Endymion*, *Mayflower*, *Marigold*, *Constantinople Merchant*, *Samaritan*, *Anne*, *Merchant's Delight*; upon the English house and goods at Cape Coast, Guinea; for plunder done upon the English factory at Jambi; making a total of £211,080-12 s. 5d., as ascertained by the Judge of the Admiralty and others to whom His Majesty was pleased to refer the examination of the depositions thereof made in his High Court of Admiralty. The sum of these demands amounted to £249,227-11s. 7d.—*Court-Minutes* 1660-63. (Sainsbury and Foster). pp. 142-143.

No. IV.

(1) *Joan Van Dam* was Governor of Banda in 1661, when Dutton and Hunter went there. In October 1661, the English Agent at Bantam wrote to the General at Batavia that he was proceeding with the King's Commission to take possession of Pularoon, and desired his order to *Joan van Dam*, Governor of Banda, to deliver it up according to the orders of the Dutch Company. The General by a letter dated November 8, 1661 replied that the Dutch had since countermanded these

orders ; therefore no order for the surrender of the island could be given until further instructions from Holland. Notwithstanding this, the English Agent proceeded on his voyage and arrived at Pularoon about March 11, 1662 and demanded its surrender from the Governor of Banda; this was denied and a guard of soldiers was kept on the island, whose commander ordered that if the English attempted to land, they would fire upon them.—*Court Minutes* 1660-63. (Sainsbury and Foster). pp. 325-326.

No. V.

(1) *George Downing* (1623 ? -1684) and his parents sailed to New England in 1638 and he completed his education at Harvard College. On December 27, 1643, Downing was appointed to teach the junior students in the College. In 1645, he sailed to the West Indies, apparently as a ship's chaplain and finally reached England. . . . In the summer of 1650, Downing suddenly appears as Scout-Master-General of Cromwell's army in Scotland. After the war he was engaged in the settlement of Scotland. Downing was a member of both the Parliaments called by Cromwell. In the second parliament, he was loud in his complaints against the Dutch.

But Downing's chief services during the Protectorate were in the execution of Cromwell's foreign policy. In 1655 when the massacre of Vandois took place, Downing was despatched to France to represent Cromwell's indignation and also to make further remonstrances at Turin. Downing was recalled in September 1655, before he reached Turin.

More important was Downing's appointment to be resident at the Hague, where he was sent in December 1657. The post was valuable, and Downing continued to occupy it until the Restoration. He was charged with the general duty of urging the Dutch to promote a union of all the Protestant powers, also with the task of mediating between Portugal and Holland, and between Sweden and Denmark. At the same time he actively urged the grievances of English merchants against the Dutch, and kept Thurloe well informed of the movements of the exiled Royalists. He was reappointed to the post by the Rump in June 1659 and again in January 1660. This gave him the opportunity to make his peace with Charles II. Thus at the Restoration, Downing escaped with rewards and continued as the English Ambassador at the Hague.

Downing was eager to seize some of the regicides who had taken refuge on the continent. Peyps calls him "a most ungrateful villain" for his pains.

On July 1, 1663, Charles created Downing a baronet. In the autumn of the same year the colonial and trade disputes between England and Holland came to a head and Downing was instructed vigorously to demand redress for the losses suffered by the English merchants. Burnet represents him as purposely preventing satisfaction in order to bring on a war. This statement is supported by Temple and Clarendon. During the war, Downing played an important part in the management of the Treasury. . . . When the Treasury was put into commission (May 1667), the commissioners chose Downing as their Secretary. . . .

In the autumn of 1671, when Charles II had again determined to pick a quarrel with Holland, no fitter person could be found than Downing to replace the conciliatory Temple at the Hague. But his unpopularity

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in Holland forced Downing to leave the Hague, even without royal permission, out of fear for the violence of the mob. On reaching England, he was sent to the Tower (February 1672), but released by the end of March. After 1673, he seems to have taken little part in political activities.

Downing's abilities are proved by his career, but his reputation was stained by servility, treachery and avarice and it is difficult to find a good word for him in any contemporary author.—*Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. XV. pp. 399-401.

The fear and jealousy entertained by the English respecting the commercial activity of the Dutch, was industriously fed by one whose unconciliatory demeanour tended to foster in both countries the growing germs of national dislike. This was *Downing*,—a man, keen, bold, subtle, active and observant ; but imperious and unscrupulous, naturally preferring menace to persuasion ; reckless of the means employed and the risk incurred in the pursuit of a proposed object.—*Life of Clarendon* (Lister). Vol. II pp. 228-229.

Downing's grasp of Anglo-Dutch rivalry of the period was very thorough. Every page of his Despatches in the third volume of *Lister's* *Life of Clarendon* testifies to his profound knowledge, his rare versatility and his extraordinary insight. He ably represented the views commonly held about this rivalry. It was the merchants who wanted war against the Dutch. Charles II himself did not want it.—*East India Trade* (Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan). p. 101.

In 1662, the Dutch were surprised by a revival of certain claims of compensation on account of two ships belonging to younger Courteen, the *Bona Esperanza* and the *Henry Bonaventura*, the former of which, having been hired by the Portuguese at Goa for a venture to Macao, was captured by the Dutch in the Straits of Malacca, while the latter was wrecked on the island of Mauritius and part of her cargo was appropriated by the Dutch settlers there. Sir Paul Pindar, the executor of Courteen, now referred to the Treaty Commissioners to demand satisfaction from the Dutch Ambassadors. The claim was clearly excluded by previous treaties, and by the arrangement already accepted, quite apart from the fact that the Dutch commissioners had paid damages to Courteen, who had been vouched by Charles I as the person entitled to the money. But still the claim was pressed and as no reply was obtained, the petitioners again called attention to the matter and Sir George Downing was instructed to require an answer. This document is the reply to the demand.—*Court-Minutes*. (1660-62). (Sainsbury and Foster). *Introduction* pp. xxii.

(2) *Mauritius*. It was discovered by a Portuguese navigator in 1505. The island was retained for most of the sixteenth century by its discoverers, but they made no settlements in it. In 1598, the Dutch took possession, and named the island Mauritius after Count Maurice of Nassau. But although the Dutch built a fort at Grand Port and introduced a number of slaves and convicts, they made no permanent settlement here and finally abandoned it in 1710. From 1715 to 1767, Mauritius was held by agents of the French East India Company. During the Napoleonic Wars, it was captured by the English and it is still a British Colony.

It lies in the Indian Ocean and is situated 550 miles east of Madagascar.—*Encyclopædia Britannica*. Vol. XVII. pp. 912-915.

(8) *Bonne Esperance*. The *Bona Esperanza*, a ship belonging to the younger Courteen, having been hired by the Portugese at Goa for a venture to Macao, was captured by the Dutch in the Straits of Malacca (1643).—*Court-Minutes* (1660-63). *Introduction* p. xxvi.

Downing energetically intervened in 1661 in the case of two ships *Bona Esperanza* and *Bona Adventura* and demanded satisfaction. The Dutch advocate insisted upon the fact of having already given satisfaction to *Pergen*, the agent of Courteen, who had a letter of recommendation from King Charles I. The ships had been seized and confiscated by the Dutch in 1643. Downing's demand for satisfaction was highly resented by the States-General. They asserted that they could give no consent "to the reviving and a new disputing of any cause that passed and happened before 1654."

The two ships had been assigned to Sir Paul Pindar, who sued the Dutch Company for £75,000. Courteen, however, notwithstanding his assignment and protest of Pindar's agent, agreed to a compromise with the Dutch for 85,000 guildars. In 1654, Pindar's executors preferred his claim before the English and Dutch Commissioners for £75,000. Downing now intervened in favour of these executors.—*East India Trade* (Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan) pp. 117-118.

(4) *Sir Paul Pindar* (1565?-1650). At the time of his death it was found that his disparate debts predominated. His executor and cashier, William Toomes, vainly endeavoured to get in that estate and in 1665 committed suicide, having paid none of the debts or legacies. Pindar's affairs were then taken in hand by Sir William Powell and George Carew, but the greater part of his numerous loans to noblemen, the King and the Exchequer was never recovered. Pindar's affairs were also involved with those of Sir William Courteen, and repeated attempts were made from 1653 onwards to obtain from the Dutch Company compensation to the amount of £151,162 for the confiscation in 1643 and 1644 of ships belonging to Courteen and his partner.—*Dictionary of National Biography* Vol. xlv. pp. 310-312.

(5) *William Courteen*². The younger Courteen resolving to carry on his father's business—Courteen and Money—chartered two vessels (the *Bona Esperanza* and *Henry Bonaventura*) for trade in the East Indies. In this enterprise nearly all his money was invested, and the ships with their cargoes were seized by the Dutch in 1643. Bankruptcy followed.... Courteen died in 1655. In 1660 Charles II granted to George Carew, who had been associated in business with Sir William Courteen, power to administer the estates of Sir William and his son. Proceedings were begun in Holland against the Dutch East India Company for compensation of the ships lost in 1643; the English Courts of Law and Parliament were constantly petitioned for redress until the end of the century, but the greater part of the enormous wealth of Sir William Courteen never reached his descendants.—*Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. XII. pp. 333-335.

(6) *Edward Littleton*. Courteen became insolvent in 1643, by losses sustained through the Dutch East India Company and several applications had been made to them for £75,000, damages and other sums of money unjustly detained from the creditors of Courteen—Sir Paul Pindar and Sir Edward Littleton—upon pretence that Courteen assigned the sum of £7,500 out of some ships and adventures to his Dutch creditors, notwithstanding he had bargained, sold and assigned them to Sir Paul Pindar and Sir Edward Littleton.—*Court-Minutes*. (1660-63). pp. 177-178.

(7) *Sir William Boswell*³ was the English Ambassador in Holland

since 1640. He vigorously pressed the English Company's claims on the Dutch.—*Court-Minutes* (1640-1643). *Introduction* pp. xvi-xvii.

No. VI.

(1) *Ye Shippe Thomas*. A ship fitted out by Thomas Skinner, which sailed from London about July 1657. When she went to Jambi in the Malay Peninsula, another ship, the *Dragon*, assaulted Skinner and disabled his ship. This led to Skinner's case against the English East India Company.—*Court-Minutes*. (1660-63). pp. 149, 150, 152, 153.

(2) *The Skynners*. From November 1661 onwards, the Company was increasingly troubled by the claims of Thomas Skinner, which were to give rise to a celebrated conflict between the two Houses of Parliament. Thomas Skinner, who was a brother of Frederick Skinner, one of the company's agents at Bantam, had in time of open trade gone out with a ship to the Far East, and had obtained from the King of Jambi the grant of the small island of Berhala. His complaint was that the servants of the Company seized his ship and goods at Jambi, though they restored the former, at the same time warning him not to trade within the limits fixed in the Company's charter. For the consequent losses, including the prevention of his development of the island, Skinner claimed compensation. The Company replied (November 1661), that the goods seized belonged to Thomas's brother, Frederick, who was in debt to the Company; they denied his other assertions, and ridiculed the extravagance of his claims. The reply appears to have resulted from an application from Skinner to the Privy Council, with a consequent reference to a Committee. . . . Skinner procured a fresh reference to the Privy Council and the company was again put upon its defence. . . . Ultimately on November 9, the Committee of the Privy Council ordered that the dispute should be arbitrated by two representatives of each side.—*Court-Minutes* (1660-63). *Introduction*. pp. xlv-xlv.

The arbitration arranged for seems to have been dropped; and in March 1664, Skinner presented a petition to the King—this was referred to the Attorney-General, who reported that the suggested tribunal was unsuitable and that the case ought, in his opinion, to be tried by common law. . . . But the Privy Council decided that it should be referred to two arbitrators, one for each side. But the arbitrators were unable to agree. . . .

As a result of a conference with the Committee of the Privy Council, the Lord Chancellor had urged that the Company should give Skinner satisfaction. . . . After some debate, it was decided to make an offer of £1,500. . . . The question was referred to the House of Lords, where it gave rise to endless disputes and debates.—*Court-Minutes*. (1664-67). *Introduction* pp. xxv-xxvii.

(3) *Jambee*(1) Both the English and the Dutch had factories here and as everywhere, the Dutch committed atrocities. A despatch dated December 11, 1660, says that the Dutch "have not forborne their wonted violence, but have disturbed the English commerce both by sea and land." They had seized upon their goods at Goa, "assaulted and wounded the factors in their own houses at Jambi", "generally villifying and reproaching the English nation, as if they were but a degree above the slaves." —*East India Trade* (Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan). p. 107.

Shortly after the arrival of Thomas Skinner, Paragran Rattow (Pangera and Ratu are Malay words both meaning 'prince') king of Jambi and Prince of the isle of Berhala, gave and delivered to Thomas Skinner, his heirs and assigns, the said isle of Berhala.—*Court-Minutes* (1660-63). p. 149.

SHAFA'AT AHMAD KHAN.

THE SPIRIT'S PARADISE

Not in those realms where rivers flow,
Of milk and honeyed wine,
Or where, with passion's light aglow,
The eyes of Houris shine ;
Not there, O soaring spirit, lies
Thy home of bliss, thy paradise !

Nor in bright bowers where the blest
On silken seats recline,
Where with the heaven that fills the breast
Earth's memories entwine ;
Not there, O heaven-born spirit, lies
Thy place of rest, thy paradise !

Sense-pictures, these—to soothe the hearts
That still to sense incline ;
Through them high heaven the hope imparts
Of bliss that is divine ;
But not in them, O spirit, lies
That bliss which is thy paradise !

Nay, far beyond the reach of thought,
Where life is love divine
And with eternal grace is fraught,
The promised bliss is thine.
There, there, O happy spirit, lies
Thy cradle and thy paradise !

NIZAMAT JUNG.

THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE HIJRAH

The most momentous event in the history of Islâm was the flight of the Holy Prophet from Mecca to the city of Yathrib, later called by the honorific name of Madinat an-Nabî, "the city of the Prophet." Had the Holy Prophet remained in Mecca all his labours might have been in vain and his mission might have ended in the same way as those of other prophets who rose at that period in other parts of the peninsula. The whole country seems to have been seething with spiritual unrest and was prepared for the events which followed. The cause of this unrest has hardly been touched upon by historians, but there is to my mind little doubt but that the leaven came really from South-Arabia, to which Mecca belonged more than to any other part of the country. The recent conversion of Dhû Nowâs to Judaism, the massacre of the Christians at Najrân, with the subsequent invasion and conquest of the Yaman by the Christian Abyssinians, made itself felt far beyond the borders of that part of Arabia. Had the Holy Prophet remained in Mecca, I repeat, it is possible that his mission would have failed. He had certainly, two notable converts, Abû Bakr and the great 'Omar, but it is doubtful whether they could have carried on the work and mission of their master and friend in the same successful way had they remained in Mecca among so much opposition and ridicule. They might have lived believing in the divine mission quietly, though I can hardly credit the fiery spirit of 'Omar with such a demeanour, and imbued some trustworthy friends with the teachings which had changed their outlook upon life, but Islâm would never have become the power in the world which it has become.

It is however not my desire to deal with such a question in this paper, but rather to endeavour to retrace the footsteps of the Holy Prophet and his companion, Abû Bakr, on their memorable journey from Mecca to Yathrib. At this point I ask learned Muslims if they have ever

taken the trouble to follow their master on the all important journey into exile, and I leave it to them to answer that question to themselves.

It is remarkable how little trouble early historians have taken to retrace their steps, and our sources are really very scanty and in many cases not reliable. A case in point is the text as published in the *Mustadrak* of Al-Hâkim. The text as printed by the Dâ'iratul Ma'ârif has, in its footnotes, the parallel text of Adh-Dhahabî; both agree in the wording and yet contain several errors and omissions. As both texts are alike, I must assume that the manuscripts really contained such errors, which must be due to Al-Hâkim himself or early copyists. Fortunately the source from which Al-Hâkim derived his information is available in the *Sirah* of Ibn Ishâq, in the recension of Ibn Hishâm, and in this way we can check the account of one with the other.

The *Mustadrak* (III. page 5) gives us a further insight into the preparation for the Flight, which even in those days could not be accomplished without travelling expenses. The Isnâd or chain of authorities is as follows : Ibn Ishâq after Yahyâ ibn 'Abbâd ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn Az-Zubair, after Asma' the daughter of Abû Bakr ; and the authorities cited by Ibn Ishâq are trustworthy. The account runs : " When the Apostle of God (on whom be peace) went from Mecca to Al-Madînah with Abû Bakr, the latter took with him all his money, 5,000 or 6,000 Dirhams. Then came my grandfather, Abû Quhâfah, who had become blind, and said : By God ! This one has afflicted you with (the loss of) the money as well as with (the loss of) himself ! " I replied : " Not so, father ! He has left many good things." So I took stones and placed them in the niche of the room where Abû Bakr used to keep his money, and placed a garment over them. I took his (Abû Quhâfah's) hand and placed it upon the cloth. He said : " If he has left (us) that, then all is well." She said (later) : Verily he left us neither little nor much."

This account is also found with slight variations in the *Sirah* of Ibn Hishâm.

The route taken during the Hijrah.

The Isnâd is : Ibn Ishâq after Muhammad ibn Ja'far ibn az-Zubair, and Muhammad ibn 'Abd ar-Rahmân

ibn 'Abd Allâh ibn al-Husain both after 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair after 'A'ishah. The authority of 'Urwah is very trustworthy and, coming from the Umm al-Mu'minin who could ascertain the facts from her father and the Holy Prophet directly, makes the account very credible. Its veracity is enhanced by the fact that very early the names of the places through which they passed were not recorded correctly, proving that the authors who relate the journey took their information from written records, which probably were kept in Al-Madînah. The record also contains, strange to say, words used describing special topographical features for the land traversed which have not found their way into the large Arabic dictionaries. In translating the account I follow the combined accounts of the *Sirah* and the *Mustadrak* (vol. III p. 8). From it readers can correct both the text of the *Sirah* and the *Mustadrak*; the account found in the History of Tabarî (vol. I. p. 1236-37) is not complete, omitting several places. The best text of the *Sirah* is that edited by Wustenfeld, which is more accurate than the Egyptian edition.

The account is as follows: "When the Prophet (whom God bless) came out of the cave on his flight, he was accompanied by Abû Bakr and 'Amir ibn Fuhairah, who rode pillion behind Abû Bakr, while 'Abd Allâh ibn Uraiqt al-Laithi (the guide) was behind them. So he (Ibn Uraiqt) took with them the road below Mecca till he came down to the sea-shore below 'Usfân, then he moved onward to below Amaj. After this they crossed the caravan-road when they had passed beyond Qudaid. After this he travelled with them through al-Kharrâr, passing later through the pass of Al-Marah. Then they travelled through Liqf, later crossed the shrubby country of Liqf and after that went down to the shrubby country of Majâh. Later they came to the undulating land of Majâh. Then they came down to the undulating country of Dhû'l Ghadawain, continuing the journey in the valley of Dhû Kishd. Then they went by Al-Jadâjid and later Al-Ajrad. Subsequently they travelled through Dhû Salam in the valley facing the shrubby country of Ta'hin, and later over 'Abâdîd. After this they took the road Al-Qâhah, after which they came down to Al-'Arj. Here the journey was slackened as the backs of the camels became sore. The Prophet (whom God bless) received here from Aûs ibn Hujr, a man of Aslam, his camel and the latter sent with him on the journey one of his lads named Mas'ûd ibn Hunaidah. From al-'Arj they trav-

elled through the mountain-pass of al-'A'ir to the right of Rukûbah from whence they came down to the lowland of Ri'm. The last stage was from there to Qubâ' to the Banû 'Amr ibn 'Aûf, where he arrived after 12 nights had passed of the month Rabi' I., on a Monday, when the mid-day heat was great and the sun stood perpendicular."

Ibn Khurdâdhbih (p. 129-139) also gives an account of the route followed, but he omits several names of places ; he does not indicate his source of information and some names are evidently misread by him from the original he copied.

Before commenting on the route followed in the Hijrah I give from the book of Qudâmah ibn Ja'far the usual caravan route, following the sea-shore, from Mecca to Al-Madinah as it will show where the Prophet (whom God bless) deviated from it.

Al-Madinah to Ash-Shajarah	6	miles here are wells.
to Malal	12	„ here are wells.
to As-Sayâlah	19	„
to Ar-Rûwaithah	34	„ here are pools.
to As-Suqyâ	36	„ a running brook and gardens 16 miles from Al- 'Arj.
to Al-Abwâ'	29	„ a large village close to the sea, with wells.
to Al-Juhfah	27	„ large village with wells ; the sea is 8 miles away.
to Qudaïd	27	„ large village with wells.
to 'Usfan	24	„ large village with wells.
to Batn Marr	16	„ large village with a pool and spring.
to Mecca	16	„
Total mileage	246	„

In commenting upon the situation of the places and their names we are confronted by many difficulties. The names of places are often the indication of a civilisation of ancient times and if they are not changed as different peoples settle in them, it is very difficult in many cases to ascertain their etymology and meaning. Ibn Duraïd in

the *Jamharah* and *Yâqût* are at times at great pains to explain these names ; as a rule, they are not very successful. But for this reason one has to be very careful in giving proper names, as both scribes and printers especially in Eastern editions, have not bestowed enough, and often no, care upon this.

عسفان 'Usfân is a village in which there are palm-groves, 36 miles from Mecca, on the border of the *Tihâmah*. It belonged to the *Banû Mustaliq* of *Khuzâ'ah*. From 'Usfân to Malal the country was called *As-Sâhil* (the sea-shore). (*Yâqût* and *Bakrî*) *Bakrî* gives some other distances (p. 680) for the places which follow

From Qudaid to Khulais	7 miles
„ Khulais to Amaj	2 „
„ Amaj to Ar-Raudah	4 „
„ Ar-Raudah to al-Kadîd	2 „
„ al-Kadîd to 'Usfân	6 „

(The figure 36 miles given by *Yâqût* does not agree with that given by *Qudâmah* above, who makes the distance only 32 miles. *Al-Sukkarî* is more ambiguous and gives the distance as two journeys. The place exists to this day and if we had reliable maps we could rectify the statements of the ancient geographers.

امج Amaj. *Yâqût* commences his account by stating that it is a place in the neighbourhood of *Al-Madînah* ; which is wrong. However the statement on the authority of *Ibn al-Kalbî*, generally well informed in matters of fact, is correct : *Amaj* and *Ghurrân* are two *Wâdis* coming from the *Harrah* of the *Banû Sulaim* and running into the sea. *Bakrî* is better informed and tells us that it was a large village with a market and many cultivated fields and palm groves situated in the valley of *Sâyah* and its inhabitants belonged to the tribe of *Khuzâ'ah*.

قديد Qudaid exists to this day. *Yâqût* only states that it is a place near Mecca ; but *Bakrî* tells us that it was in the fertile district called *al-'Aqîq*, sixteen miles from *al-Kadîd*, which latter is nearer to Mecca. This is correct.

الخرار Al-Kharrâr, a water which belonged to the *Banû Zubair* and *Banû Badr*, sons of *Damrah* ; or a *wâdî* which runs into *al-Juhfah*. According to *Bakrî* it is identical with the *Ghadîr Khumm*.

ثنية المارة Pass of *Al-Marah* (sometimes also spelled *al-Mar'ah*). After having pursued a north-westerly road

they turned here towards the North-East into the mountains which separate the Tihâmah from the highland.

لِئْف Liqf. We come here to the first case of uncertainty in the tradition, due no doubt to the old Naskhî script used in Al-Madînah in which the letters were not pointed and the final letter could be read either as a Fâ, or a Tâ, and we have the alternative reading لِفْت Lift. Yâqût quotes the ancient grammarian 'Arrâm who states that Laqf (or Liqf) was a place with many wells, but had no cultivated land on account of the roughness of the ground. It was above Qauran in the district of al-Sawâri-qîyah and about a parasang distant from the latter place. He adds that both Laqf and Lift are correct as both places were traversed at different times.

It is a pity that 'Arrâm, or Yâqût, is not more explicit, because 'Arrâm was a native of the Tihâmah.

As regards Lift the accounts are not very satisfactory. Sukkarî knows only that it is a mountain-pass between Mecca and Al-Madînah, while Al-Jumahî is nearer the mark when he says that it is the mountain-pass of Qudaïd. It was near Harsha.

مَجَاه Majâh (or Mujâh), which Yâqût has with two Jîms: "Mujâj", the correct reading being established by Al-Bakrî from a verse by 'Urwah ibn az-Zubair. Yâqût, who also cites the verses and attributes them to 'Urwah's son Muhammad, states that probably Ibn Ishâq had the correct reading but that the scribes made a mistake in placing a point under the last letter. It is said to have been a watering place belonging to the family of Az-Zubair.

ذُرَّ الْغَضْوَيْنِ Dhû'l Ghadawain (also spelled Dhu'l Ghudwain) is apparently unknown to the geographers. Bakrî omits it altogether and Yâqût only knows it from the tradition of the Hijrah. The reason is because the place lay far off the beaten tracks, in the wild mountains of the Hijjaz.

ذُرَّ الْكِشْدِ Dhû Kishd is not mentioned by Yâqût, and Bakrî only knows the place from the tradition of the Hijrah.

لِجْدِ الْجَدَّيْدِ Al-Jadâjid not mentioned by Al-Bakrî, while Yâqût says that in his opinion it is not a place properly so called, but only means the ancient wells found in that part of the country.

ذو سلم Dhû Salam, a village belonging to the Banû Tha'labah ibn 'Amr ibn Dhubyân, between An-Nakhl and Ash-Shuqrah, not far from Al-Mushallal, which overlooks Qudaïd.

تِهين Ti'hin is the name of a spring three miles from As-Suqyâ between Mecca and Al-Madînah. It is asserted that here is a rock called Umm 'Iqyi and the legend runs that, when the Prophet passed here, he asked a woman of that name for a drink and she refused; so he prayed against her and she was turned into that rock. There is of course no foundation for such a legend and at the most it indicates a place connected with the ancient stone worship among the heathen Arabs. The place is located between Al-Qâhah and As-Suqyâ. The latter was a village settlement with many wells, of which the greater portion belonged to the family of Al-Hasan ibn Zaid.

العبابيد al-'Abâbîd (also called Al-'Abâbîb) was according to al-Bakrî a place in the 'Aqîq, which is an error as that district is much further to the West. But in another place he says that it was a wâdî about one mile before reaching As-Suqyâ when coming from Al-Madînah. This place is said to be called also Al-'Athyanah.

الفاحة Al-Qâhah (also written Al-Fâjah الفجة) is according to Al-Bakrî (p. 679) the same as Al-'Abâbîd, while in another place he states that it lay three journeys from Al-Madînah. According to 'Arrâm, a native of the country, the place lay on a mountain called Thâfil al-Asghar in a hollow and possessed two wells of sweet water (Yâqût). In another statement he asserts that it was a town (madînah) three days journey from Al-Madînah and one mile before As-Suqyâ. This statement must be wrong.

العرج Al-'Arj. This is not the well-known place between Mecca and At-Tâ'if. It was a village on the road from Al-Madînah to Mecca, between this place and Ar-Ruwaithah are fourteen miles and from ar-Ruwaithah to Al-Madînah twenty-one parasangs. The valley of Al-'Arj is called Munbajis and there is a spring to the left of the road in a mountain fissure, and three miles from it is a mosque of the Prophet which is called Masjid al-'Arj. As-Sakûni says: This mosque is five miles beyond al-'Arj as one ascends an eminence where there are two graves, upon which stones are piled near some mimosa-trees to the *right* of the road. From Al-'Arj to As-Suqyâ is a distance of seventeen miles, and Al-'Arj is in the land of the tribe Aslam.

لَعَارُ Al-'A'ir (also wrongly called al-A'yar), sometimes also called al-Ghâ'ir, a place apparently only known from the tradition of the Hijrah. It is a place on the western slopes of the mountain-chain of the Hijjâz and not far from Rakûbah which was reached after passing this place.

رَكُوبَةُ Rakûbah, a well-known mountain-pass very difficult to cross. Al-Bakrî says that the Prophet (whom God bless) took this pass when he made the expedition to Tabûk. This is a clear error, as Rakûbah lay to the south-west of Al-Madînah. The best account is again by 'Arrâm who says : In the Hijjâz are two mountains called Quds al-Abyad and Quds al-Aswad ; they are near Wariqân. As regards Quds al-Abyad, between this mountain and Wariqân cuts the pass called Rakûbah ; it (Quds al-Abyad) is a very high mountain stretching as far as between Al-'Arj and As-Suqvaâ..... Both mountains belong to the tribe Muzainah, whose property consists of sheep and camels.

رِئْمُ Ri'm, a Wâdî belonging to the tribe Muzainah near Al-Madînah. The distance is said to be four barîds, or camel-journeys, which another source ('Abd ar-Razzaq) gives at only three barîds.

قُبَاءُ Qubâ' was originally the name of a well which became a settlement of the Banû 'Amr ibn 'Aûf. It was at this place that the early immigrants from Mecca found hospitality and here also ended the memorable journey. The mosque established here by the Holy Prophet has remained a place of worship to this day and is some miles to the south-west of Al-Madînah.

From the notes which I have appended to the bare translation of the account it is apparent that our information is still very unsatisfactory and it is desirable that some enthusiastic pilgrim, endowed with the proper knowledge, should attempt to follow once more the same route. The location of the places in the neighbourhood of Mecca is not so difficult, but it will be much more difficult when the journey is taken across the mountains which divide the Tihâmah, or lowland, from the district of Al-Madînah. Here the only safe course would be to find the mountain-pass of Rakûbah, which must have retained its ancient features to this day.

COLOUR AND THE MOGHULS

Reflections in an Indian Museum.

IN the lucky month of March the garden which environs Bombay's principal Museum puts on its holiday clothes to welcome the curious stranger. As the visitor enters the gate and proceeds along the path, he will pass by brilliant beds of petunia, a medley of scarlet and purple, and will see across the palm-sprinkled garden, even brighter glimpses of phlox, pinks, and clarkia, enacting their drama of colour in the hot sunshine. After this the grey museum in the Bijapur style of architecture must seem less grey and the entrance hall with the white western statues less pallid.

The colours of the garden linger in the visitor's recollection until he has reached his objective, the Indian picture gallery upstairs. And here his eyes will meet the appeal of the paintings, and the sub-conscious transition between the Indian flowers in the garden and these beautiful Indian pictures in the galleries is natural. Outside the Museum, he knows, the flowers are breathing their eternally fragrant message; inside the building he is ravished by the colourful work of artists who hundreds of years ago studied that message to some purpose.

Shakespeare tells us that it is the duty of the actor to hold the mirror up to Nature, and the Moghuls proclaimed this similar mission of the sister art. The Moghul artist was a translator, rather than an innovator and converted the works of Nature into the 'lingua franca' of pictures. So does every artist or at least so every artist tries to do. True; but there are radical distinctions between the methods of different translators. The old picture-writing of the Aztecs and of the Egyptians both tell their tale but in different languages.

The visitor to the Prince of Wales Museum of Bombay, whose progress we have traced from the gate to the garden, and thence to the Indian galleries, now begins his promenade of the long corridor between the cabinets of Indian

pictures, and while he does so may well fancy that he is in another garden surrounded by other flowers. As he walks among these pictures he may even sense their perfume !

For what wizardry of all the arts can surpass the magic of colour ? What student of painting, however much he may acclaim the grand intellectual style of the Roman School, does not yield his soul's allegiance to the colour-spell of the Venetians ? Who that is not destitute of the colour sense, does not respond with delight to the colour rhapsodies of a Rubens and (while the spell is on him) snap his fingers at the classic coldness of a Raphael or a Bronzino ? Colour is the child of Art, but it is also the Master's master. It cannot be scientifically controlled by him like Drawing, Form, and Chiaroscuro, but gambols on before the painter's vision, a smiling tormenting elf, luring the artist to pursue vainly and, when he has almost caught it, leaping like a rainbow across impassable morasses, or glittering like the coral from beneath fathomless seas, or, like Sirius sparkling in ever-changing brilliance across the mighty gulf of space.

To the artist who has conquered some of nature's subtle secrets of line we may defer with all respect. To him who has succeeded in plucking a single feather from the plumes of the Colour-Elf we should bend in deepest reverence. The elusive sprite has appeared in many differing aspects to the world's artists. To some it has distinguished itself by its subtlety ; to others by its purity ; and to others again by its forceful brilliance. In the works of a Rembrandt, a Fra Angelico and a Bihzad the profundity of the Dutch Master, the ethereal tenderness of the Italian, the exquisite romance of the Persian are all feathers plucked from the wing of the same angel.

The visitor, whose steps we are unobtrusively following through the galleries of this Indian Museum, may perhaps be reflecting somewhat on these lines, for he pauses in front of one of the Persian pictures,—it may be that which illustrates Firdausi's epic the *Shahnamah*, and depicts in radiant hues the doughty deeds of the great Rustam in the midst of fighting hosts¹. No doubt the Western stranger is trying to "fit" this piece, which is unique to him, into its proper place in his cosmic conceptions of Art. He will not find that easy, however, all at once ; for these delicious blues, reds, and yellows,

(1) Sir Ratan Tata Art Collection.

—the absence of contrasted darks from the background, and the virility and refined strength of the composition are almost as unlike the colour of the old Buddhist painters of the Ajanta Caves¹ as they are unlike the recent exhibition of the Dutch Masters at Burlington House.

Well--more paths than one may lead to Rome, and our visitor will admit to himself, as he at last moves onward, that henceforward his ideas of "Colour" must comprise this lovely discovery of Oriental arabesque and simple patterned shape, as well as all the "effects" of light, playing upon flesh or fabric, or landscape, that he had gleaned in the course of past years in the picture galleries of Europe. He may now, if he will, proceed to trace on the walls of these cabinets the gradual evolution of the Moghul painter's Art, like a rose-bush from a Persian garden transplanted to Indian soil!

In the pictures of Akbar's school² he will perceive the grafting of Indian shoots upon the old Persian stem, and in the later works of Jehangir's time the full blooming of another—this time a really Indian rose. But always as he moves from one picture to the other he sees colour; winsome and winning him with smiles; forceful, commanding him with power; or serious, impressing him by dignity and strength. Gradually he grows to feel that this colour has a peculiar influence in addition to its natural charm for the eye. It generates an atmosphere about him. It can carry him on a flood of blue and silver back into a great era, an age that is lost.

Perhaps he recalls Mathew Arnold's vivid description:--

"And on the other side the Persians form'd;
 "First a light cloud of horse, Tartars they seemed.
 "The Ilyats of Khorassan; and behind
 "The royal troops of Persia, horse and foot,
 "Marshalled battalions bright in burnished steel."

It seems to him that the painted warriors, with their long spears, seated on their richly caparisoned horses, are no longer unfamiliar. The portraits of the stout cheerful-looking Indian monarchs, and princes seem to bestow a regal greeting upon him, one by one. Beautiful ladies bending down the boughs of trees to pluck the *champak*, or dreaming over their flowers and birds, or listening to a tale of love, cease to be merely the illustrations of a Moghul fairy-tale.

(1) Copies lent by Sir Akbar Hydari are exhibited in the Museum.

(2) The Sir Ratan Tata Collection and Sir Akbar Hydari's Loan Collection in the Museum furnish good examples.

Colour has created in him an ardent belief in the past, — even converted the past into a greater and a much more beautiful reality than the present. He feels as though he also had been graciously admitted to look upon great Oriental festivals, an honoured guest on occasions of high state. The stereotyped halls of the Museum are dull no longer, for they are fragrant with musk and the rose petals on which, it seems to him, he is treading. The music of rhythm and colour has enveloped his soul.

The colour-spell of the Moghuls can achieve something which all their marvellous line or brush-work may fail to perform ; and when closing-time compels the visitor who has so long interested us, to leave with reluctance these colour-haunted halls, we, his unknown observers, whisper, as we too steal away, that India is the colour-box of the World !

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

SOME NEW QUATRAINS OF 'UMAR-I-KHAIYYAM

While examining Taqî Kâshî's rare biography of Persian poets, *Khulasat-ul-Ash'ar wa Zubdat-ul-Afkar*,—an extremely valuable manuscript of which, bearing notes, emendations, and additions in the author's own hand, is preserved in the Oriental Public Library, Patna,¹—I found that it contained 16 quatrains of 'Umar-i-Khayyam. Of these 16, seven quatrains appeared to me to be "new" and I was unable to "trace" them in any available edition of 'Umar's *Ruba'iyyat*. i.e., the editions of Edward Heron-Allen², F. Rosen,³ J. B. Nicolas,⁴ E. H. Whinfield,⁵ Nawal Kishore,⁶ Shaykh Ghulâm Muhammad⁷, etc.

Taqî Kâshî's voluminous *Tadhkirah* is divided into six parts; an Introduction (*Muqaddimah*), four volumes (*Rukns*) and a Conclusion (*Khatimah*). The Patna MS., however, comprises only the fourth *Mujallad* "of the first and fuller edition of his *Tadhkirah* ⁸", followed by an appendix, called *Tadhnib*, "in which the author has given quotations from the works of about 250 poets, of whom he gives no biographical accounts." The poets, including 'Umar, whose verses have been given in this *Tadhnib*, are those whose life-history was not at the disposal of the author, as they had not been noticed by earlier biographers, or who did not acquire fame as poets, or whose *Diwan* was not before the compiler.

We find the quatrains of 'Umar quoted in two places; *fourteen* of them on folio 390 *b*, and *two* on folio 391 *b*.

(1) *Catalogue of Arabic and Persian MSS. in the Oriental Public Library, Patna*, Vol. VIII, No. 684.

(2) *The Ruba'iyyat of Omar Khayyam* (being a facsimile of the MS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford), London, 1898.

(3) Kaviyani Press, Berlin, 1925.

(4) *Les Quatrains de Kheyam*, Paris, 1867.

(5) London, 1883.

(6) Lucknow, 1924.

(7) Roz Bâzâr Press, Amritsar, (N.D.)

(8) *Catalogue*, p. 74.

Of the quatrains given on folio 390 *b* five appear to be "new" and to these we may add the two quatrains given on folio 391 *b*. Thus we have seven quatrains in all which we may call "new"—excluding of course the nine quatrains which I have succeeded in tracing in other MSS. But the word "new" requires some explanation. I call these quatrains "new" as I have been unable to trace them in any "available" edition of *Ruba'iyat-i-Khayyam*. But this is only tentative, as it is quite possible to trace at least some of these quatrains in the many MSS. of 'Umar's *Ruba'iyat*, which have not been published so far¹.

I reproduce, first, the quatrains which I call "new" or "untraced", and, next, those which I call "old" or "traced"; but before doing so I should like to make some preliminary observations on the value and importance of the text from which the following quatrains have been taken.

1. Taqî Kâshî is a remarkably accurate biographer and unlike many *Tadhkirah*-writers and anthologists of his country, is always cautious in the selection of verses which he attributes to the poets².

2. The Patna MS. was (as I have said before) revised by Taqî himself and, as such, stands on a par with the now famous Anthology of Muhammad ibn Badr-i-Jâjarmi³ which, in the words of Dr. Ross, "constitutes the earliest collection of 'Umar's *Ruba'iyat*, which has yet been

(1) As Professor Arthur Christensen's recent monograph, *Critical studies in the Ruba'iyat of 'Umar-i-Khayyam* (Copenhagen, 1927,) in which he has given "concordance" of 1213 quatrains attributed to 'Umar, is not before me, I am unable to say if any of these quatrains is included in his list.

(2) Dr. Sprenger writes—"This work (*Khulasa*) contains the fullest biographical details, the most copious and chosen extracts, (seldom less than a thousand verses and in all 350,000 couplets) the soundest critical and most exact and complete bibliographical remarks on the Persian poets; the author seems in all instances, to have consulted their Diwans, and to have collected all the information concerning them he could." (*Catalogue of Oudh MSS.*, Calcutta, 1854, p. 14).

(3) This unique *Bayaz*, entitled *Mu'nis-ul-Ahrar fi daqa'iq al Ash'ar*, was discovered a few years ago by that indefatigable scholar and critic, Mirzâ Muhammad of Qazwin. A noteworthy feature of the MS. as stated by its discoverer, "is that it is the oldest MS. (having been written in 741 A.H.) to contain several quatrains of 'Umar Khayyam" (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. V. Part I, p. 99).

The 13 quatrains of 'Umar found in the MS. were published by Dr. Rosen (Berlin, 1925) and subsequently by Dr. Ross in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, 1927, (Vol. IV, Part III, pp. 433-439).

discovered and is 123 years older than the famous Bodleian MS¹."

3. Although the Patna MS. was transcribed, mended and revised towards the end of the 10th or the beginning of the 11th century, A.H., yet it appears to give us a much better text of the *Ruba'iiyyat* than that we find in some of the older MSS. of *Ruba'iiyyat-i-Khayyam*, which have been transcribed by professional scribes and copyists.

4. It is significant that *three*, out of the *nine* "traced" quatrains (Nos. 5, 8 and 9) are present in Jâjarmi's *Mu'nis-ul-Ahrar* (dated 741 A.H.); *four* (Nos. 1, 2, 3 and 4) have been traced in the famous Bodleian MS. (dated 865, A.H.), and the remaining *two* (Nos. 6 and 7) are present in Rosen MS. (the colophon of which is dated 721, A.H.).

5. The above facts naturally raise a strong presumption in favour of the genuineness of the "new" or "untraced" quatrains, and it is noteworthy that they are so strikingly 'Umarian in style and spirit that, in the absence of any weighty evidence to the contrary, they may, with good reasons, be accepted as genuine.

A. "NEW" OR "UNTRACED" QUATRAINS OF 'UMAR-I-KHAIYYAM :—

(۱)

بس کس کم رو انش اندرین ره فرسود بنیاد فلک ز چیست اصلش ز چه بود
د هقان بچم ایست اندرین خرمن خاک بسیار چو من کشت و بسی چون تو درود²

(۲)

از دست قضا چو نیست روی جستن از هر چه قلم رفت نخواست هم جستن
بیداد زمانه را نهادم گردن چه توان کردن که هیچ نتوان گشتن

(۳)

بی مرگ بعالم جاودانی نرسی با مرده بعالم معانی نرسی
تا همچو خلیل اندر آتش نروی چون خضر با بزند گمانی نرسی

(۴)

دی آدم دنیا مداز من کاری و امروز من نیز بشد بازاری³
فردا بروم بی خبر از اسراری ناآمده به بدی ازین بساری

(1) *Bulletin*, Vol. IV, part III, p. 434.

(2) A similar quatrain is found in Rosen (No. 122).

د هقان قضا بسی چو ما کشت و درود غم خوردن بیهوده نمی داند سود
پو کن قدح مئی بگم در نم تا باز خورم که بودنیها هم بود

(Vide also L. 389, Amritsar edition, 298).

(8) Text : نشد بازاری

(۵)

نه مرد سجاد ه ام نه سالوس و گلیم عامرد معا شریم و میخا نه مقیم
مارا چه کنی بقاضی و مفتی هم دردی خرابات به از مال یقیم

(۶)

گر شهره شهری مئی و پیمانم کجاست چپر است خرا میدان مستانم کجاست
پرسی ره میخانم و گر باده خوری خود باده بگویدت کم میخا نه کجاست

(۷)

چون روزی ده ز کار و زی پرداخت بیهوده چرا اگر دجهان باید تا خست
با آنچه نصیب تست می باید ساخت چون ضرب سم یک شد سه شش نتوان خواست

B. "OLD" OR ALREADY "TRACED" QUATRAINS OF UMAR-I-KHAIYYAM, WITH THEIR VARIANTS.

NOTE: In preparing the list of variants I have consulted the following editions of 'Umar's *Ruba'iyat*: —

1. Jâjarmî's *Mu'nis-ul-Ahrar*, J.
2. Ed. Heron-Allen's edition of the Bodleian MS. B.
3. Dr. Rosen's edition of a MS. dated 721 A.H. . . R.
4. Dr. Rosen's edition of a MS. transcribed by Sultan Muhammad Nûr in 930 A.H. R N.
5. Whinfield's edition (London, 1883) .. W.
6. Nicolas' edition (Paris, 1867) .. N.
7. Lucknow edition (1924) L.

(۱)¹

آن مرد نیم کز عد عم بیم آید کان نیم مرا بهتر ازین نیم آید
جانی دآرم بمن رسیده ز خدای تسلیم کنم چو وقت تسلیم آید

(۲)²

آ نا نکم کشنده نبید نا بند و نا نکم بشب همیشه در مهر آید
بر خشک کسی نیست هم در آید ایدار کسی نیست هم در آید

(1) (Q. 1) Ref. B, 59, R. 90, w. 213, L. 253.

(l. 1.) R. جلم ; (l. 2) R. نیم ; L., W. نیم in both places ; (l. 3) R., L. W. جا نیست مرا بعد از ایداد خدا

(2) (Q. 2) Ref. B. 48, W. 222, L. 287. (l. 1) B., W., L. کم آنها کم ; (l. 3) W., L. و مدام ; W., L. و آنها کم ; (l. 2) B., W., L. شراب
بیدار یکدیست دیگران در خوا بند ; (l. 4) B., W., L. یکی

(۳)^۱

ز انکم بدست افتد از مئی دومنی با یار همی خور تو بهر انجمنی
کا نکس که جهان کرد فراغت دارن از سبلیت چون توی و ریش چومنی

(۴)^۲

چون آب بجوگبار و چون باد بدشت روز دگر از نوبت عمرم بگذشت
هرگز غم دور و زمرایا نگشت روزی که نیامد ست و روزی که گذشت

(۵)^۳

وقت سحر است خیزای مایم ناز نر مکر مکر باد خور و رود نواز
کاینان که بجایند نیابند دراز و آنان که شدند کسی آید باز

(۶)^۴

گر چه دل من ز علم محروم نشد کم ماند از اسرار که مفهوم نشد
هر چند که می بنگرم از روی خرد عمرم بگذشت و هیچ معلوم نشد

(۷)^۵

آن قصر که جمشید در و جام گرفت آه و بچه کرد و رو به آرام گرفت
بهرام که او گور گرفت و هم عمر این نادره بدین که گور بهرام گرفت

(1) (Q. 3.) *Ref.* B. 156, R. 321, W. 478, N. 447, L. 692.

(l. 1) All texts; *گر زانک* or *گر زانکه*; B. *بدست آیدت*; *بدست آید* W., N. *مئی نوش بهر معفل و هرا انجمنی* B (l. 2); *بدست آید* W., N., L. *مئی نوش بهر جمع و بهر انجمنی* R. *جهان ساخت* B. (l. 3) *می خور تو بهر معفل و هرا انجمنی* چنان کرد N. W.

(2) (Q. 4), *Ref.* B. 20, R. 33n, N. 22 & 42; W. 26, L. 84.

In N., W., L. the arrangement of the hemistiches is hopelessly confused; but our text agrees entirely with the Bodleian copy.

(3) (Q. 5.) *Ref.* J. 3, RN. 44, N. 235, L. 431.

(l. 2) J., RN., L. *باد خور و چنگ نواز* N.; *عود نواز* N. (l. 3)

وانها all texts (l. 4); *بخوابند* N., L.; *وانها* N.; *کانهها* J, RN., L.

(4) (Q. 6) *Ref.* R. 146, N. 113, W. 142, L. 265.

(l. 1) R. *هر چند دلم ز عشق* N., W. *اکنون که دم ز عمر* L., W.

تابود دلم ز عشق

(l. 2) R. *کم ماند* R. (l. 3) *می بنگرم* R. *و اکنون که* W., N.

اکنون که همی بنگرم L.; *چون نیک همی بنگرم* از روی خرد

معلوم شد که هیچ معلوم نشد R., L. (l. 4)

(5) (Q. 7) *Ref.* R. 13, W. 72, L. 210, N. 69.

(l. 1) All texts *for بهرام* N., W., L. *آه بر بهرام* W., N. (l. 2)

گور می گرفت N., W. (l. 3) *شیر آرم*

ویدی که چگون W.; *بنگر که چگون* *گور بهرام گرفت* R., L.

(۸)¹

ای پیر خر د مند بکم تر برخیز و ان کود ک خاک بیز را بنگر تیز
پندش ده و گو کم نرم نرمک می بیز مغز سر کیت باد و چشم پر و یز
(۹)²

دوری کم در آمدن و رفتن ماست او را نه نهایت و بدایت پیدا است
کس می نراند دمی درین معنی راست کین آمدن از کجا و رفتن بجا است

Before concluding, I should like to reproduce another quatrain which I find attributed to 'Umar, in almost all editions of his *Ruba'iyat* :

چون رفت ز جسم جان پاک من و تو ده خشت نهاد در مغاک من و تو
و انگم ز برای خشت گور دگری در کالبدی کشد خاک من و تو

(Ref. R. 260, N. 349, W. 391, L. 635, A. 749).

But Taqî Kâshî is doubtful about its attribution to 'Umar. He quotes it with the following remark : "Perhaps it belongs to Imâm Fakhrudîn Râzî." I think that in view of what Taqî has said the attribution of the above quatrain to 'Umar requires further investigation.

(1) (Q. 8). This quatrain is found only in J. 10. and L. 433.

(l. 1.) L. ای مرد هنر مند نگم بر تر خیز (l. 2.) R. و را گو بر خیز (l. 3.)

و انگاه بگویش نه بغفلت پی بر L.

(2) (Q. 9.) Ref. J. 11, R. 50, L. 45. (This quatrain has also been quoted by Abû Bakr Râzî in his *Mirsad-ul-'Ibad* (MS. dated 735 A.H. vide J. R. A.S., 1898, p. 362.)

(l. 8) R. و آنرا نه بدایت و نهایت L. و او را نه بدایت نه نهایت

R. کسی.

M. MAHFUZ-UL HAQ.

NEW LIGHTS ON MOGHUL INDIA FROM ASSAMESE SOURCES*

PART IV.

SELECTED EPISODES FROM THE PADSHAH-BURANJI.

The running analysis of the Chapters, given above, will give the reader some idea of the general trend of the narratives. But the beauty of the book lies chiefly in the manner in which the details have been worked out; and for this I subjoin a number of representative episodes, translated literally from the original chronicle, though I know very well in so doing I am emulating Dr. Johnson's sample-monger in Hierocles, "who, when he offered his house for sale, carried a brick in his pocket as a specimen." The selected episodes cover approximately one-fourth of the entire contents of the original.

(1) *The birth of Rungaddin.*

Mazitpur is a city in the province of Nako. There ruled a Pâdshâh named Muhammad Shâh of Alamanja. He had no son. Once he feasted some faqîrs and pîrs with great cordiality and earnestness, and prayed to them as follows,—“I have three hundred wives, but still I have not been blessed with a son. Please consult the scriptures and tell me what I am to do.”

The faqîrs and *Pîrs* replied,—“What means shall we suggest? There is one *Pîr* named Marda Shêr Khân ‘Alî who wanders about in disguise from city to city on an ‘Irâkî horse. If you can recognise him when he comes to the city, you should pray to him for a son, and he will fulfil your wish.”

Shêr Khân halted at the city and the Pâdshâh honoured the saint and offered him large quantities of food. The *Pîr* said to the Pâdshâh,—“I hope you are perfectly happy.”

* Continued from “Islamic Culture,” Vol. III. No. 1. p. 87, Ed.—“I. C.”

Pâdshâh,—"I have everything complete, but I am unhappy, having no son. I have three hundred wives, but still no son has been born to me."

Pir,—"In your previous life you had stolen the son of another man, and sold him to a degenerate infidel who killed the child. For this sin you have not been blessed with a son. Now, if you offer one lakh of golden images to Mecca, you will surely have a son."

The Pâdshâh did accordingly and got a son, who was named Rungaddîn.—*I-A*.

(2) *The Munificence of Rungaddin Padshah.*

Rungaddîn Pâdshâh said to his Wazîr, Farteijang Khan, and his Kâzi, Mul Marda-dadulla,—"I investigated into the antiquity of our dynasty of Pâdshâhs. The records testify to its existence at the time of the war between the Kurus and the Pandavas. No date could be traced earlier than that conflict. The articles of the royal treasury were also computed, but the counting could not be finished. So I ask you both to give me such advice as will conduce to my well-being in the life to come as well as in the present life, so that my soul may be blessed."

The two ministers said to the Pâdshâh,—"Make more liberal presents to Mecca, and to other holy places with due discrimination. Bestow gold, silver and cloths on faqîrs, pîrs, beggars and the poor. If they are pleased, you will earn blessings in the after-life. Arrange and re-construct the city in the proper order. Keep more soldiers, so that you may subjugate the frontier Râjas and Pâdshâhs and exact tribute from them. Find out a kingdom greater than Nako : invade and occupy it, and become its Pâdshâh. If this can be accomplished, you will earn fame and glory in this world."

Accordingly the Pâdshâh made more liberal presents to religious places, exercising proper judgment and discretion : gifts of gold and silver, and apparel were made on a more extensive scale to faqîrs, beggars and the indigent. The wives of mendicants wore bracelets and anklets of gold and silver. The city, the fort and the forum were built of marble—*I-A*.

(3) *The Rajputs prefer war to submission.*

The general of Rungaddîn Pâdshâh captured some forts within the jurisdiction of Pithor Râja's territories. The

soldiers stationed at those forts reported to Pithor Râja, King of Delhi,—“The powerful sovereign Rungaddîn Pâdshâh, son of Muhammad Shâh of Alamanja, King of Nako, whose capital is Mazitpur, has come with a large army, and is marching towards this direction after capturing our garrisons.”

Then Pithor Râja conferred with the Râjas of Amber, Bandhab, Haro, Chitor, Jharkhand and other powerful chieftains, when he said,—“Rangaddîn Pâdshâh is a very mighty prince. After subduing numerous potentates he is now coming to invade our kingdom. Please advise whether we should offer our homage to him.”

The Râjas assembled replied with one voice,—“We are Kshattriyas and Rajputs. We are not prepared to derogate our name for fear of our lives. Besides, the Râja of Delhi has never submitted nor paid homage to any other prince.—Death in battle is preferable to submission. So make preparations for war, and we shall fight.”—*I-A.*

(4) *The death of Pithor Raja.*

Then ensued a terrific contest between Maharâja Pithor and Rungaddîn Pâdshâh. It commenced with the firing of muskets from both the hostile camps, which was followed by a battle with bows and arrows. Then came the battle of the elephants and horses, which was followed by those of spears, swords, daggers and targets. Thus the struggle continued for one full year in which varieties of weapons were used. Then the Rohilla and Pathan cavalry of Rungaddîn Pâdshâh riding on Arabian and Sujarnis horses destroyed the elephants and horses of the Hindu Râja, whose men were killed by thousands. The Râja, from an elephant's back, hurled his *chandravan* (discus ?) which fell back on himself and killed him. After his death, the cries of his subjects crossed the barriers of heaven. The Râja's brother Râna Singha and his son Kumud Singha burnt the dead body of the Râja on a pyre made of aloe-wood. The queens of the Râja, who numbered 120, accompanied their lord. Several hundred pitchers of ghî were poured upon their bodies, and the fire reached the summit of the sky. Ten crores of rupees in gold and silver and ten thousand cows, as well as cloths, were presented to Brahmans for the spiritual well-being of the deceased sovereign.—*I-A.*

(5) *Rungaddin's respect for Hindu traditions.*

Rungaddîn Pâdshâh invited Sarbabhaum-Chandra, the family priest of the late King Pithor-Râja, and said, — "This Delhi was ruled by Hindu sovereigns for a very long time. I was the Pâdshâh of Nako at a distance of six months' journey from Delhi. The Almighty God has now placed a Mussalman Pâdshâh to rule here in place of the Hindu Râjas. You should advise me in a manner which will lead to the continuity of our rule here."

Then said Sarbabhaum-Chandra, — "O Pâdshâh, what shall I say? You are yourself acquainted with all laws and traditions. God has created the nations of the earth in separate groups, each different from the other: and he has not provided uniform customs and religions to all. If the different castes and creeds are protected, God will protect you also, and you will be able to remain at Delhi without any trouble or fear."

Rungaddîn Pâdshâh then said, — "Many thanks, Pandit. You have given me wholesome and salutary counsel." The Pâdshâh presented to the priest rewards, and four thousand rupees, and made the following declaration: — "The laws and traditions which existed before will remain unaltered." — *I-A.*

(6) *Timûrhan meets a prophetic fugitive.*

After the death of the Daigatî Nawâb, his grandson Timûrhan became afflicted with extreme poverty. His mother, and her hand by spinning cotton, and for others, and the land of the goats of a local flocksmith; thus did the mother and her son live serflessly on what they earned by their own labour. Timûr took the goats to the field every day: at noon his mother gave him in the field his breakfast consisting of one-quarter of a sîr of bread, the same amount of hemp, and the same amount of water.

(1) *DAIGATI*.—I was almost tempted to say that the *Daigatî* of the *P.B.* was a variation of *Chagatî* or *Chaghatai*, but it may be also a corruption of the Mongol word *Darugachi*, meaning a governor. See *Ser Marco Polo* by Henri Cordier, p. 6. The *P.B.* statement that Timûr was the son of a Daigatî Nawâb corresponds to what Lieut.-Col. Sykes says, — "Timûr was descended from a certain Karachar Khan, a vizier in the service of Chagatay." *Persia*, II. p. 19. Daigatî may also be a corruption of the word *Dughlat* which figures as a toponomous appellation of several personages of the Chagatai clan in Gul-badan Begum's *Humayunnama*, tr. Mrs. Annette Beveridge.

One day a faqîr of the Lohalangar¹ (iron chained ?) order went on shouting at the place where Tîmûr's goats were grazing to the following effect,—“The person who will give me bread, hemp and water, each measuring one-quarter of a sîr, will be appointed Pâdshâh of Delhi by me.” Tîmûr's mother was then proceeding to give her son his noontide repast. Tîmûr, on hearing the cries of the faqîr, went to give him the bread, hemp and water. The mother dissuaded her son from doing so saying,—“You will suffer from hunger. Do not part with your bread to the faqîr.” Tîmûr disobeyed his mother's bidding and gave his breakfast to the faqîr, who ate it and was glad.

The faqîr then said to Tîmûr,—“Lie flat on the ground, with your face downward.” Tîmûr obeyed, and the faqîr inflicted seven strokes on Tîmûr's body with the iron chain that girdled his person, saying,—“I confer on you the Pâdshâhship of Delhi for seven generations.” Saying this the faqîr vanished. Tîmûr became afflicted with pain from the strokes of the iron chain that he received from the faqîr, and his mother said,—“I forbade you, and you disobeyed my words. Now, you are throbbing with pain from the blows of the mad faqîr.” Then the mother and son went home.—II-B.

(7) *Timur's master dreams of the site of hidden treasures.*

Some time after, Tîmûr's master, the blacksmith, said one day to Tîmûr,—“I have no man today to heat the

(1) *Loha-Langar faquir*.—It is curious to note that the two words *Loha-langa* and *Timur-langa* mean exactly the same; *langa*=lame, and *Timur* and *Loha* iron. The remains of Tîmûr's spiritual leader are entombed in a white cenotaph at the portals of the great Tartar's mausoleum at Samarcand, Syke's *Persia* picture facing p. 214. The Loha-langa order of faqirs are probably those described by Tavernier,—“Some of the faquirs or Dervichs were armed with a sort of weapon which we have not in Europe; that is to say, a sharp piece of iron like the side of a platter without a botton, which they wind eight or ten times about their necks, and carry like a calve's chaldron. They draw out these iron-circles as they intend to make use of them; and they will throw them with such a force against a man, that they shall fly as swift as an arrow, and go very near to cut a man in two in the middle.” Bangabasi edition, p. 65. A manuscript on ‘Farlanger Fakir’ was exhibited at Lukhnow in connection with the 9th Annual meeting of the Indian Historical Commission in December 1926. The story of Tîmûrlane's rise through the instrumentality of a faqir, as given in the *P.B.*, used to be related by the late Maulavi Karamjan Hajarika of Lakhtakia, Gauhati, who was reported to have come upon it in a Persian history.

furnace. So work with me in the forge today." The furnace was heated and the smith, after hammering iron for some hours, became exhausted with fatigue and fell asleep peacefully with his mouth wide open. Then an insect as big as a black-bee with the colours of gold, silver and diamond, issued out of the smith's mouth and flew into the house. Tîmûr saw the insect and chased it. The insect, after flying over the ruins of the fort of Khatam Shah Pâdshâh, entered again into the mouth of the smith. Tîmûr returned to the smithy and began to blow the bellows. The smith awoke from his sleep and said,—"I have dreamed a dream. I wandered over the rampart of Khatam Shah Pâdshâh and saw gold coins strewn all over the fort." Tîmûr then said,—"You have seen something in your extreme fatigue. Besides, a day-dream is always false, and never true."—II-B.

(8) *A Miracle at Timurabad.*

At night Tîmûr with his mother excavated a part of the old fort and came upon piles of gold mohurs. The mother and son extracted a basket of coins and deposited them in their house.

Tîmûr saw a dream that very night in which a faqîr said to him,—"Exhibit the gold mohurs to the people and you will be Emperor of Delhi." Then Tîmûr the same night took with him baskets of mohurs and scattered them in the thoroughfares of the town. The next morning the people became astonished at the sight of the gold-mohurs strewn all over the bazars. A waqayanavîs in the service of the Pâdshâh of Delhi lived at Tîmûrâbâd, and he reported the matter to Jalâl Hussain¹, Emperor of Delhi, in the following words,—"There have been elephant-like piles of gold mohurs at Tîmûrâbâd last night." On receiving this news the Pâdshâh became astonished.—II-B.

(9) *Timur occupies the throne of Delhi.*

Tîmûr then maintained a large number of elephants, horses, cannon and sepoy and became the proprietor

(1) JALAL HUSAIN.—The Sultan of Delhi during whose reign Tîmûr invaded India in 1398 A.D. was Muhammad Tughlak, and *not* Jalal Husain. Jalaluddin Muhammad was the Keiani Prince of Sistan whose army was routed by Tîmûr, during which engagement the conqueror received a wound in his feet which was permanently crippled for which Tîmûr was called Tîmûr-langa or Tîmûr the lane, or Tamerlane. Sykes' *Persia*.

of the fort of Khatam Shâh Pâdshâh. The Pâdshâh of Delhi heard this news and despatched a Nawâb to capture Tîmûr and take him to Delhi. The Nawâb proceeded to Tîmûrâbâd, fought with Tîmûr but, being repulsed, returned to Delhi. Tîmûr pursued him as far as Delhi with 80,000 soldiers and camp-followers.

Then the Lohalanger faqîr, who had partaken of the bread, hemp and water from the hands of Tîmûr, went to Delhi. There was a man named Sharîf Muhammad, and he was the preceptor of the Delhi Pâdshâh. The Lohalanger faqîr said to him,—"You say you are the preceptor of the Pâdshâh. I will play a practical joke upon the Pâdshâh, save him if you can." The preceptor of the Pâdshâh said,—"Wherein lies your power? Better save your own life and remain silent." Then the Lohalanger faqîr struck three blows on the earth with his iron chain, and instantaneously the Pâdshâh with the Râja of Peshawa flew up into the air, and dropped down again on the earth. Then the imperial preceptor paid his homage and reverence to the Lohalanger faqîr and departed from the place. The Lohalanger faqîr went to unknown quarters after placing Tîmûr on the throne of Delhi.

Tîmûr thus became the Emperor of Delhi. After his death he was succeeded by his son (?) Shâh Bâbar, who was succeeded by his son Shâh Humâyûn, who was succeeded by his son Shâh Akbar, who was succeeded by his son Shâh Jahângîr.—II-B.

(10) *Humayun's indignities at the Persian Court.*

Humâyûn Pâdshâh stood at the gate of the Sultân of Rûm and sent the following message,—"Humâyûn, the Pâdshâh of Delhi, is waiting at your door."

The Pâdshâh of Rûm said,—"Why should the Pâdshâh of Delhi come to me?—It must be false. Let him say positively who he is."

Humâyûn replied,—"I am really the Humâyûn of Delhi. The reason for which I have deserted my country and taken shelter here will be communicated to you in detail."

The King of Rûm did not at first admit Humâyûn to his Darbar, but allowed him separate quarters and supplied provisions for food with the remark,—"Let him stay there for this day. He will be given an audience at the Court some time after." Humâyûn refused to take the food supplied to him by the Rûm Pâdshâh as it was unworthy.

of the ex-Emperor : this was partaken of by his retainers. Humâyûn said to the noble deputed by the Sultân to attend on him,—"Bring me the food taken by the Pâdshâh, and I will pay what it may cost," and handed over a gold mohur to the latter. The food was brought accordingly.

The court-yard facing the audience-chamber of the Pâdshâh of Rûm was covered with mud, and Humâyûn saw the mud when he was conducted to the court by that way. A servant ran up and rubbed Humâyûn's feet with oil. The Pâdshâh of Rûm observed that after Humâyûn had crossed the court-yard the servant wiped off the mud from the Emperor's feet.

Humâyûn stood in front of the Pâdshâh of Rûm ; and, seeing that no seat was offered to his lord, a servant laid a shield on the floor and covered it with a cloth and Humâyûn Pâdshâh took the seat thus prepared for him.—II-A.

(11) *Sher Shah's Magnanimity.*

Humâyûn took refuge with the Pâdshâh of Rûm, and Shêr Khân sat on the throne of Delhi with the name Shêr Shâh. The Nawâbs and 'Omras of the older regime were neither dismissed nor killed, but they were retained in their former offices. Humâyûn Pâdshâh fled alone, leaving his wife, son and dependants at Delhi.

Shêr Shâh once said to the Begum and Prince Akbar,—"You should consider Humâyûn to be the ruler of Delhi, Humâyûn is my father and you are my mother, and Akbar is my brother. You should eat and dress as you used to do before, and I shall not reduce your supplies." A water jug was lying somewhere there, and Shêr Shâh said to Humâyûn's consort,—"Please pass the jug in this direction as I wish to drink." The Begum handed over the pot and Shêr Shâh drank water therefrom. While sitting at court, Shêr Shâh said to his Wazîr and his Dewân,—"By the grace of God I have become the Pâdshâh of Delhi : nothing can be higher in the destiny of a mortal, and for me there is nothing else to be achieved. I drank water from the pot given to me by the Begum of Humâyûn Pâdshâh : I have made the exalted consort of the Emperor of Delhi do service to me, and that I regard as the meridian of my good fortune." The Wazîr, the Dewân and the assemblage at the darbar praised Shêr Shâh, saying, "God has blessed you with good fortune."

on account of this noble intelligence of yours. Your preservation of the family of Humâyûn in their former dignity and style will perpetuate your fame as long as Delhi exists ".....

(Humâyûn made two attempts to re-occupy Delhi but failed). Shêr Shâh sent the following message to Humâyûn, "You need not wander about from place to place, leaving your wife and son, and afflicting your body with pain. You are my father, and I am your son. I would invite you to come back to Delhi, and I will retire to Agra. The empire will be divided into two parts, one of which will go to you and the other to me. I will make a solemn vow in accordance with the injunctions laid down in the scriptures. If you agree to this proposal, you should come immediately to Delhi."

On receiving this invitation Humâyûn came to Delhi. Shêr Shâh entered into a sacred covenant by which he divided the empire into two parts and Humâyûn ruled at Delhi and Shêr Shâh at Agra. This is how the Pâdshâhship of Delhi was partitioned into two portions. Shêr Shâh and his descendants ruled at Delhi for three generations, covering a period of 20 years, 6 months and 10 days.—II-A.

(12) *Siliman Padshah's plan to conquer Secunderabad.*

Siliman Pâdshâh convened a meeting of his counsellors and said,—"I want to invade and conquer Secunderabad. Confer, and let me know the means by which we shall be able to achieve success." The ministers, assembled, came to the following conclusion after a prolonged deliberation,—"Secunderabad can never be conquered by open warfare. Let five hundred of our most clever and trustworthy soldiers proceed to Secunderabad and live there in the service of the Nawab. They should study the strength and position of the soldiers, of forts and other military resources of the place. Let some of our merchants proceed there with ships loaded with merchandise, and let them live there, as engaged in peaceful commercial pursuits. Let a damsel be palmed off on the Nawâb as the grand-daughter of the Pâdshâh, with instructions to kill the Nawâb some how or other. Then fight, and occupy his territory."

After hearing this device suggested by the Wazîr and other ministers, Siliman Pâdshâh despatched the

following message to Muhammad Ghâlib Khân, Nawâb of Secunderabad, —

“ We live in the country known as Farrang, and Muhammad Ghâlib Khân lives at Secunderabad, almost in our neighbourhood. We are designated as Pâdshâhs and he as Nawâb. This is the only difference between us. On the other hand he has a larger assortment of war materials and weapons. I have no influential friend and ally. If the Nawâb has no objection I wish to establish friendly relations with him. This has been necessitated by the fact that the Pathans are contemplating to invade his territories as well as mine. I will stand by him when his Kingdom is overrun by the enemy, and he will do so when my Kingdom confronts such an unfortunate position.”

The messengers of Siliman Pâdshâh proceeded to Secunderabad and handed over the letter to the Nawâb, who became highly delighted, and honoured the ambassadors with rich presents. The Nawâb presented his daughter named Gul-Makhmal to the son of Siliman Pâdshâh with a dowry of precious robes and articles. He sent her with his envoys who also carried the following message to Siliman Pâdshâh :

“ I am extremely delighted to receive your message. You have written about the establishment of cordial relations between the two States. This desire has been cherished by me for a long time. I wish the friendship which existed before between Saiyid Pâdshâh and Arbal Khân Pâdshâh should now be re-established between you and me. You are far from the truth when you say that there is no difference between a Nawâb and a Pâdshâh. A horse is thin and slender in body, yet it flits in war with the speed of hurricanes ; the Telengi bullock is of enormous bulk but can it stand comparison to a horse ? The horse is a horse and the ox is an ox. How do you expect that you and I will be each other's peers ? ”—III-A.

(13) *Jahangir's expedition against Secunderabad.*

The Emperor Jâhângîr after ascending the throne went out on a tour to visit places, being accompanied by 500,000 soldiers. After some time he marched towards the Deccan. Some bairagis or itinerants who had travelled in various places said to the Emperor,—“ There was a king named Sekender Pâdshâh. He constructed a city and a bazaar named Secunderabad with beautiful

stones of diverse colours. That place is fit for the Emperor. The Kingdom is now ruled by a monarch named Nâsir Muhammad Pâdshâh. He does not pay tribute to anybody, and there is great peace and prosperity in his Kingdom."

On hearing this from the bairagi the Emperor Jahângîr marched towards Secunderabad, and from a distance of three days' journey he despatched a courier to Nâsir Muhammad with a letter to the following effect,—“The city of Secunderabad which has been built by Sekender Pâdshâh is fit for us, and not for you. So please move to some other quarter. I will establish a camp there. If soft words cannot move you, you will be afflicted with distress when I invade and occupy your territory.”

On receiving this letter Nâsir Muhammad Pâdshâh sent the following reply,—“Jahângîr Pâdshâh has become mad. Such a letter should be addressed to bondmen and slaves. He is a sovereign, and I am also a sovereign. He thinks that I will desert this place out of fear; such an idea should never find quarter in his heart.” *II-B.*

(14) *The Impregnable Fort of Secunderabad.*

The reply infuriated the Emperor and he proceeded towards the capital of Nâsir Muhammad, and came upon a huge ditch which was as wide as a river. It was impossible to cross the ditch, there being no place to move the boats. Being amazed at the sight of the ditch, the Emperor said to some of his swift horsemen,—“Let the horses first attempt to cross the ditch, being fitted with howdah-like seats, and they will be followed by Potla, Suluf, and Batel boats carrying soldiers who will attack the hostile fort.” In obedience to the command of the Emperor, horses harnessed with seats were made to swim over the ditch. Crocodiles and sea-horses had been let loose on the ditch, and they seized and devoured many of the horses and soldiers of the Emperor, and dragged down others beneath the waters. The Pâdshâh seeing their sad plight, asked the Wazîr the reason of the disappearance of the soldiers under water, to which the minister replied that they were eaten up by the sea-monsters roaming about in the ditch.

The Pâdshâh enquired of the means by which the dike could be crossed, and Sabrek Khân Wazîr replied,—“There are two huge cannon at Delhi, named *Killa-ikist* and *Kosh-sekan*. Let us fetch them from Delhi,

and place the guns on the sides of the ditch on a mound constructed at a higher level than the hostile fort. If we fire the two guns towards the rampart of Nâsir Muhammad, loading them with stone balls, his fort will be destroyed, his soldiers killed, and on hearing the roar of the guns the crocodiles and monsters will disperse ; then our men will be able to cross the ditch safely.”—II-B.

(15) *Jahangir's occupation of Secunderabad.*

In accordance with the suggestion of the Wazîr, the guns were brought from Delhi and mounted on a mound higher than the elevation of the hostile fort. They were loaded with stone balls and splinters of brick and pottery, and then fired. The men and soldiers of the enemy's camp were blown away. The guns roared with a terrific blast which rent the earth into chasms, broke down the trees and produced waves on the waters. Many of the alligators and sea-horses perished, while the rest dipped below the waters.

The soldiers of Jahângîr Pâdshâh now crossed the ditch without any difficulty, and attacked and invaded the fort. Then the King Nâsir Muhammad retreated with the remnant of his army to another fort, and remained in preparedness for a contest. Jahângîr, after occupying the first fort, marched against the next, in the precincts of which he secretly laid powder-mines and covered them with grass. During the darkness of night Nâsir Muhammad issued out of his fort intending to inflict a surprise attack on the Emperor's camp. Jahângîr also came out and set fire to the mines. The soldiers of Nâsir Muhammad were blown to death. Being victorious in war, the Emperor captured the fort of Nâsir Muhammad and occupied the throne of Secunderabad. He then gave suitable presents to all the nobles there, including the revenue officials, such as chaudhuris and patwaris, and firmly established his suzerainty at Secunderabad. The Emperor also appointed a Court there with Shêr Khân Bahâdur, Amîr-ul-'Omara, a Commander of seven thousand, at the head of the following Nawâbs, Dalîl Khân, Sarîf Khan, Latîf Khân, Yûsuf Khân Sipâhsalâr. He also established a garrison there with eight thousand soldiers, having the usual quota of Ek-hazâris, Do-hazâris and Tîn-hazâris. The total strength of the imperial detachment left at Secunderabad, including the seven thousand soldiers of Amîr-ul-'Omara Shêr Khân Bahâdur came up to 15,000. The Emperor then returned to Delhi.—II-B.

(16) *Man Singha's ultimatum to Hussain Shah.*

Râja Mandhata sent a wakîl to Hussain Shâh of Gaur with the following message,—“Your forefathers were on friendly terms with the Emperors of Delhi. Now, what pride has prompted you to turn your back against the Emperor Jahângîr? Personally I am Mandhata, Râja of Amber. I have borne in my armpit dozens of Pâdshâhs like yourself; I have caused the death of many, while others have been released through me. So you should come and offer your submission to me. Our family has never been known to have harmed anybody: still, if any one persists in being unfriendly, I shall certainly destroy and exterminate him.”

Hussain Shâh despatched the following reply,—“Jahângîr is the Pâdshâh of Delhi, and so am I of Gaur. There was friendly interchange of embassies before. He has discontinued sending men, and so have I. Mandhata is only an Omra, why should I pay my homage to him? What touch of genius has led him to pen such a letter? If he has come for war, let him come.” The letter of Mandhata was torn to pieces and his envoy expelled.—IX-A.

(17) *Man Singha's eulogy of Hussain Shah.*

After subduing Bengal and the territories around it, Râja Mandhata proceeded to Delhi and paid his respects to Emperor Jahângîr who bestowed on him high honours and costly presents. He was retained in his former mansab of the rank of a commander of eight thousand, and was given a cash reward of three lakhs of rupees for *pan* and *tambul*.

The Pâdshâh then said to Mandhata,—“From your experiences of military operations in diverse localities, tell me of the magnitude of Hussain Shâh's heroism as a warrior.”

To this Mandhata replied,—“Hussain Shâh is the greatest of all the soldiers I have encountered in my military engagements in different places. His courage is indomitable, and he fights without caring for his life. He has been killed only through the prowess of the Emperor. He is peerless in heroism.”—IX-A.

(18) *Man Singha arranges recital of Markandeya-Chandi.*

Hussain Shâh's wives and children fled. After collecting the belongings of Hussain Shâh, Mandhata made an inventory of the articles seized, and after sealing them properly, he submitted his waqaya to Delhi. He then retired to Dacca. Ise-Khân-masandali came and submitted his homage to Mandhata. Râja Raghunath and the Râja of Cooch Behâr, as well as other chiefs, paid tribute to the Pâdshâh and established friendly terms with Mandhata, who renamed Dacca Jahângîrnagar, and appointed Ise-Khân-masandali as Zemîndâr to whom he made suitable presents. Mandhata then returned to Delhi.

On his way Mandhata saw Brahmans reading the *Chandi*.

The Râja enquired,—"What is this book that you are reading?"

Brahmans,—“It is *Chandi*, a portion of the *Markandeya-Purana*.”

Mandhata,—“What is the result of the recital of this book?”

Brahmans,—“The man who hears the recital of three rounds of *Chandi* goes to Kailasa or heaven. If it is recited more, the result is unmentionable.”

Mandhata,—“Then please, recite three rounds of the book in my name.”

Saying this, the Râja offered to the priests a reward of one thousand rupees. During his march, the Râjas who resided near about interviewed Mandhata bringing presents for him and the Pâdshâh. Mandhata also offered presents to them, and assured them of his protection and aid.—IX-A.

(19) *Shah Jahan's discovery of his peer in Prithivi Shah.*

Sitting at the Rôz-dewân, Shâh Jahân once said to his Wazîr,—“The Almighty God has blessed me with the Pâdshâhship of Delhi, and has bestowed on me all things necessary for the pleasure and enjoyment of a mortal. He has not withdrawn from me any favour. Yet my heart longs to see a man who is as great as I am, or is greater than myself. The men whom I see around me are all my inferiors. So you should make an attempt to find out my peer.” Being thus commanded by the Emperor, the Wazîr, Asaf Khan Khân-Khânân, Sipâh-salâr said,—

“ With regard to the enquiry which has been made by the Pâdshâh Hazarat, I am not in a position to give a reply at once. Give me time to investigate into past accounts, and I will place the information in time at the feet of the Emperor.”

Saying so the Wazîr consulted the records deposited in the archives of the Pâdshâh, the Wazîr and the Kâzi, and gathered the following facts and communicated them to the Emperor,—“ From the time of the Hindu King Judhisthira to Bahrâm Shâh Pâdshâh, which covered a period of 2,954 years, there were 58 sovereigns on the throne of Delhi. During this period we come across synchronous sovereigns of similar strength and position. (The following additional details are given in manuscript B). From the time of the Hindu King Samudrapal to Pithor Raja, covering a period of 1,122 years, 1 month and 28 days, there were 62 sovereigns. From the reign of the first Mussalman Pâdshâh to that of Jahângîr, during the period of 769 years, 4 months and 15 days, there were 51 sovereigns. The total number of Râjas and Pâdshâhs thus comes up to 113, covering a total period of 1,891 years, 6 months and 13 days, during this period we do not meet any two contemporary sovereigns of equal strength and power.” With regard to the enquiries whether there is any great monarch whose Kingdom is conterminous to that of the Pâdshâh of Delhi, the Wazîr consulted the ancient records and ascertained the following facts,—“ The Kingdom of Prithivi Shâh, son of Chandra Râja of Kandor, to the south of Delhi, is contiguous to the Kingdom of the Mogul Pâdshâh. His men are more warlike than those of the Delhi Pâdshâh. The rulers of his family eat the powdered grains of burnt pearls. The distance between Delhi and the junction of the two States represents a journey of 35 days, and that from the capital of Prithivi Shâh to the same boundary can be covered by a journey of 37 days ; and it is very convenient to go there as there are villages and rivers on the way.”—*IV-A, II-B.*

(20) *A Rajput duel before Shah Jahan and Prithivi Shah.*

Shâh Jahân,—“ By seeing and talking with you all the unsatisfied longing of my heart has now been fulfilled.”

Prithivi Shâh,—“ The discrepancy which existed before between my eyes and ears has now disappeared after having a sight of the Pâdshâh of Delhi attended by his army.”

Shâh Jahân,—“My eyes have been blessed with a great fortune by seeing Prithivi Shâh with his men.”

Just at that moment a Rajput Râja of Prithivi Shâh rushed forward with shield and sword, and he was faced by another Rajput prince, of the camp of Shâh Jahân. The two warriors then stated their cause,—“A Râja and a Pâdshâh are here. We have cherished the desire of attaining paradise by dying in a face-to-face combat. Our pious resolve can be fulfilled only if the two sovereigns be pleased to accord the necessary permission.” The two monarchs then permitted them, saying,—“May your cherished wish be fulfilled.”

On obtaining the necessary permission the two warriors, armed with shield and sword, rushed to the presence of the sovereigns and their followers. Uttering the name *Narayana* they inflicted blows on each other with their swords, and the bodies of each fell simultaneously, severed into two equal pieces. A piece of fleece-white cloud descended from heaven and covered the lifeless bodies of the combatants. After a while the cloud disappeared, and nothing else was visible; but the sound of tinkling bells could only be heard. The people shouted acclamations of praise and glory.—*IV-A, II-B.*

(21) *Shah Jahan's visit to Jai Singha's capital Amber.*

Seeing the influence and power of Râja Jai Singha, the Emperor Shâh Jahân thought within himself,—“How shall I kill Jai Singha? If I can get rid of him the Kingdom of Amber will fall into my hands, and my sovereignty will also be free from danger. Yes, he may do me mischief some day. So let me visit his State and examine its strength and resources.”

Thus thinking, the Emperor said to the Raja one day at ‘Am-Khâs,—“Well, let me confer on you the honour of a visit to your State.”

The Raja replied,—“Grant me leave for a week.”

The Pâdshâh said,—“Yes, all right, you may go.”

The Râja then proceeded to his capital and conferred with his ministers and relatives, saying,—“The Pâdshâh, intending to invade and occupy our Kingdom, is coming to examine its resources on the pretext of conferring a favour.”

The Rajput counsellors replied,—“Let the Pâdshâh come, we shall seize his person and imprison him, and all the Rajput chiefs united will appoint you Pâdshâh instead.”

Jai Singha said,—"It was never done by our family. Though the Pâdshâh may do us wrong, being misguided, we should never act as proposed. We have never been unfaithful to the Pâdshâhs of Delhi."

The Râja then made arrangements for numerous varieties of food for the Emperor, and erected a raised platform for the Pâdshâh, befitting his position and dignity. The Râja then informed the Emperor of his readiness to receive him, and Shâh Jahân went to Amber as promised. *X-A* and *I-B*.

(22) *Jai Singha's subjugation of Eastern India.*

During the confusion that followed the flight of Shâh Jahân Pâdshâh, and the occupation of the throne of Delhi by the Nawâb's bondman, there was anarchy in Bengal. The Râja of Orissa occupied the imperial fort by ousting therefrom the Mogul Nawâb. The fort of Rajmahal was attacked and captured by Raja Chandra-Bhal. The Raja of Morung seized the fort and established his independence at Morung. Cooch Behâr also asserted its independence, and the Râjas of Dacca, Chittagong, Sylhet, Gauhati and Arrakan committed ravages in the country and ruled in their own names. On receiving reports of the above, Shâh Jahân said to Jai Singha,— "Bengal has always been subdued by your family. So you should proceed thither."

The Raja said,— "All right. I will go. Please issue orders for supplying me nine Nawâbs, five of our Rajput Râjas, and a few cannon." The Rajâ was given what he wanted, and despatched to Bengal.

Jai Singha halted at Patna, and sent messengers to the rulers of the nine principalities, Dacca, etc., with letters to the following effect,— "Have you heard of the might of the Emperor Shâh Jahân? Have you also heard the rattling of my invincible sword as well as that of Mandhata? If you have, then come promptly and become friends with us, or otherwise be prepared for war."

On receiving this message the Râja of Cooch Behâr brought valuable presents to the Emperor and Jai Singha, and Nawâb Galir Beg was despatched to point out the boundaries of Bengal and Cooch Behâr. Rangpur became the thana of Cooch Behar with the river Ghaghat as its limit. On the other bank there was the thâna of the Emperor where Galir Beg was posted. An ambassador of Cooch Behâr was to remain at Dacca, and it was

stipulated that he should hand over to the Nawâb of Dacca one lakh of rupees as selâmi for presentation to the Pâdshâh during the Nâo-rôza festival.—X-A, I-B.

(23) *Nao-roza Festivities.*

What is Nâo-rôza ? The Padshah amuses himself for nine days, from the seventh day of the white moon to the full moon day in the month of Kartick. The wives of the Nawâbs, and Mansabdârs, the begums of the chiefs and merchant-princes, as well as of other commercial magnates, are to go to the inner apartments of the Pâdshâh's palace. In the interior, a place is nicely constructed with marble stones. There are tanks, each of which is covered on all its four sides with flowers of all hues and colours, crimson, yellow, white and black, including the lotus and the lily, and on the water float ducks, herons, water-crows, chakravakas, or ruddy sheldrakes, all made artificially of the eight metals. The birds are tied to strings by which their movements are regulated. Crackers, rockets, squibs, and scintillators all made of explosives are placed round the water. Attar, rose, jasmine and ambergris waters are sprinkled on the decorated floor. The ladies attractively decorate the stalls where they display their articles for sale. Gorgeous white pavilions are pitched at intervals. Mainas, parrots, bulbuls, shrikes, magpies, swallow-tails, all tamed at home pour forth their melodious strains. The stall-owners and shopkeepers, all dressed in their finest apparel and ornaments, display their wares consisting of diamonds, pearls, topazes, rubies, corals, beads and articles of gold and silver. The ladies of the Pâdshâh's *begum-mahall* and other ladies of the palace, as well as the wives of the Nawâbs and mansabdârs in their gorgeous dresses and ornaments purchase articles offered for sale. The Emperor, accompanied by music flowing from rubabs, tambourines, syrangis, flutes, timbals, brazen pipes, setaras, violins, trumpets, and other instruments, proceeds to the place where the wives of the nobles and merchants are selling their articles. The Emperor indulges in laughter and jokes when he haggles about the price of the articles he intends to purchase. The articles are to be purchased at the price demanded by the amiable sellers. No man is admitted into the place ; of men only the Pâdshâh has access. In this way the sales and purchases continue for nine days. The Pâdshâh spends nine lakhs of rupees during the Nâo-rôza.—X-A, I-B.

(24) *Self-immolation of Mumtaz Mahall.*

The principal Bêgum of Shâh Jahân, the mother of the four Pâdshâh-jâdas said one day to her husband,—“I am not accompanying you to your new quarters. I have now come to a considerable age. Through your favour I have enjoyed all the pleasures which can fall to the lot of a mortal. Four tiger-cubs have been born of me. They will not abide by the arrangement you have made, and they will die at the hands of one another. What is the good of my being burnt in the fire of affliction and sorrow? I will die with the name of God on my lips.”

Saying thus, the Bêgum prepared herself for death; and uttering the name of God, she put an end to her life by swallowing poison.--VII-A.

(25) *Mir Jumla's interview with Shaista Khan.*

Aurangzêb then placed Dâra and Murâd Bukhsh on the back of an elephant and displayed them to the people by beating drums. As the people might be provoked to sympathetic action after they had known that the two brothers were living, Aurangzêb decided to put an end to their lives. Aurangzêb brought a dish of gold and with a knife beheaded his two brothers,—Dâra and Murâd. With their blood imprinted on his forehead, Aurangzêb became the Pâdshâh.

Then the Emperor despatched Mir Jumla to Bengal with his son Sultân Mu'azzam, 100,000 horse, elephants, cannon and all necessary war materials. The general was presented with a *sirpao* and received the following mandate from the Pâdshâh,—“Direct your efforts to the extermination of Shujâ'. I also appoint you Subehdâr at Dacca. Shaista Khân Wazîr is my maternal uncle, whom you should see on your way.” Mir Jumla agreed to pay a visit to Shaista Khân at the instance of the Emperor, whom he requested to issue orders to Shaista Khân to grant an interview to the general at any time and dismiss him very quickly. The Emperor agreed to ask his uncle not to detain Mir Jumla very long in the interview.

Mir Jumla then retired to his own residence and conferred with his confidants, saying,—“I have no mind to go to Shaista Khân. At the same time I cannot but go, as the Emperor has commanded me to see his uncle. How can I see Shaista Khân?”

Mir Jumla's friends gave the following advice,—“ We have heard that Shaista Khân remains engaged in cleansing his teeth for nearly four *dandas*. If you go to him at that time he will certainly bid you farewell from the door.” In obedience to the command of the Emperor, Mir Jumla stood one morning at the door of Shaista Khân and said to the janitor,—“ Please ask a servant to tell Shaista Khân that Mir Jumla is at the door, and wants leave at once.” The door-keeper asked a servant accordingly. The servant did not communicate the message to the Nawâb, but reported falsely that Mir Jumla was asked by Shaista Khân to wait for sometime at the door as he was then engaged in brushing his teeth. The door-keeper asked another servant, who told the Nawâb accordingly, and Shaista Khân said,—“ Mir Jumla knows all these things. How is it that he has come to see me at this ungodly hour ? However, call him in.”

Mir Jumla paid his greetings to Shaista Khân, but the latter did not give up rubbing his teeth, nor did he leave his seat, and neither did he place his hand on the breast. Shaista Khan said to Mir Jumla,—“ I repeat what the Pâdshâh has taught you. Do not think that you have been deputed to subdue Shujâ' because there is no other Nawâb at Delhi. You have no bread in this land : the Pâdshâh out of compassion, is providing your descendants with bread. Try to perpetuate this bread. If the mission with which you have been entrusted be crowned with success then only people will know what you are. People do not know you now, as either honest or wicked.” Saying so, Shaista Khân bade farewell to Mir Jumla, and the horses, swords and robes which he presented to the general were worthy of a commander of 5,000. Mir Jumla went home and said,—“ The prestige which I have acquired during these seventy years of my life have all been burnt to ashes in the hands of Shaista Khân.”—VII-A.

(26) *Sultan Mu'azzam's marriage to Fatima.*

Mir Jumla and Prince Mu'azzam then attacked Shâh Shujâ', and had a series of engagements with the latter. Shujâ' seizing an opportunity sent a messenger to Sultân Mu'azzam with the following proposal,—“ My daughter Fâtima is a captivating maiden, and Mu'azzam should come and marry her.” That was a fraternal war, and Prince Mu'azzam, hearing of a beautiful maiden and being of an amorous disposition, could not resist the temptation. He visited Shujâ' in the company of 10,000 horse.

On the arrival of Sultân Mu'azzam, Shujâ' thought he had practically won the victory. Shujâ' married his daughter to his nephew Mu'azzam and kept him there.—*VII-A.*

(27) *Mir Jumla's warning to Prince Mu'azzam.*

Aurangzêb received the intelligence of Sultân Mu'azzam's marriage to Fâtima and his stay in Shujâ's residence. The Emperor wrote a letter to Mîr Jumla,—“Alas! The war against Shujâ' has been well completed indeed! Mîr Jumla has not even been able to keep my son. If he thinks he is unable to do anything, let him say so, and I will despatch another Nawâb with forces.”

To this Mîr Jumla sent the following reply,—“I will bring the war against Shujâ' to a victorious termination, and I would ask the Pâdshâh not to entertain any doubt or apprehension. As regards the blame he has pinned on me for the desertion of Sultân Mu'azzam, I would like to inform the Emperor that if I, Mîr Jumla, only shake the sleeves of my cloak dozens of such Pâdshâhjâdas will come out.”

Mîr Jumla despatched a man to Prince Mu'azzam with the following message,—“Do you think that Shujâ' will ever occupy the throne by ousting the Emperor Aurangzêb? If not, act in a manner that will ensure your safety and well-being in future. You said you would join me in the war from the south. The words of a great man are never violated. Act properly; then only you will remain in peace and happiness.”—*VII-A.*

(28) *Ram Singha's deputation against Sewa.*

After Aurangzêb had ascended the throne by slaying his three brothers Dâra Shâh, Shâh Shujâ' and Murâd Bukhsh, he asked his Wazîr Amânât Khân,—“Please tell me which of the Kingdoms once held in fee by my ancestors have now refrained from accepting our allegiance.” The Wazîr consulted the official records, and Subehdars were despatched to those States which had not till then bowed their head of submission to the Moguls. Kandarpa Singha the Raja of Sewa was found incorrigible, for whose subjugation Nawâb Sulatifat Khân, a commander of 6,000, was despatched with five other Nawâbs, five Râjas, as well as all necessary provisions for war. Sulatifat Khân fought for three long years, but could not achieve any success. The Emperor, being displeased, recalled Sulatifat Khân

from the field, and sent Bahâdur Khân as Subehdâr to conduct the war. Bahâdur Khân in his turn became friendly with Kandarpa Singha, the Sewa-râja, and remained there for two years and a half. He was also withdrawn from the war, and Nawâb Shamser Khân was despatched instead, but he died during his stay at Sewa after some time.

At the repeated failure of the Sewa expedition, Aurangzêb became intensely wroth, and said to Râja Ram Singha, "Mandhata is your grand-father. The reputation of his valour has spread to all quarters. Your father Jai Singha is also a great warrior, and he has been honoured with the title of Mîrzâ Râja. And so the fame of your family's heroism has been known in all countries. You are fortunate to be born in such a family, and so I ask you to proceed to the Sewa war. The Nawâbs who were sent before could not do anything."

Being thus commanded by the Emperor, Ram Singha replied,—"Yes, I will proceed to the Sewa war. But you should withdraw from the field the army of the Nawâbs, as I want to fight singly with my Rajputs of Amber. In the latter case we shall share the same honour or blame in the event of our victory or defeat. If we fight jointly, your Nawâbs will get all the credit if there be a victory. Besides, the Nawâbs who were sent before to the Sewa war will try to do me harm, knowing that I have been sent in supersession of them. It must be admitted that the Nawâbs have not proved themselves a match for Sewa, who has been led to consider itself as invulnerable. Thus my association with the Nawâbs will lead to the diminution of the prestige connected with my name. So the imperial forces manned by the Nawâbs should no longer remain in the field. I shall fight with my own men."

As suggested by Ram Singha, the Emperor ordered back all the Nawâbs previously despatched to the Sewa campaign. Ram Singha was made mansabdâr with the rank of a commander of 6,000. He was provided with elephants and horses, and was offered suitable presents. Ram Singha was then sent to the Sewa war, and the general took leave of the Emperor. Ram Singha first went to Amber where he halted for a week. He took with him a body of his chieftains and the following Thakurs,—Amar Singha, Dip Singha, Madan Singha, Ugrasen Rao, Damodar Singha, Krishna Singha, Suk Singha, Ragharai, and Anandarai. He also took with him 80,000 Rajput sepoy as well as numerous gunners, beldârs, daffadârs,

labourers and shieldsmen. The total strength of his army was 300,000 and with them he proceeded to the Sewa campaign.—VIII-A.

(29) *Ram Singha's victory over Kandarpa Singha.*

On reaching the jurisdiction of Sewa, Ram Singha despatched messengers to the Sewa-râja with a letter to the following effect,—“I am the grandson of Maharâja Mandhata, and the son of Mîrzâ Râja Jai Singha, and my name is Ram Singha. You must have heard the fame of our family's swords. There exists also a long-standing friendship between your family and mine. Our family has never shown its back in any war. You are also familiar with the prowess of the Emperor Aurangzêb. The Nawâbs who were sent before against you failed in their mission, so some of them have been executed and others expelled. The Emperor wanted to send his son Sultân Muhammad, but I dissuaded him from coming. I have come myself on account of the long friendship subsisting between us. So come, and let us meet at a convenient place: if on the other hand you want war, be prepared for the same, and do not delay.”

Kandarpa Singha, the Râja of Sewa received the imperial ambassadors, and sent the following reply to Ram Singha's message,—“The arguments which you have set forth in your letter are true and wholesome. But if I enter into any friendly terms with you, people will laugh at and upbraid us both saying that we have become friends, being unable to oppose each other in strength. So war seems to me the better course.”

Then there ensued a terrible contest between the two parties. The soldiers of Ram Singha are great experts in warfare. They are insensible to pain, even when they receive wounds from weapons, on account of their bodies being saturated with opium of which they are habitual consumers. They prefer death to retreat from battle. On the other hand, the soldiers of Sewa take to their heels when they have to face a very hard contest. So in the war the Sewa soldiers fled from the battle-field or were killed. Seizing an opportunity during the thick of the fight the Bhîl soldiers of Ram Singha surrounded the Râja of Sewa. Ram Singha gained a decisive victory in the war.—VIII-A.

(30) *Kandarpa Singha, a prisoner of the Great Mogul.*

The Sewa-rajā then enquired what Ram Singha was going to do with him, whether he would be taken to the presence of the Pādshāh or released. Ram Singha said,—“This is out of the question now, as you did not act before according to our advice. You will be taken to the presence of the Emperor. But I will intercede on your behalf with the Pādshāh so that no harm may be done to you. I shall place my head on top of yours.”

Ram Singha wrote a detailed despatch on the war and sent it to the Emperor, who asked Ram Singha to escort the Sewa-rājā to the court, and appointed Jumsher Khan in place of Ram Singha, who accordingly appeared before the Pādshāh with the Sewa-rājā. Ram Singha was honoured with rich presents. The Emperor asked the Sewa-rājā,—“You are the great chief of Sewa, and of very long standing too. Your ancestors had served mine. You have become now unfaithful to us. May I know the reason? Are you defying me on the strength of any secret alliance you have formed with any other power? Or do you think I am impotent in my authority?”

Thus replied Kandarpa Singha, the Rājā of Sewa,—“My fore-fathers never served your fore-fathers in person. They sent articles and supplies only through their envoys according to time-honoured customs. On ascending the throne you have insisted on the payment of tribute, and you have introduced the system of obligatory personal service. This is why we have ceased to be under your vassalage.”

The Emperor said,—“You did not serve before, nor did you pay any tribute. We have now seized your person. Where now is your honour gone? I can now kill you, or do whatever I like with you. So consent to accept our allegiance, and live in peace and plenty by paying us tribute. Otherwise you will be killed, being trodden on by elephants.”

The Sewa-rājā sent the following report,—“I cannot deviate from my previous decision, nor can I accept your suggestion even on pain of death.” The Emperor then ordered the Rājā to be put under the feet of elephants. But Rājā Ram Singha implored the Emperor on behalf of the Rājā of Sewa, and asked the Pādshāh not to kill the Rājā, who was accordingly imprisoned, being chained with shackles of gold.—VIII-A.

(31) *Kandarpa Singha's escape from prison.*

After staying in prison for some time, Kandarpa Singha said to Ram Singha,—" You brought me here with assurance of safety. I cannot understand why I am now detained in prison, and I do not know what else is in store for me. All this is due to you. I have in my life subdued many people." Ram Singha earnestly entreated the Emperor to release the Râja but in vain, and Ram Singha became sorely grieved at heart.

A son was then born to Ram Singha, who was named Kishore Singha. On that occasion Ram Singha used to send out articles of food and ornaments, loaded in huge boxes of copper, brass and silver, to the Râjas and Nawâbs. He cut asunder the chains of the Sewa-râja, put him in a box and sent him back to his kingdom.

The Emperor ascribed the escape of the Râja to Ram Singha and accused the latter, saying : " What have you done with the Râja of Sewa ? "

To this Ram Singha replied,—" I besought you so earnestly on his behalf, and as you were not willing to let him off he has made his escape."

The Pâdshâh replied,—" It is you who allowed him to escape," to which Ram Singha said, " If you think I have been instrumental in the escape of the Sewa-râja, he is under my thumb, and there should be no fear on that score."

The Pâdshâh did not say anything, but remained silent, cogitating within himself.—VIII-A.

(32) *The Sikh Guru Teg Bahadur escapes from captivity.*

Then there was a saint of the faith of Guru Nanak, and he became the Guru or preceptor of a large number of Brahmans and Kshattriyas. He would not take the name of Ram or Krishna, nor of any god or goddess. On meeting a disciple of his own faith he would simply say,—" Om, ai, Guru ; Om, ai, Guru ," and nothing else. The Brahman Bhattacharyas or priests and the Kâzis of the Mussalmans reported to the Pâdshâh,—"This man does not belong to any particular school or faith ; he goes about ravaging the country." The Emperor asked the Guru to appear before him, but he did not come. On the other hand he defied the authority of the Pâdshâh, and roamed about plundering and destroying the country attended by

260 thousand Nanak-panthi sepoys. The Pâdshâh became indignant, and he deputed Aloo Khan Pathan who captured the Guru. The Pâdshâh ordered the Guru to be executed, who, for fear of his life,—sought the protection of Ram Singha, who became a surety for the Sikh leader. But the aforesaid Nanak-panthi Guru also made his escape.

The Pâdshâh accused Ram Singha, saying : “ How is it that you have allowed the Guru to flee, though you yourself stood surety for him ? ”

To this Ram Singha replied : “ What is he ? Is he a Râja or a Nawâb ? He is unworthy of your vengeance. He is only a mendicant faqîr. To accuse me for his escape will cause people to laugh when they hear of it.” —VIII-A.

(33) *Ram Singha deputed to Assam as a penal measure.*

Hearing the explanation offered by Ram Singha with regard to the escape of the Sikh Guru, the Pâdshâh said to himself, “ This Ram Singha has begun to commit one misdeed after another. Remembering the services rendered to the State by his fore-fathers, I cannot say anything to him. Besides, any punishment inflicted on Ram Singha may lead to a concerted action on the part of the Râjas against me, and I shall be alienated from them all.” Thus thinking, the Pâdshâh did not propose to do anything to Ram Singha.

And it came to pass that the Swarga-Mahârâja of Assam attacked the fort of Gauhati and captured the Nawâb Sayid Piroz Khan. On receiving this intelligence the Pâdshâh said to Ram Singha,—“ Râja Jai Singha, son of Râja Mandhata, fought in the Bengal war and subdued that province. Now, you proceed to the war with Assam.”

The reason why the Pâdshâh spoke thus to Ram Singha was this : not a single Nawâb who had been deputed to the Assam war could ever come back safely ; some died and some were killed in the battle ; the waters of Assam are poisonous, its air unhealthy, and its hills are covered with dense forests ; and the Emperor wished that Ram Singha should die in Assam. Devising this plan, the Pâdshâh deputed Ram Singha to Assam.

The Râja took with him the Rajput Bhîls of his own State, Rashîd Khan Nawâb and others, and took leave of the Emperor. The Pâdshâh appointed two of his own men as Dewâns to accompany Ram Singha in his expedition, —

Mîrzâ Sayyid Sâf, the Dewân of the Parganas, and Mîr Râji, the Dewân of the Laskars and Sepoys. The Emperor also deputed Bahlol Khân, the daroga of three hundred Ahudis. Mîr Gazar Beg was appointed waqayyanâvis of the expedition and the Emperor said to him,—“Ram Singha is an untrustworthy man. He may enter into a collusion with the Swarga-Maharâja. You must send regular reports to me regarding his movements and the success or ill-fate of the expedition.”

The Râja halted on the way with his detachment. The Nawâbs who were commissioned to accompany the Râja joined him subsequently with their quota of supplies. There was a garden at Patna founded by Ram Singha's father Jai Singha. The Râja stopped there for a week, awaiting the arrival of the remaining portion of his army.
VIII-A.

(34) *Ram Singha's cordial reception by Shaista Khan.*

From Patna, Ram Singha proceeded towards Jahân-gîrnagar in order to have an interview with Amîr-ul-'Omara Shaista Khân who was the sworn friend of the Râja's father, Jai Singha. On account of this old friendship Ram Singha came to Dacca. On hearing of the advent of the Râja, Shaista Khân welcomed him with great cordiality and splendour. The son of Aburnamir Khan and the two Dewâns, Râja Nandalal and Râi Muraridhar, escorted the Râja with elephants and horses, marching to the notes of the five musical instruments. The line of march was splashed with water, and the roofs of the houses in the bazaars through which the Râja passed were draped with gold and silver cloth. The audience chamber of Shaista Khân was also draped with costly carpets up to the ceiling. There were placed six hundred incense-pots fuming with the vapour of burnt aloë. In every room tassels of pearls and coral were suspended from the overhanging canopies.

The Râja approached the Nawâb and, addressing him as uncle or *chacha*, saluted the latter by touching his feet. Shaista Khân clasped Ram Singha to his bosom and kissed the Râja's forehead. The Nawâb presented to Ram Singha precious elephants and horses, and a sword named Khanjar whose price amounted to 25,000 rupees.

Nawâb Shaista Khân then imparted the following instruction to Ram Singha,—“Act in a way that you may remain in the good graces of the Emperor. Aurangzêb

Pâdshâh is a shrewd diplomat. Shujanagar is an unhealthy place ; its hills are covered with forests, and poisonous waters flow in its streams during the two months, Baisak and Jaistha. The air that blows is also infected with poison. Do not drink any water but that of the Louhitya or Brahmaputra. Do not admit the women of that place into your camp ; they are wicked and treacherous¹. Please write to me when you fall short of food-stuff, war-provisions or money ; I will send them to you looking upon you as one of mine."

Ram Singha became extremely delighted with the reception given to him, and said to the Nawâb,—“ The advice which you have given to me is generally imparted by a father to his son.” The Râja then took leave of the Nawâb, whose sons saluted Ram Singha by touching his feet and escorted him to a considerable distance. Ram Singha then arrived with his army at Shujanagar.—*VIII-A.*

(35) *Prince 'Azamtara's misrule in Bengal.*

Prince 'Azamtara had once gone out hunting. Alone he pursued a deer on horseback. He returned home unattended by his followers, after bagging several deer and other animals. He had on his head an aigrette worth one lakh of rupees which fell somewhere in the jungle and was lost. On meeting the Prince the Dewân asked him where he had left the jewel. 'Azamtara felt his head, and, not finding the jewel there, returned home. The Prince sent for the Zemîndâr in whose jurisdiction the jewel was lost, and asked him to recover it. The Zemîndâr sought for it without any success. The Prince extorted

(1) **BLACK ARTS PRACTISED BY KAMRUPI WOMEN.**—According to popular traditions in Assam, and recorded in the MS. note in possession of the Mahant of the Sikh shrine at Dhubri, Man Singha the grand father of Ram Singha was poisoned by one of his Assamese mistresses who imparted the poison to her lord to prevent his proposed invasion of Assam. What the Moguls thought of the women of Assam is recorded in the *Khulasatu-T-Tawarikh* compiled in 1695,—“ The beauty of the women of Kamrup is very great ; their magic, enchantment and use of spells and jugglery are greater than one can imagine, They conquer the heart of whomsoever they like and bring them under their command.” The same imputation of sorcery and witchcraft is made in the *Fathiyah-i-Ibriyah* and *Ain-i-Akbari*. See the story of Jamila and Hamid in the Urdu book *Kamrup-ki-Jadu* by Syed Golam Hyder Khan Sahib of Rai Barelli where references are made to Kamrupi magic, p. 27. The *Alamgirnamah* thus remarks on the poisonous climate of Assam,—“ Kamrup is remarkable for bad water, noxious air and confined prospects.”

from the Zemîndâr one lakh of rupees as the value of the aigrette. One of the retainers of the Zemîndâr came upon the jewel and fled with it to Guzrat. On receiving this news, the Zemîndâr pursued the absconder, and ultimately succeeded in recovering the gem from him. The jewel was returned by the Zemîndâr to the Pâdshâhjâda, who retained the jewel, but did not return the money.

Thus did 'Azamtara rule in Bengal. He neglected the duties entrusted to him by the Emperor Aurangzêb, and roamed about, hunting, on horseback. The loss of a jewel is highly inauspicious and objectionable. The waqayana-vis wrote a detailed account of the incident to the Emperor at Delhi: and Aurangzêb, being furiously annoyed, recalled Prince 'Azamtara from Jahângîrnagar. The Prince had offered to the news writer a pony, with saddlery and harness worth one thousand rupees, requesting him not to communicate anything to the Emperor that would bring the Prince into bad odour with his father; but the waqayanavis replied,—"I can never be untrue to the salt of the Pâdshâh," and sent his report to Delhi.

Shaista Khân was once informed by his Khizmatgar that 'Azamtara had thrown into the river all the salt that was stocked in the Nawâb's emporium at Dacca, estimated at a value of 52,000 rupees. The Khizmatgar asked the Nawâb to report the matter to the Emperor, on which Shaista Khân said,—"Is the loss so significant that I should inform the Emperor about it?—If I do so, it will not be safe for my children in future, as 'Azamtara may some day become the Pâdshâh."—XII-A.

S. K. BHUYAN.

(Concluded.)

ANCIENT ARABIAN POETS

III

Ibn-Abi-Duwad the Humane Qadi.

Ishaq-ibn-Ibrâhîm al-Mausilî [born A.H. 150 (767 A.D.)] the same year as the Imâm Ash-Shafi'; died of *ishal* (diarrhoea) in the month of Ramadan, A.H. 235 (beginning of April 850 A.D.) was a constant companion of the Khalîfahs in their parties of pleasure and bore a high reputation for refined taste, his festive humour and talent as a singer being peculiarly his own. He was well acquainted with ancient Arabic poetry, the history of the poets, and the adventures of the desert tribes. As a traditionist, his authority is cited by Mûsa ibn-'Abd Allah az-Zubairi, the genealogist of the tribe of the Qureysh and a talented historian [born at Medîna A.H. 156 (773 A.D.) died A.H. 236 (850-1 A.D.)] who relates the following anecdote respecting him:—"I heard Ibn-Abî-Duwâd say at the court of Qâsim-al-Mu'tasim¹:—"I never speak first to a Khalîfah about business in the presence of the vizîer Muhammad ibn-az-Zayyât² lest from my example he

(1) The Khalîfah Qâsim al-Mu'tasim was the son of Hârûn ar-Rashîd. He reigned about nine years, namely, from 833 to 842 A.D.

(2) Muhammad-ibn-az-Zayyât ("the son of the oil seller") was vizier to Qâsim al-Mu'tasim and to his son and successor the Khalîfah Hârûn al-Wâthiq. It is related of him that, when he was vizier, he caused a large fânûs (lantern) to be constructed of iron, and fastened with nails, the sharp points whereof projected inwards, like needles. In this horrible machine he used to torture officers of the civil administration and other delinquents from whom he desired to extort money; as often as the unfortunate victim turned round or moved from the intensity of his sufferings, the nails entered his body and put him to excruciating pain. Ibn-az-Zayyât was the first person who ever conceived such an instrument of torture. When the sufferer cried out to him "O vizier! have compassion on me!" he used to reply, "Compassion is mere weakness of character." When he was himself imprisoned by al-Mutawakkil, that Khalîfah ordered him to be chained in irons of fifteen

should learn how to begin a conversation and how business is done.' Ibn-Abî-Duwâd was the first whoever opened a conversation with a Khalîfah for, until that time none spoke to the prince until he spoke first to them."

Abû'l 'Aîna who has been previously mentioned, says that Ibn-Abî-Duwâd was an excellent poet and that he expressed his thoughts with elegance and precision. In support of this statement he quotes the following poem, which he ascribes to Ibn-Abî-Duwâd :—

" *Al-'alamat wa'l-isharat* (Signs and Wonders) "

" These are signs to people of understanding."

—Qur'ân, Sûrah II. Al-Baqarah ("The Cow ")

" On Nature's self there hangs the very breath of God,

" The fragrance of the flowers, the dew upon the sod ;

" The birds, in melody, their dulcet voices raise,

" And all creation joins to celebrate His praise ;

" The zephyr gently glides thro' vales amid the hills,

" And sweetly adds its song to those of rippling rills,

" And when, at eve is spent the ever fleeting day

" The earth is silver limn'd beneath the moon's soft ray.

" At such a time I mused, and thus my musing ran :

" Give thanks to Allah for his gifts to thee, oh man.' "

Al-Marzubânî states that the name of Ibn-Abî-Duwâd is recorded by Dibîl-ibn-'Alî-l'Khozâî (himself a celebrated poet) in his book containing the list of poets,¹ and that

pounds weight and put into the same lantern. To his cry of " O Commander of the Faithful ! have compassion on me ! " he answered in the words so often addressed by the vizier to other sufferers, " Compassion is mere weakness of character." While undergoing these excruciating torments, Ibn-az-Zayyât asked for ink and paper, and wrote as follows : " Such is the way of earthly things : from day to day they fleet and pass away, as visions seen in sleep. Cease repining ! Such events are the vicissitudes which fortune transmits from man to man." These lines he sent to Al-Mutawakkil, who was prevented by business from attending to them, but the next morning he read them and gave orders to release the vizier. When they came to take him out they found he was dead.... He had passed forty days in the lantern.... After his death the following lines were found written in charcoal on the side of the lantern by his own hand :—" Let him who knows where sleep is to be found direct toward it one who longs for it. May God have mercy on the compassionate man who will lead sleep to my eyes ! I wake, but he sleeps by whom I am despised."—Ibn Khallikân.

(1) Dibîl, surnamed Abû-'Alî, was born A. H. 148 (765 A.D.) ; he died A.H. 246 (860-1) at Tib in 'Irâq. It is said that Dibîl was a nickname, his real name being Hasan. Dibîl means " a tall camel." He used to relate that one day as he was passing along the road, he saw a man in a fit of epilepsy (*sar*) ; on which he went up and shouted, as loud as he could, in his ear the word, " Dibîl," and that, immediately, the man arose and walked away as if nothing had occurred.

some fine verses of his are quoted therein. The following is a rendering in English of a love-song ascribed to Ibn-Abî-Duwâd.

"I love thee in the morning, but I love thee more
at night,

"When the world is hush'd in silence, and the stars
are shining bright ;

"When the shades of night envelop, then thou art
e'er my theme.

"My thoughts on thee when waking and thy sweet
form when I dream

"And when Al-Fajar¹ opens and the birds begin
to sing,

"And nature's face is radiant in the early blushing
spring,

"And such blissful joy and gladness there all around
I see,

"I long for that joy and gladness to share for aye
with thee."

Among the sayings recorded of Ibn-Abî-Duwâd is the following :—

"There are three classes of men who must be treated with honour and esteem : the learned (*alim*), the magistrates (*hakim*), and the friend (*muhib*) ; whoever slights the learned, loses his religion ; whoever slights the magistrates, loses his property ; and whoever slights his friends, loses his manliness."

Another couplet ascribed to Ibn-Abi-Duwâd runs :—

"Allah, Himself, will raise on high
Who lives in true humility²."

Ibrâhîm-ibn-al-Hasan relates as follows :—"We were assembled in the presence of Al-Mâ'mûn, and the names of the people of Medînah, who engaged their fidelity to his lordship, the Prophet Muhammad (on whom be everlasting peace !) on the night of Al-'Aqabah, were enumerated ; there was some disagreement, however, on the subject, when Ibn-Abî-Duwâd came into the room, and, to decide

(1) Al-Fajar. The aurora of dawn, "The Daybreak." The title of the 89th Sûrah of the Qur'ân, in the first verse of which the word occurs.

(2) The word is *inkisâr* (humility). The above couplet may well be compared with the following lines of Keble :—

"God hath sworn to raise on high
Who sinks himself by true humility."
—Keble, "*Miscellaneous Poems*," at Hooker's Tomb.

the dispute, counted them up *wahidan-wahidan* (one by one), names, surnames, and genealogies; on hearing which Al-Mâ'mûn exclaimed, "When men want a man of talent (*qabiliyat*) for a companion (*rafiq*), let them take a person like Ahmad-ibn-Abî-Duwâd!" "Nay" said Ibn-Abî-Duwâd, "but when a man of learning keeps company with a Khalîfah, let him find one like the Commander of the Faithful, from whom he may gain information, and whose conversation is more learned than his own. The Prophet of God said, 'It is better to sit alone than to sit with the foolish, but to sit with the wise and learned is better than to sit alone.'"

Amongst other pithy sayings ascribed to Ibn-Abî-Duwâd are the following:—

"Allah gave man a brain, intelligence, and the capacity to learn.

He that learneth not, insults God, by despising His gift."

"We are that which we are, according Allah's will, That which we may become, and how, rests with us still."

"Khalwat (loneliness) the scholar never knows." ¹

"He that sits in the company of lions, will learn to roar,

He that sits among foxes will learn cunning tricks,
He that sits among asses will learn to bray,
But he that sits among fools will learn naught but folly, for he, himself, is a fool."

"A man is not perfect unless he has sufficient ability to elevate his friend to the *minbar* (pulpit), though he be a simple soldier of police, and sufficient ability to send his enemy, even if he be a vizier, to the gibbet."

In order to understand the full force of this last utterance, it must be remembered that the *minbar* or pulpit in the mosque was in those times reserved for the Khalîfah or his deputy, who alone had the right of pronouncing the khutbah. The gibbet was merely the trunk of a palm-tree, to which the bodies of executed persons were tied and exposed to public view. It sometimes happened that living criminals were tied up in the same manner.

(1) Compare —"Ein Gelehrter hat keine Langweile." (A scholar knows no ennui.)—Jean Paul Richter—*Hesperus*.

Abû'l-'Aîna relates the following anecdotes about Ibn-Abî-Duwâd.

“ Al-Afshin¹ bore envy towards Abû-Dulaf al-Qâsim-ibn-'Isa al-Ijli for his knowledge of the pure Arabic language, his eloquence and his bravery (*shajâ'at*); he therefore plotted against him and procured perjured testimony to be borne that he had committed treason (*khiyanat*) and murder (*qatl*); he then caused him to be arrested on a false charge, and, having held a sitting to try the accused, he commanded him to be brought forth, along with the *jallad* (executioner) who was to put him to death. When intelligence of this reached Ibn-Abî-Duwâd he instantly mounted his horse and set off with the notaries who happened to be present at the *mahkamah* (court of justice) wherein he, as *Qadi-al-qudat* (Lord Chief Justice), was holding a *mahkamah* (tribunal), and came in on Al-Afshin before whom Abu-Dulaf had just been led for execution. He then stopped and, holding up his right hand, said “ I am a messenger to thee, Al-Afshin, from the Commander of the Faithful; he commands thee to do no ill to Al-Qasim-ibn-'Isa, and moreover to deliver him up immediately (*filhal*) to me.” Turning then to the notaries, he said, “ Bear witness that I have delivered to Al-Afshin the message sent by the Commander of the Faithful to him, and that Al-Qâsim is alive and in health.” The notaries answered, ‘We are witnesses thereof.’ So Al-Afshin could do no harm to Al-Qâsim, and was obliged to deliver him over to Ibn-Abî-Duwâd who, taking the rescued man with him, went instantly to the Khalifah al-Mû'tasim and said, ‘O Commander of the Faithful! I have fulfilled in thy name a message which thou didst not give me, yet I count it for one of my best deeds, and through it I hope to attain Paradise.’ He then told the Khalifah all that had passed, the monarch approved his conduct, and, having bidden Al-Qâsim to be brought before him, he set him at liberty, and gave him a present; he then sent for Al-Afshin and severely reprimanded him for having dared to act as he had done.”

(1) Ibn Shâkir, in his “*Uyun at-Tawarikh*” (MS. of the Bibliothèque du Roi, No. 638, fol. 232, V.), says that Al-Afshin was descended from the ancient kings of Persia; and Sibî Ibn-al Jauzî states in his “*Mira'at az-Zaman*” (MS. No. 640, fol. 117, V.) that the actual name of al-Afshin was Haidar-ibn-Qaus; and that the governors of Orushana, a province in Transoxiana, bore the title of Afshin, in the same way as each king of Persia was called Chosroes, those of Rome, Cæsar, and of Egypt, Pharaoh.

The Khalîfah, Qâsim al-Mu'tasim, son of Hârûn ar-Rashîd, (reigned 833-842 A.D.) was fond of engaging personally in disputations, particularly on theological subjects, and, if worsted in argument, cutting the matter short by decapitating his opponent. On one occasion, after having received some information with respect to certain monies which it was alleged that Muhammad ibn-al-Jahûr, a descent of the celebrated Persian family, known as the Barmakids¹, had misappropriated, became furiously enraged with him, and in his uncontrollable temper had the unfortunate man seized within the precincts of the palace and dragged before him. The Khalîfah, on his appearance, called the prisoner sâriq, harâmi, liss-nahhâb, (thief, robber, plunderer, depredator), etc., and other opprobrious names, and without stating what was the accusation, or giving the accused any opportunity to explain matters or to defend himself, ordered him to be decapitated at once, and sent for the executioner to carry out the terrible sentence there and then in the angry monarch's presence. The prisoner was already blindfolded and placed on the executioner's leather carpet, and the sword was just brandishing to strike him, when Ibn-Abî Duwâd, perceiving that no ordinary plea or device could save the unfortunate man, said to the Khalîfah, "O Commander of the Faithful! How canst thou take his wealth if thou killest him?" "Who is to hinder me?" replied the Khalîfah. "Allah", answered the other, "doth not permit it, neither is it allowed by the Apostle of God, nor by the justice of the Commander of the Faithful! for his

(1) The Barmakids are celebrated in history as the ministers of the early Abbaside Khalifs. Khâlid-ibn-Barmek was the vizier under Abû'l 'Abbâs As-Saffâh, the first Abbasid Khalifah (132-136, A.H.; 750-754 A.D.), and his influence endured through the reigns of Abû Ja'afar al-Mansûr, brother of As-Saffâh (136-158, A.H.; 754-775 A.D.) and Muhammad al-Mahdî, son of Al-Mansûr (158-167 A.H.; 775-87A.D.). Yahya the son of Khâlid, was entrusted by Al-Mahdî with the education of his son, the celebrated Hârûn ar-Rahsid, and was made vizier by Hârûn upon his accession to the caliphate (169 A.H.; 785 A.D.). By his military skill and wise civil administration he contributed largely to the prosperity of the reign, the Khalifah himself bestowing on him the appellation of "Father." Yahya's sons Fadl and Ja'afar, the "Giafar" of the "Arabian Nights", were greatly beloved by the Khalifah, who appointed Ja'afar vizier to succeed his father. The splendour of the family and the unlimited power it enjoyed gained it many enemies, who persuaded Hârûn that the Barmakids were aiming at the crown. The discovery of Ja'afar's secret marriage with 'Abbâsa, the sister of the Khalifah, and of her having given birth to a child, lent some colour to this suggestion, and Hârûn caused Ja'afar to be thrown into prison, and he was subsequently put to death.

wealth belongeth to his heirs if thou slayest him, unless thou givest legal proof of his guilt. It is much easier for thee to order him, while he yet liveth, to refund whatever he is proved to have embezzled." "Keep him in custody said Al-Mu'tasim, "until an *istifsar* (inquest) be held; the Qâdi (Ibn-Abi-Duwâd) has spoken with *hikmat* (wisdom)." After some month's delay, during which period the accused was detained in prison, the affair was ended by Muhammad-ibn-al-Jahûr paying a sum of money and being set at liberty.

"The Fates are just; they give us but our own;

"Nemesis ripens what our hands have sown."¹

The following anecdote is related by Al-Jâhiz:—

"Al-Mu'tasim was moved with wrath against an inhabitant of Mesopotamia, and had the executioner, armed with his sword and skin carpet, brought into the audience-hall and placed near the accused. He then said to the prisoner, 'Thou hast done that which is *sharir* (wrong) and committed *sharr* (evil), and thy head shall be struck off from thy shoulders.' 'Commander of the Faithful!' said Ibn-Abî-Duwâd 'Lo, here the sword is going before justice, whereas it should follow it; make some delay in this business, for the man is wrongly accused.' The Khalifah kept silence for a short time; here we shall finish the narration in Ibn-Abî-Duwâd's own words: 'I had then so pressing a call, by the necessities of nature, to make water, that I could no longer retain, yet I knew that if I excused myself and left the room the unfortunate man would surely be put to death; so I gathered my garments under me, and yielded to it; but I succeeded in saving the man. When I stood up Al-Mu'tasim perceived that my garments were wet, and said, "O Abû 'Abd-Allah, was there any water under you?"' 'No, Commander of the Faithful' I replied, 'but it happened in this wise'—and I told him all the details. On hearing the circumstance, the Khalifah laughed and recited these lines:—

"What matter if with *bawl* the carpet should be stain'd,

If by that *janabat* man's pardon thus be gained."

He then prayed, 'O Allah, merciful and compassionate! I pray thee grant to every monarch so wise a counsellor as Abî-'Abd-Allah-ibn-Abî-Duwâd!' Then turning to me, he said, 'Well done! May Allah bless thee!'"

(1) Whittier—"To a Southern Statesman" (1864).

Al-Mu'tasim then clothed Ibn-Abî-Duwâd in a rich robe of honour and ordered him to receive a *hadiyat* (present) of one hundred thousand dirhams."

Ahmad ibn-'Abdur-Rahmân- al-Kalbî says that " Ibn-Abî-Duwâd was all *nafs* (soul) from his head to his foot." In short

" A pure, ingenious, elegance of soul,
A delicate refinement, known to few,
Was ever in his breast¹.

Lazun-ibn-Ismail says : " I never saw one man more submissive to another than Al-Mu'tasim was to Ibn-Abî-Duwâd ; when a trifle was asked of him he would refuse, but Ibn-Abî-Duwâd would then come in and speak to him in favour of his (the Khalîfah's) family, of the people in the frontier garrisons, of the inhabitants of the holy cities of Mecca and Madînah, and of those who dwelt far off in the countries of the East and West, and Al-Mu'tasim would grant all he desired. One day he spoke to the Khalîfah to obtain a sum of one million (*alf-alf*) dirhams to defray the cost of digging a *bughaz* (canal) in the most distant part of Khorasan, and received this answer : " What have I to do with this bughâz ? " " Commander of the Faithful," said Ibn-Abî-Duwâd " Allah will call you to an equal account of your superintendence over the affairs of the most distant, as over those of the nearest of your subjects." He then continued, with wondrous tact, to manage adroitly the humour of the Khalîfah till the money was granted.

" He that of greatest works is finisher,
Oft does them by the weakest minister ;
So holy writ in babes has judgment shown,
When judges have been babes².

Al-Husain-ibn-Ad-Dahhab, the celebrated poet³, said to one of the metaphysicians of that time, " In the opinion of us (the poets) Ibn-Abî-Duwâd is not fully acquainted with the richness and purity of the matchless Arabic language ; you look upon him as not being a good metaphysician ; the jurisconsults consider him unskilled in law, but Al-Mu'tasim believes him to be learned in each and every one

(1) Thomson. " *Summer*."

(2) Shakespeare : *All's well that ends Well*, Act II., Scene 1 (Helena to the King.)

(3) He is generally known as " Al-Khâlî " (the libertine). He was born about 160, Hejira (776 C.E.) and died 250 H. (864 C.E.).

of all those sciences." If all that has been written in eulogy of the wide and extensive learning, the versatility and the tact of Ibn-Abî-Duwâd is to be credited, then we could apply Byron's lines to him and say :—

" The languages, especially the dead,
The sciences, and most of all the abstruse,
The arts, at least all such as could be said
To be the most remote from common use,
In all these he was much and deeply read¹."

Ibn-Abî-Duwâd himself, narrates the origin of his connection with the Khalifah 'Abdullah Al-Mâ'mûn, in the following words :—

" I used to go with the other doctors to Yahyâ-ibn-al-Aqtham's weekly assemblies², and I was there one day when a messenger came from Al-Mâ'mûn to state that the Commander of the Faithful desired Ibn-al-Aqtham to go to him with all his company. Ibn-al-Aqtham was unwilling to take me with him, but he had no means of leaving me behind ; so I went with the others, and we held a conversation in the presence of Al-Mâ'mûn, who turned to look at me when I began to speak, and listened to my words with attention and approbation. He then asked who I was, and I told him my pedigree. 'What,' said he, 'has delayed you so long from coming to see us?' Not wishing to do an ill office to Yahyâ, I replied 'Qismat (Destiny) detained me, and it was necessary that the term of the written decree of Allah should arrive.' 'Let it be now known to you,' said he 'that in future we shall hold no majma' (high assembly) unless you come to it.' I answered : 'Yes, Commander of the Faithful, I shall ever obey your order!' After that, our connection was gradually formed."

Some chronicles relate this affair in a different manner. Yahyâ-ibn-al-Aqtham, they state, went to Basrah from Khorasan to act as qâdî in the name of Al-Mâ'mûn ; this was towards the end of the year 202, A.H. (about June, 818 A.D.). Yahyâ was then quite a young man, somewhat more than twenty years of age.

" In the very May-month of his youth,
Ripe for exploits and mighty enterprises³."

(1) Byron, *Don Juan*, Canto 1, stz. 40.

(2) It was the custom of the viziers and Qâdis to hold assemblies at their respective houses on certain stated days. Such assemblies were termed majma' (literally "an assembly").

(3) Shakespeare—" *King Henry V.*," Act 1, Scene 2. (Stz. to King Henry).

He there chose for companions a number of men remarkable for their learning and honourable character, and among them was Ibn-Abî-Duwâd. When Al-Mâ'mûn made his triumphal entry into Baghdad on the 10th Safar, 204 A.H. after the flight of Ibrâhîm-ibn-Mehdî, he told Yahyâ to choose some from among his companions to be admitted into the society of the Khalîfah and to be his frequent visitors. In pursuance of this command, Yahya selected twenty, and among them Ibn-Abî-Duwâd but the Khalîfah, finding the number too great, ordered Yahyâ to make a selection out of them, and ten persons were chosen, Ibn-Abî-Duwâd being one of these; but the Khalîfah desired a further reduction to be made, and Yahyâ then chose five, one of whom was Ibn-Abî-Duwâd; such was the origin of his connexion with the Khalîfah.

“The massive gates of circumstance
Are turned upon the smallest hinge,
And thus some seeming pettiest chance
Oft gives our life its after-tinge.”

Al-Mu'tasim, on his accession to the throne, appointed Ibn-Abî-Duwâd chief justice (*Qadi'l-Qudat*) and deposed Yahyâ-ibn-Al-Aqtham; and Ibn-Abî-Duwâd became so great a favourite with the Khalîfah, that neither his public nor private business was done without his advice.

The troops, at the first, refused to render homage to Qasim-al-Mu'tasim, preferring rather, in their growing insolence, to elect 'Abbâs, son of the late Khalîfah, 'Abdu-ullah Al-Mâ'mûn; but he, under the advice of Ibn-Abî-Duwâd summoned him from the great military settlement at Tyana, seventy miles north of Tarsus, and he at once swore allegiance to his uncle, and the army followed. Tyana was abandoned, the rising walls demolished, and whatever could not be conveniently carried away was committed to the flames. Mu'tasim then returned to Baghdad.

The character of Al-Mu'tasim has thus been described:—

“Motasim followed his brother Mamoun, or surpassed him rather, in the two weak points of his rule, intolerance to wit, and preference for the Turkish soldier. Freedom of discussion, to an extent never dreamed of till the days of Mamoun, still prevailed excepting in respect of the new dogmas of the Court¹.”

(1) Sir William Muir. “*The Caliphate, its rise, decline and fall.*” (3rd ed.) p. 515.

Mu'tasim determined to coerce his subjects to think as he thought and to believe as he did, and had recourse to those methods which despots generally adopt for the compulsory conversion of their subjects. As the orthodox party declined voluntarily to acknowledge that the Qur'ân-Sharif was created, he decided to compel them so to do.

Mu'tasim and his party stigmatized as polytheists all those who maintained the eternity of the Qur'ân, because this doctrine involved a belief in the existence of two eternal beings, Allah and the Qur'ân !

The orthodox Muslims retorted by quoting passages from the Qur'ân itself, which demonstrated, in their view, that when the Holy Prophet spoke of the *Kalimat-Allah* the "Word of God," he obviously meant that which was contained in the Qur'ân. What other interpretation or meaning, they demanded, could be attached to the following passages :—

"This is the excellent Qurân,
Written in the preserved book :

.. .. .

It is a revelation from the Lord of the Worlds."

Sura LVI. "The Inevitable." (*Waqi'ah*), verses 76-79.

"Verily, we have sent it (*Al-Qur'an*) down in the night of Al-Qadr."

"The month of Ramadân, wherein the Qur'ân was sent down, a guidance for men, and declarations of direction and the distinction between good and evil."

Sura 2. *Al-Baqarah* (The Cow) v. 181.

Furthermore, this conviction was affirmed by the authority of the Traditions, in one of which the Holy Prophet is stated to have said :—"Allah wrote the Taurât (*Torah*) with His own hand, and gave it to Sayyidina Mûsa, Kalimu'llah (one who has conversed with God) ; and with his own hand he created Adam Safiya'llah ('the chosen one of God')." In the Qur'ân also it is written : "And we wrote for him (Mûsa), upon the tables, a monition concerning every matter."

Determined to silence and crush all opposition, Al-Mâ'mûn had established a court of Inquisition, the Qâdi Ahmad-ibn-Duwâd was appointed as the president thereof, and Mu'tasim confirmed the powers given to this Tribunal. Its duties were to arrest all eminent divines who differed

in opinion from the Khalifah, and by scourgings and imprisonment to induce them to admit that the Qur'ân was created.

“ Ripe persecution, like the plant
Whose nascence Mocha boasted,
Some bitter fruit produced, whose worth
Was never known till roasted¹. ”

This tribunal continued its operations, through the remainder of the reign of Mâ'mûn, and that of his successors, Mu'tasim (A.H. 218-227—833-842 A.D.) and Hârûn Al Wâthiq (A.H. 227-232—842-47 A.D.). The persecution fell almost entirely on the Hanbalites and the Shaf'îi-tes². Among the first to be cited before this tribunal was that eminently pious man, Imâm Abû 'Abdullah Ahmad-ibn-Hanbal, and another eminent theologian named Muhammad-ibn-Nûh. On their absolutely refusing to acknowledge that the Quran was created, they were sent to Tarsus for punishment, Mâ'mûn, at that time, being resident at that place. His sudden death, when but 48 years of age, delivered them for the time being; but in the year 219 A.H. the learned Imâm was again cited before the tribunal, and remaining steadfast in his former confession of faith was ordered to be scourged, received 28 strokes from a whip, and was flung into prison.

The following account of the decease of Mâ'mûn is of interest. He was, at the time, engaged in his third campaign against the Greeks. It was a hot autumn day, and he sat with his brother Abû Ishaq, on the bank of a mountain stream, in the clear cool flood whereof they laved their feet. “ Come ” said he to the companion who recounts the incident, “ Come, see how *mubarrid* (refreshing) to the limbs are these limpid waves. All that we now want is but a dish of *tamr* (dates) to make the moment perfect ! ” He had scarcely uttered these words when an *akhras* (a mute) was seen approaching with a burden of that very fruit. Two baskets full of the choicest dates, fresh gathered from the tree, were brought. The Khalifah and his two companions all partook plentifully of them,

(1) Charles Cotton (1630-87).

(2) The followers of Imâm Muhammad ibn Idris ush-Shaf'î the founder of one of the four orthodox schools of thought among the Sunnis. He was born at Askalon in Palestine, A.H. 150 and died at Cairo, A.H. 204. His tomb is still to be seen at Cairo. His principal pupils were Imâm Ahmad-ibn Hanbal and Az-Zuhairi, the former afterwards founded the Hanbali school of thought among the Sunnis. Shaf'îtes are chiefly met with in Egypt and Arabia.

with draughts of the delicious ice-cold water. As they arose, all three were struck with a burning *humma* (fever). It was Mâ'mûn's last illness. The *humma* increased rapidly; and perceiving that his end was near he ordered a rescript to be drawn up for all the provinces, proclaiming his brother Abu-Ishâq as his successor, under the title of Mu'tasim ("He who maketh his refuge in the Almighty One"). Then he gave minute instructions as to his own funeral and grave, directing that none should weep or mourn thereat. Calling his brother, he especially enjoined upon him, along with other admonitions for a religious life and just administration, to enforce the teaching which he (Mâ'mûn) held as to the origin of the Qur'ân and other Islamic doctrines, and directly after the interment of Mâ'mûn to hasten back to 'Irâq. So Mâ'mûn passed away and was buried at Tarsus, having reigned 20 years, in addition to the five preceding, during which he held at Merv the government of the East.

"Death is the privilege of human nature ;

"And life without it were not worth our taking.

"Thither the poor, the captive, and the mourner

"Fly for relief, and lay their burdens down¹."

On the death of Mu'tasim in 227 A.H. (January, 842 A. D.), he was succeeded by his son Wâthiq, who though born of a Greek slave-girl, inherited all his father's Persian proclivities, and indeed with even greater intolerance. He was weak and arbitrary in his administration.

The orthodox party, under the guidance of Ahmad-ibn-Nasr, a learned mullah, concocted a plot to set aside Wâthiq and establish on the throne a khalîfah of their own religious views. The plot, however, failed, and Ahmad was arrested. Sufficient evidence was unable to be found to secure his conviction for treason : but he was put to death as a "heretic" who denied that the Qur'ân was created and who had asserted that in the Garden of Paradise the True-Believers would actually *see* Allah. This abortive plot gave an additional impulse to the fanatical zeal of Wâthiq. In Egypt and in 'Irâq the persecution was the fiercest. Great numbers of pious and learned men were dragged from their homes and, heavily fettered, carried before the tribunal at Baghdad. They one and all endured these sufferings with admirable fortitude ; and despite tortures, scourgings, many and

(1) Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718) *Jane Shore*, Act IV, Sc. 1. (First played in 1713.)

oft, and years of hopeless incarceration in a dungeon, stoutly and steadfastly maintained their belief that the Qur'ân was the uncreated and eternal Word of God. They were of those of whom it may be truly said :—

“ In whom persuasion and belief
Had ripened into faith and faith become
A passionate intuition¹. ”

Next to the Imâm Ahmad-ibn-Hanbal (of whom we shall have more to say later), the most eminent of these noble martyrs, so brave, so strong and so faithful to Islâm, was a disciple of the Imâm-Ash-Shafi. His name was Abû Ya'qûb Yûsuf, and he was colloquially known as “ Al-Buwaiti,” from Buwait, the name of the village where he was born. He was one of a select company of four men whom that Imâm regarded as the most eminent of his disciples. The other three were Al-Muzani, Ibn 'Abdul-Hakîm, and Rabî'ibn-Suleymân. All of them were present with their beloved teacher in his last illness. The approach of death, it is frequently said, often bestows upon the dying man the capacity to see into the future, as into a mirror. Such a privilege, it is claimed, was bestowed upon that eminent rapidly expiring saint, Ash-Shafi'; and as the great Imam lay upon his death-bed, he fixed his eyes upon his faithful four disciples, and uttered this prophecy concerning them :—

“ As for thee, Abû-Ya'qûb, thou shalt die in chains (*salasil*) ; thou, O Muhammad (Ibn 'Abdul-Hakîm), wilt pass over to the school of Malek ; thou Al-Muzani, wilt meet with various adventures in Egypt, and wilt make the time to be remembered wherein thou wast the ablest reasoner of the age ; and thou, O Rabî', shalt be the most useful of all, in propagating the knowledge of the works which I have composed.” All this came to pass exactly as predicted by the pious Imâm.

Al-Muzani became the Imâm of the Shafi'îtes, from his great acquaintance with the legal system and juridical decisions of their great founder, and his accurate knowledge of the Traditions which he transmitted on the authority of his master. He composed a great number of works, the most important whereof is often styled *Al-Ikthisar* (“ The Abridgement ”). This work has from that time until now been the basis of all the treatises written on the doctrines of Ash-Shafi'. Al-Rabî' became the special

(1) Wordsworth. *The Excursion*, Book 10.

Traditionist of the works and words of that great Imâm, and it was through him that the *Usul*, or "Fundamentals", which contains all the principles of the Islamic civil and canon law; the *Sunan* and *Masnad*, both works on the traditional law, and most of the works composed by the learned Ash-Shafi' were handed down by oral dictation. He had the good fortune to be the last of the auditors of Sheikh Shafi'.

Ibn-'Abdul-Hakîm returned to the school of thought whereof the Imâm Abû 'Abdullah Malik-ibn-Anas was the founder, and to which he (Ibn-'Abdul-Hakîm) originally belonged¹.

In compliance with the last commands of the dying Saint, Al-Buwaitî became the instructor of Ash-Shafi's disciples. He was a man remarkable for piety, devotion, and self-mortification. A neighbour of his has testified, "No matter at what hour I awoke during the night, I was always sure to hear that pious man (Al-Buwaitî) reciting the Qur'ân or saying his prayers." Of him, it might be truly said :—

"Patience and abnegation of self, and devotion to others.

"This was the lesson a life of trials and sorrows had taught him."

His eminence as a jurisconsult and his pronounced orthodoxy caused him to be selected as a suitable subject for persecution. He was arrested, and carried as a prisoner from Cairo to Baghdad. His friend and former class-fellow, Rabi'-Ibn-Suleymân, b. held him as he was led off a prisoner, and thus described the scene :—"I saw al-Buwaitî mounted on a *baghl* (mule); round his neck was a heavy wooden collar; on his legs were *qayd* (fettters): from these to the collar extended an iron chain, whereto was attached a *sadd* (clog) of heavy weight. As they led him on, he continued repeating these words :—" *Allahu-Akbar* (God Almighty) created the world by means of the word *Kun* ("Be"). Now, if that word was created, one created thing would have created another. *Billahi!* (By God!) I shall willingly die in chains, for after me will be people who shall learn that, on account of this affair, some men died in chains. When I am brought before that

(1) The Imâm Abû-'Abdullah Malik was born at Al-Medinah, A.H. 94 (716 A.D.), and died in that city A.H. 179 (795 A.D.). His principal pupil was Ash-Shafi'. His authority is at present chiefly received in Morocco, and certain other northern States of Africa.

man," meaning Al-Wâthiq, "I shall declare unto him the truth!"

The reference in this speech is to the following âyat (verse) of the Qur'ân:—

"Verily Our speech unto a thing, when we will the same, is, that we only say unto it, 'Be', and it is."

This âyat and the one which runneth thus:—

"To Allah belongeth whatever is in heaven or earth; all is possessed by Him, the Creator of heaven and earth; and when he decreeth a thing, He only saith unto it, Be and it is." (Sura II, *Al Baqr* "The Cow") were some of the many quotations from the Qur'ân adduced by the orthodox in support of their contention and belief in the eternity of the Qur'ân considered as the Word of God.

When Al-Buwaitî arrived at Baghdad he at once emphatically refused to make the declaration required of him, repeating continually. "The Holy Qur'ân is the eternal and imperishable Word of God, His uncreated Word."

Heavily fettered as he was, he was immediately cast into a dungeon, where he remained till his death. But with him

"Stone-walls do not a prison make
Nor iron bars a cage."

The fervour of his faith bore him joyfully and triumphantly through all his trials.

"On one hand ever gentle Patience sat,
And firm conviction e'er did warm his heart;
Allah did give him strength to steadfast hold
The eternal Truth that never can depart."

"There are," Buwaitî said, in a letter to Rabi-ibn-Suleymân, "certain moments wherein I do not perceive that I have chains on my body, until, by chance, I happen to touch them with my hand."

Every Friday morning, when the sonorous voice of the Muezzin, calling the Faithful to pray, penetrated to his narrow cell, he would wash, dress, and go to the door of his prison. The jailer would then ask him, "Where are you going?" and he would answer, "I answer him who calls in the name of Allah!" To this the jailer would reply, often with tears in his eyes, "Back, friend! Allah will pardon you!" Then the prisoner would exclaim, "What Allah willeth will be; what He willeth not cannot

be ! Almighty God ! Thou perceivest that I answered the call of the Muezzin, and that I was prevented from obeying."

Al-Buwaiti died in prison and in fetters early in the morning of a Friday in the month of Rajab, in the 231st year of the Hijrah (846 A.D.).

" There was rust on the locks and fetters,

" And mould and blight on the walls ;

" There was silence there in the dungeon,

" And darkness still in the halls.

" A body laid on the mattress,

" They, whispering said " he is dead, "

" Al-Buwaiti's form was there lying.

" His soul to *Pardus* had fled."

The vigour wherewith Wâthiq endeavoured to enforce his heterodox views caused him to be not only feared but detested by his subjects. The people of Baghdad were so greatly irritated that they concocted a plot against the hated Khalifah and his government. It was headed, among others, by a pious Mullah named Ahmad, whose bold and unmeasured denunciations of the intolerant monarch gathered round him a great following. The day was already decided upon for a threatening demonstration, when two of the conspirators, in disregard of the prohibition of wine-drinking, went out in a semi-drunken state a night too soon, calling on the inhabitants to follow them to the palace. They were arrested, examined and the plot thus prematurely disclosed. The saintly Mullah was also arrested and sent to Samira, where he was arraigned before a court, not, however, on a charge of treason (*khiyanat*), but of *bad'at* (heresy).

Al-Wâthiq presided in person at this court and interrogated the accused.

" What sayest thou of the Qur'ân ? " asked the Khalifah.

" That it is the eternal word of Allah ! " replied Ahmad with zealous ardour, for he coveted martyrdom and had already anointed his body for burial.

" Nay, but is it created ? " rejoined Wâthiq.

" It is the word of God " calmly repeated Ahmad.

" And what about the beatific vision ? " continued the Khalifah.

" This, that the Holy Prophet of God hath told us, " Ye shall see your Lord at the Day of Judgment, even as ye see the full moon," replied the Mullah.

"That, our Holy Prophet said, was a mere figure of speech," answered the Khalifah, and he commenced to argue the point.

"Am I to reply with counter-arguments or dost thou command me?" asked Ahmad.

"Yea, verily, I do command thee," thundered the Khalifah.

"Khalifah, thou art a man, thou hast my life in thy hands, but though my life be the penalty of disobedience to thy command, yet I may not swerve from the clear and distinct teaching of the Prophet of Allah!" replied the pious and faithful True-Believer.

"Ye have all heard him yourselves," said the Sovereign to the assembled court. "What think ye?"

The Qâdi of the western quarter exclaimed: "Thy sacred Majesty, truly his blood is lawful!"

"Oh, satisfy our thirst therewith!" cried all the rest save Ibn-Duwâd, the chief Judge, who said, "O Khalifah, give him space to repent; haply, he is crazed."

"Nay, nay," shouted Al-Wâthiq; "Leave me alone, while thus in his blood I expiate my sins." Then he called for Samsat, the famous sword of Madikerib¹ to be brought to him, and when he had received it he rose and himself struck Ahmad a mortal blow upon the neck. Thereupon, the rest of the court, with the exception of Ibn-Duwâd, who withdrew from the scene, plunged their swords into the body of the unfortunate man, whose only crime was to be the *Shahid* (witness) of the Faith that was in him, and he lay, a mangled corpse, upon the floor. By order of Al-Wâthiq his body was hung at Samira, and his decapi-

(1) This weapon was formerly in the possession of one, Amir-ibn Madekerib, a famous poet and influential Sheykh, who apostatized from Islam, about the eleventh year of the Hijrah. He was captured and sent in chains to Madinah, during the Khalifate of Abû-Bekr (o.w.b.p.). The Khalifah was at first inclined to sentence Amir-ibn-Madekerib to death because of the treacherous murder of one, Dadweih his guest; but he denied the crime, and there was no direct evidence to substantiate the charge. "Art thou not ashamed," said Abû-Bekr to him "that following a rebel cause, thou art ever a fugitive or in bonds? Hadst thou been a faithful defender of the Faith instead, then, assuredly, Allah would have raised thee above thy fellows." "*Fîl haqiqat* (Assuredly such is the Truth)!" replied the humbled chieftain; "I will re-embrace the Faith Most Excellent, and never again desert it." Abû-Bekr, on receiving this assurance, forgave him and also Qays his fellow-prisoner. The clemency of the Khalifah was not abused, for subsequently both those gallant warriors fought loyally and strenuously in the Persian War.

tated head sent, under a guard to Baghdad, and set up there with this inscription "The head of Ahmad, the Heathen and accursed Polytheist." It had only hung there for two days, when this inscription was torn down and in its place was placed the following words. "The head of Ahmad, the saint and martyr." It was never discovered by whom the change was made.

Towards the close of the Khalifate of Wâthiq, the persecution terminated. A prisoner convinced that monarch, if not that his doctrine was wrong, at least that there was no justification for forcing it upon the Faithful. This man was an old and very learned Mullah, well versed in Islamic jurisprudence and the Traditions, who dwelt at Adanak, on the frontier of Syria. He was a man of commanding stature and venerable aspect; and as he was ushered into the presence of the sovereign, heavily chained, but with an undaunted and noble air, an expression of sympathy passed over the face of Wâthiq. The venerable old man requested the Khalifah to grant him permission to address a few questions to the chief Qâdi, Ibn-Abî Duwâd, who was present. Sanction having been granted, the following dialogue took place:—

"Son of Abu-Duwâd," said the old Mullah, "what is this dogma which you desire to have established?"

"That the Qur'ân is created," replied the *Qadi al-Qudat*.

"This *Ta'lim* (dogma), then, is, without doubt, an essential part of the Faith of Islâm, insomuch that the latter cannot without it be said to be *tammam* (complete)?"

"*Ala'al yaqîn* (Certainly)" was the reply

"Has the Apostle of Allah (Eternal Peace and blessings be upon him!) taught this *ta'lim* to men, or has he left them free?"

"He has left them free."

"Was the Holy Apostle of Allah (on whom be blessings and eternal peace) acquainted with this *ta'lim* (dogma) or not?"

"He was acquainted with it."

"Wherefore, then, do you desire to impose a belief, upon men, regarding which the Holy Apostle of Allâh has left men free to think as they please?"

The Qâdi-al-Qudât was baffled by this question and, knowing not what to say, kept silence. Seeing this, the old man turned to Wâthiq and said: "O Prince of

Believers, Behold here is my first principle made good ! ”

Then, after a brief interval, the mullah, turning once more to the Qâdi-al-Qudât, said :—

“ In the fifth âyat of the fifth sûrah, intituled *Ma'idah* (“ The Table ”) and revealed in the Holy City of the Prophet, Allah has said, “ *This day have I perfected your religion for you, and have completed my mercy upon you ; and have chosen for you Islam to be your religion !* ” But according to you, Islâm is not perfected unless we adopt this doctrine that the Qur'ân is created. Which now is more worthy of credence, Allah, when he declares Islâm to be complete and perfect, or you when you announce the contrary ? ”

The Qâdi held silence.

“ Amîr-al-Mu'minîn,” said the venerable Mullah “ There is my second point made good.” Then, turning once more to the embarrassed Qâdi, he resumed :—

“ Learned son of Abû-Duwâd, in your wisdom and knowledge, how do you explain the following words of Allah in His Holy revealed Book ?—“ *O Apostle ! Proclaim all that hath been sent down to thee from thy Lord ; for if thou do it not, thou hast not proclaimed His message at all.* ” Now this doctrine that thou desirest to spread among the Faithful, has the Apostle of Allah taught it, or has he abstained from so doing ? ’

The Qâdi-al-Qudât remained silent.

“ Commander of the Faithful ! ” continued the old man, “ such is my third argument.” Then turning once more to the Chief-Qâdi, he said : “ If the Holy Prophet was acquainted with this doctrine which you desire to impose upon us, had he the right to pass it by in silence ? ”

“ He had such right,” replied the Qâdi.

“ And did the same right appertain to the four rightly directed Khalifahs, Abû-Bekr, 'Omar, 'Othmân, and Alî Asadu'llâh ? ”

“ It did,” replied the Qâdi-al-Qudât.

“ Oh, Prince of Believers ! ” said the pious mullah, “ Allah will, in truth, be severe upon us, if He deprives us of a liberty which He accorded to the Holy Prophet and his noble companions.”

“ It is true,” said Wâthiq, “ Allah cannot, without injustice, refuse that to us which He had granted to His Holy Prophet and his companions. Pious brother, thou

art free, I find no fault in thee!" And immediately, he gave orders that the fetters should be struck off his limbs; but the old man refused to part with them.

"O Prince of the Muslims," he said, "each of these fetters is a precious jewel to me. When dying, I have directed that these chains should be placed between my shroud and my body; so that when I come to appear before Allah, I may say, O Allah! enquire from the man who placed these fetters upon me wherefore he has thus chained me unjustly, and wherefore, by thus treating me, he has brought great terror into my family?"

On hearing these words, Wâthiq and all present were moved to tears.

"Pious old man," said the Khâlifah, "forgive me!"

"Your majesty," he replied, "before I left my house, I had forgiven you, out of my respect and love for the Prophet of Allah, and your kinship to him."

"Give to this pious man the weight of his fetters in gold," exclaimed Wâthiq.

"Nay, sire," said the Mullah, "keep your gold, I want no earthly gain, my reward is to know that I have been sustained by Allah to witness for the Truth, and that He will reward me for my faith. The only boon, I crave of thee, O Prince, is permission to return to my home in peace."

"Go in peace!" said the Khalifah, "and God ever protect thee and thy house!"

"*Amin*" said the Qâdi-al-Qûdat, and all the rest of those present.

Thus ended the effort to force a dogma, hitherto unknown in Islâm, upon its followers, and so must end all efforts to impose by threats, persecution or violence a doctrine upon mankind contrary to Divine Law and Revelation. Islâm is not to be subverted by the facts or fancies of any sovereign, however powerful, he may be, into mere speculative theology. It is a divine, revealed religion, complete and entire, to be the guide and salvation of human beings so long as the world and its inhabitants exist. "The righteous are those who are upright people, they who meditate on the signs of Allah in the night season and worship Him, who believe in Allah and the last day, and command that which is just and forbid that which is unjust, and zealously strive to excel in good works; these are the righteous. These shall not be

denied the reward of the good which they shall do, for Allah knoweth the pious¹."

This persecution, from its inception to its termination was utterly opposed to the tenets of Islam, and to the express command in that holiest of holy books, the Qur'ân "Let there be no compulsion in Religion." (Surah II Al-Baqr.)

The Khalîfah Hârûn Al-Wâthiq died in 232 A.H. (847 A.D.). He was succeeded by his brother Jaa'far, who assumed the title of Al-Mutawakkil ("He who places his reliance upon Allah"). In the beginning of his reign Ibn-Abî-Duwâd lost the use of his right side through a paralytic stroke in consequence whereof, Al-Mutawakkil conferred the place of Qâdî-al-Qudât on Muhammad, his son, who was afterwards, in the year 236 A.H. (850. A.D.) replaced as Inspector of Grievances (a judge like the Qâdî, but possessing in addition executive power) by Yahyâ-ibn-al-Aqtham.

The Khalîfah al-Wâthiq had ordered that every one should rise on seeing the wazîr Muhammad-ibn-Abdul-Malik-az-Zayyât; and Ibn-Abû-Duwâd would stand up on seeing the wazîr, but then turn towards the Qiblah in order to say his prayers. Noticing this Ibn-az-Zayyât pronounced the following verses :—

"He takes the advantage, when me he sees,
To cease from sitting or bending of knees,
And forthwith stands up and then makes his pray'rs
And this doth because, 'gainst me, hate he bears;
From time he sees me, so long as it lasts,
Pious duties fulfils and keeps the fasts.
May such hatred from him never depart,
But ever stay to envenom his heart;
So fierce may it be that ne'er may it close
That standing or standing (*sic*) give no repose;
That sleep from his eyes, hence ever may flee,
His soul be consum'd, with hatred of me!"

Such uncomplimentary verses were not, however, the usual lot of Ibn-Abû-Duwâd, for his praises were frequently celebrated by a number of contemporary poets. 'Alî-ar-Razi relates this anecdote on the subject :—"I beheld the poet Abû-Tammam with Ibn-Abî-Duwâd to whom he was

(1) Surah III, *Alu'Imran*.

making a man recite for him a poem wherein were these words : —

“ The generosity of Ahmad-Ibn-Duwâd, which
he has shown to me,
Has caused all the afflictions of evil
Fortune to flee.

HARUN MUSTAFA LEON.

(To be continued.)

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

VIII. FINANCES.

(Continued from *Islamic Culture Vol. III No. 2 p. 297*).

IN 306/918 the Caliph farmed out the revenues of Egypt for 3 million *dînârs*¹. In the following year the Wazîr himself became the tenant farmer of the land-tax of Babylon, Khûzistân, Isfahân, and raised the price of wheat by collecting a good portion of the harvest in his granary. This greatly irritated the people and there was, in consequence, a riot at Baghdad with the usual concomitants: Friday service was suspended, pulpits were broken down, the two bridges were set fire to, prisons were thrown open and the house of the chief of the police plundered. The government punished some and let off others, and ordered the granaries of the Wazîr and his officers to be opened and the farming-contract to be cancelled. The Wazîr was, indeed, compelled to dismiss his officers but, despite his wish to be relieved of his office, the Caliph retained him². At least in Babylon, the farmer of the land-tax did not remain a private individual but became the official chief of the finances of the region farmed out to him³. There, within his jurisdiction, he appointed and dismissed the financial staff⁴. Besides him, the Government maintained certain controlling officials who kept the government informed when the farmer made too much⁵; and, in particular, watched to see that he met the expenses he was in duty bound to meet. Ordinarily, in the region farmed by him, it was the farmer's duty to look after the maintenance and preservation of canals and bridges; to see to the seed-corn and public peace⁶. Small farmings, like those of alms-tax,

(1) In the 3rd/9th century Ahmad ibn Tûlûn paid a tribute of millions (Maqrizi, 1, 99). Along with the farm rents a number of presents had to be made: presents to the Caliph, to his mother and aunts, to his marshal, to his chamberlain and his wife, and to other clerks (Wuz, 321). (2) *Arib* 85 Hamadânî, Paris, fol. 186 b; Ibn al-Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 18a. (3) *Arib*, 56. (4) Hamadânî, 186 b. (5) Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 82. (6) Wuz, 34.

were entrusted as minor offices to a merchant or a land-owner, if a Muslim, but very unwillingly to a soldier because "calling them to account easily leads to rebellion" as was stated by a wazîr of the beginning of the century¹.

Most of the princes of the empire were formally regarded as farmers of their estates not, as in the German Roman Empire, as fief-holders. On the way to the throne they first illegally occupied towns and provinces and then fought with the troops of the Caliphs in order to be ultimately recognized as rulers in consideration of farm-rent. Such enforced contracts of farming were far worse than anything else for the Government. Thus in 296/909 Yûsuf ibn Abissagh undertook to farm for 120,000 dînârs the northern Provinces of the Empire (Armenia and Adherbaijân) which had fallen under the Samanid sway. The farm rent was perhaps but a tenth of the actual revenue which the Provinces yielded a hundred years before². In 322/934 the Buwayyid 'Imâd-ud-Dawlah conquered the province of Fars, asked for its lease from the Caliph and offered a million dirhams rent; whereas, for twenty years from 299/911, it had yielded an annual revenue of 18 million dirhams only from fiefs and land-tax³. 'Omân, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century paid in 80,000 dînârs as farm-rent; whereas, a hundred years before, when under direct government administration, it brought in a revenue of 300,000 dînârs⁴.

In the realization of taxes peremptory methods were very ancient; indeed, they were necessary. The administrator of Baduraya⁵ wrote to the wazîr, 'Alî ibn 'Isa⁶, at the beginning of the 4th/10th century: "People there are thick-skinned. Neither prison nor chain affrights them. He must, in the circumstances, have a free hand in dealing with them and in realizing the dues." The wazîr, however, decided that they might be imprisoned for non-payment, but disallowed all other methods of exaction, notably torture⁷. This decision accords with the principle which, at the time of Hârûn al-Rashîd forbade scourging, chaining, suspending men of heavy weight on one arm, for non-payment of taxes⁸. And this prohibition was carried

(1) Wuz, 71. (2) Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 77; Kremer, *Einnahmebudget* 299. (3) Misk, V, 381. (4) Von Kremer, *Einnahmebudget* and Muq. 105. (5) It formed part of the district of Baghdad. (6) [See Bowen's *Life and Times of 'Alî Ibn 'Isa* just published, a work of stupendous scholarship. Tr.] (7) Wuz, 346. (8) *Kit. al-Khiraj*, 62.

into effect under this Caliph. "Until 184/800 the land owners were tortured for the realization of taxes. This practice was done away with under orders of Hârûn¹."

In 187/803 they appointed one as director of taxes in Egypt who promised to collect taxes without recourse to "baton or club²".

But already about 200/815 Dionysius of Tellmachre describes the tax-gatherers of Mesopotamia as violent, merciless, godless folk from Babylon, Basra, Aqula, worse than snakes, who assault, imprison and suspend men of heavy weight on one arm, which almost kills them³

At the end of the 3rd/9th century Ibn-al-mu'taz celebrates the assumption of office of the hateful Wazîr Ibn Bulbul and describes the unmerciful methods of the tax-gatherers under him :—

"How many, oh how many a noble, honourable chivalrous man have we not seen dragged by the bailiff into prison or into the tax-gatherer's den !

"How to the heat of the burning sun were they exposed until their head became a boiling vessel !

"Round the hand the hempen chord they tied, cutting the wrist through and through. And like a tankard they suspended him on the wall-hook.

"And they beat him on the head as though it was a drum, looking at him with knavish fiendish joy.

"When from the burning sun relief he sought, a tax-gatherer met his entreaties with a kick and a warder poured hot oil on his head.

"When too long and unendurable became the pain, spoke he : Grant me time to seek a loan or sell a piece of land ! Allow me five days' time—Allow this favour unto me !

"But they oppressed him more and more and allowed him four days' time (admonishing him) that no further time will, in any event, be allowed.

"Lo ! the wicked helpers came to him and lent money at an interest of one thousand per cent. and made him write or swear to a deed of sale.

"And, thus, by payment, he secures his freedom never wishing to come anywhere in its neighbourhood again.

(1) Ya'qûbi, II, 501.

(2) Kindi, ed. Guest, 140.

(3) Ed. Chabot, 152.

"Then the bailiffs come to him and importune him for good service done.

"And if he refuse, they take his turban away and scratch him on his neck and skull¹."

For the realization of Government dues torture was still more violent. The most approved methods were heavy iron-chains round the feet, blows and lifting the delinquent by one hand. Thus proceeded the Caliph Al-Qâdir against the mother of his predecessor until she gave up her money, sold her properties and even broke up her pious endowments. To the Qadhi, who had to verify her signature, she appeared "a pale, old woman with traces of heavy grief. We could not be happy, says he, the whole day long thinking of the vicissitudes of fate²." Moreover, in the course of the tormenting enquiry they pressed a pointed reed under the nails³ and beat the victim with a club on the head⁴. An eye witness describes a victim out of a prison: "He bled on account of the chains, had a dirty coat and long hair and shook from nervous prostration⁵. To aggravate the pain a woollen coat, soaked with nafta or urine, was put upon the victim⁶. But when in 325/936 the Turkish Condottiere Bejkem placed burning charcoal on the body of those from whom he sought to extort money it was pointed out to him that so vicious a practice, which he had learnt from Mardawîgh, was ill-suited to Baghdad, the House of the Caliph⁷. The remonstrance succeeded and he desisted from that practice⁸. But these painful practices were felt to be godless; and a story, coming from the 4th/10th century, proves it: "I was with Ibn al-Furât, during his first term of wizârat (296-299/908-911). He was working, suddenly he lifted his head, put down the document from his hand and said: I need a man who believes neither in God nor in the Day of Judgment but who will implicitly obey me. I wish to use him for a very important work. Should he

(1) *Diwan*, 1, 136 ff; ZDMG, 40 41. The word *Gharra*. From this word is derived the Spanish *garrucha* which according to Lea constituted the chief torture of the Spanish Inquisition. This method of extortion was carried out by a particular class of officials called the "Urgers" whom the victim had to pay himself. In one case a victim had to deal with three of these officials and had to pay each 2 dinârs per day. Wuz, 233.

(2) Amedrôz, Wuz. 45 (Eng. notes 3) (3) Ahmad ibn Yahyâ, ed. Arnold, p. 52 (4) Misk, V, 230. (5) Wuz, 8 ff. (6) Wuz, 300. (7) They said "Here was Baghdad, the House of the Caliph, and not Rai or Isfahan". (8) Misk, V, 570.

carry out my command I shall handsomely reward him. At this those present picked up their ears. And lo ! a man sprang to his feet—it was Abû Mansûr the brother of the chamberlain of the wazîr and spoke : Such an one am I, O Wazîr ! and questioned what he wished done. I shall do what you wish and more so still. What pay do you want ? 120 dînârs a month. Give him double the amount. Anything else ? Everything asked for was granted. Then said the wazîr : Here, take my written order to the tax-office, hand it over to the officer in charge and ask of him the statement of the arrears of Ibn al-Hajjâj's account. Then call upon him to pay the amount and torture him until the whole amount is paid up. Show no mercy and allow no respite. The man left with 30 guards." The narrator of this story said to himself : " I too will go to the tax-office and watch the course of events. I reached the office " says he, " just as Abû Mansûr was handing over the order of the wazîr to one of the two superintendents and was asking him for the statement of the moneys due from Ibn al-Hajjâj. The Superintendent rejoined : a million dirhams in a round sum. But Abû Mansûr demanded a full statement of all claims against him. Then he sent for Ibn al-Hajjâj, abused and insulted him ; whereas the former did his best to please and placate him. But all this was unavailing. He was ordered to be stripped and beaten. Ibn al-Hajjâj only said : May God forgive you ! Then Abû Mansûr ordered a huge stake to be put up. A pulley, with a rope, was affixed to it and to the pulley was the hand of Ibn al-Hajjâj tied. And thus was he lifted on to the stake ; Abu Mansûr yelling all the time : The money, the money ! The suspended Ibn al-Hajjâj begged to be brought down to discuss with the officers the amount they wanted from him. But deaf was Abû Mansûr to his supplications. He sat by the stake, grew more and more fierce, and was anxious for his conduct to be reported to the wazîr. When tired of this treatment, he told those who held the cord to " let the son of the whore down " hoping that they would not do so. But they did let him down. He was a stout, well-built man. He fell upon Abû Mansûr and broke his neck. Abû Mansûr fell flat on his face and Ibn al-Hajjâj fainted away. The former expired on his way to the house and the latter was taken into custody, thus escaping death. On his wife paying 100,000 dînârs he was released. The people wondered at the words of Ibn al-Furât : I want a man who neither believes in God

nor in the Day of Judgment¹ but obeys me. Only under the misrule of Bakhtiyâr in Baghdad, the worst period of the century, torture unto death was used in extorting money²."

It is nauseating to see how high officials bid for the surrender of some unfortunate wretch by the ruler; how each of them guaranteed a higher and yet higher sum if the victim were put in his power in the hope of squeezing out larger and yet larger sums³ from him. This villainous practice was particularly rife under Bakhtiyâr but it would be an error to set it down as a general practice.

NOTE.

[From Sachau's tr. of Al-Birûnî's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*].

p. 12. "People distinguish two kinds of years—the Solar year and the Lunar year.

The Solar Year—According to the statement of Theon, in his Canon, the people of Constantinople, and of Alexandria, and the other Greeks, the Syrians and Chaldaeans, the Egyptians of our time, and those who have adopted the year of Almu'ta-did-billah, all use the solar year, which consists of nearly $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. They reckon their year as 365 days, and add the quarters of a day in every fourth year as one complete day, when it has summed up thereto. This year they call an intercalary year, because the quarters are intercalated therein. The ancient Egyptians followed the same practice, but with this difference, that they neglected the quarters of a day till they had summed up to the number of days of one complete year, which took place in 1,460 years; then they intercalated one year, and agreed with the people of Alexandria and Constantinople as to the beginning of the year. So Theon Alexandrinus relates.

The Persians followed the same rule as long as their empire lasted but they treated it differently. For they reckoned their year as 365 days, and neglected the following fractions until the day-quarters had summed up in the course of 120 years to the number of days of one complete month, and until the fifth parts of an hour, which, according to their opinion, follow the fourth parts of a day (i.e., they give the solar year the length of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days and $1/6$ hour), had summed up to one day; then they added the complete month to the year in each 116th year. This was done for a reason which I shall explain hereafter.

The example of the Persians was followed by the ancient inhabitants of Khwârizm and Sogdiana, and by all who had the same religion as the Persians, who were subject to them, and were considered as their kinsmen, during the time when their empire flourished.

I have heard that the Peshdadian kings of the Persians, those who ruled over the entire world, reckoned the year as 360 days, and each month as 30 days, without any addition and subtraction; that they

(1) Wuz, 121 ff. (2) Misk, VI, 453 ff. (3) Wuz, 95. Abû'l Faragh paid 9 million dirhams to the wazîr Abû'l-Fadl for tax-farming (Misk, VI, 334). Later the wazîr himself took over the tax-farming for 7 million dirhams. Misk, VI, 342. Also Misk, VI, 409, 453.

intercalated one month in every sixth year, which they called "intercalary month," and two months in every 120th year; the one on account of the five days (the *Epagomenæ*) the other on account of the quarter of a day; that they held this year in high honour, and called it the "blessed year", and that, in it, they occupied themselves with the affairs of divine worship and matters of public interest.

The character of the system of the ancient Egyptians, according to what *Almagest* relates regarding the years on which its own system of computation was based, and of the systems of the Persians in Islam, and the people of Khwârizm and Sogdiana, is their aversion to the fractions, *i.e.*, the $\frac{1}{4}$ day and what follows it, and their neglecting them altogether.

The Luni-Solar year—The Hebrews, Jews and all the Israelites, the Sabians and Harranians, used an intermediate system. They derived their year from the revolution of the sun, and its months from the revolution of the moon—with this view, that their feast and fast days might be regulated by lunar computation, and at the same time keep their places within the year. Therefore they intercalated 7 months in 19 lunar years, as I shall explain hereafter in the derivation of their cycles and the different kinds of their years.

The Christians agreed with them in the mode of the computation of their fasting and of some of their festivals, the cardinal point in all this being the Passover of the Jews; but they differed from them in the use of the months, wherein they followed the system of the Greeks and, Syrians.

In a similar way the heathen Arabs proceeded, observing the difference between their year and the solar year, which is 10 days 21½ hours, to speak roughly, and adding it to the year as one month as soon as it completed the number of days of a month. They, however, reckoned this difference as 10 days and 20 hours. This business was administered by the *Nasa'a* (the intercalators) of the tribe of *Kinâna*, known as the *Kalamis*, a plural form of *Kalammas*, which signifies a full-flowing sea. These were *Abû Thumâma* and his ancestors:

I. *Abu Thumâma Junâda ben*

'Aûf ben
'Umayya ben
Kala' ben

V. 'Abdâd ben
Kala' ben

VII. *Hudhaifa*

They were all of them intercalators. The first of them who held this office was—

VII. *Hudhaifa ben*

'Abd ben
Fukaim ben

X. 'Adiyy ben
'Amir ben
Thalaba ben
Malik ben

XIV. *Kinâna.*

The last of them, who held it, was Abû-Thumâma. The poet, who celebrates them, describes him in the following terms :—

“ There is Fukaim ! He was called Al-Kalammas,
And he was one of the founders of their religion,
His word being obeyed, he being recognised as a chieftain.”
And another poet says :

“ (He was) famous among the forerunners of Kinâna,
A celebrated man, of exalted rank.
In this way he spent his time.”

Another poet says :

“ The difference between the revolution of the sun and new-moon
He adds together and sums it up,
Till it makes out a complete month.”

He (*i.e.*, Hudhaifa) had taken this system of intercalation from the Jews nearly 200 years before Islam ; the Jews, however, intercalated 9 months in 24 lunar years. In consequence their months were fixed, and came always in at their proper times, wandering in a uniform course through the year without retrograding and without advancing. This state of things remained till the Prophet made his Farewell Pilgrimage, and the following verse was revealed to him : “ *Intercalation is only an increase of infidelity, by which the infidels lead astray (people), admitting it one year and prohibiting it in another* ” (Sûrah ix, 37). The Prophet delivered an address to the people, and said : “ Time has come round as it was on the day of God’s creating the heavens and the earth.” and, continuing, he recited to them the (just mentioned) verse of the Qor’an on the prohibition of the Nasi, *i.e.*, intercalation. Ever since they have neglected intercalation, so that their months have receded from their original places, and the names of the months are no longer in conformity with their original meanings.”

Reform of the Calendar by the Khalif Almu’tadid—Lastly the era of Ahmad ben Talha Almu’tadid-billah the Khalif was based upon Greek years and Persian months ; however, with this difference, that in every fourth year one day was intercalated. The following is the origin of this era, as reported by Abû-Bakr Alsûli in his *Kitab-al-auraq*, and by Hamza ben Albasan Al-Isfahânî in his book on famous poems, relating to Naurûz and Mihrjân. Almutawakkil, while wandering about over one of his hunting-grounds, observed corn that had not yet ripened, and not yet attained its proper time for being reaped. So he said : “ Ubaid-allah ben Yahya has asked my permission for levying the taxes, whilst I observe that the corn is still green. From what then are people to pay their taxes ? ” Thereupon he was informed, that this, in fact, had done a great deal of harm to the people, so that they were compelled to borrow and to incur debts, and even to emigrate from their homes ; that they had many complaints and wrongs to recount. Then the Khalif said : “ Has this arisen lately during my reign, or has it always been so ? ” And people answered : “ No. This is going on according to the regulations established by the Persian kings for the levying of the taxes at the time of Naurûz. In this their example has been followed by the kings of the Arabs.” Then the Khalif ordered the Maubadh to be brought before him and said to him : “ This has been the subject of much research on my part, and I cannot find that I violate the regulations of the Persians. How, then, did they levy the taxes from their subjects—considering the beneficence and good will which they observed towards them ? And why did they allow the taxes to be levied at a time like this, when the fruit and corn are not yet ripe ? ” To this the

Maubadh replied : "Although they always levied the taxes at Naurûz, this never happened except at the time when the corn was ripe." The Khalif asked : " And how was that ? " Now the Maubadh explained to him the nature of their years, their different lengths, and their need of intercalation. Then he proceeded to relate, that the Persians used to intercalate the years ; but when Islam had been established, intercalation was abolished ; and that did much harm to the people. The landholders assembled at the time of Hishâm ben 'Adbalmalik and called on Khâlid Alkasri ; they explained to him the subject, and asked him to postpone Naurûz by a month. Khâlid declined to do so, but reported on the subject to Hishâm, who said : " I am afraid, that to this subject may be applied the word of God : " Intercalation is only an increase of heathenism " (Sura ix. 37). Afterwards at the time of Al-rashid the landholders assembled again and called on Yahyâ ben Khâlid ben Barmak, asking him to postpone Naurûz by about two months. Now, Yahyâ had the intention to do so, but then his enemies began to speak of the subject, and said : " He is partial to Zoroastrianism." Thereupon he dropped the subject, and the matter remained as it was before.

Now Almutawakkil ordered Ibrâhîm ben Al-'Abbâs Alsûlî to be brought before him, and told him, that in accordance with what the Maubadh had related of Naurûz, he should compute the days, and compose a fixed canon (Calendar), that he should compose a paper on the postponement of Naurûz, which was to be sent by order of the Khalif to all the provinces of the empire. It was determined to postpone Naurûz till the 17th of Hazîrân. Alsûlî did as he was ordered, and the letters arrived in the provinces in Muharram A.H. 243. The poet, Albuhturî has composed a Kasida on the subject in praise of Almutawakkil, where he says :—

" The day of Naurûz has returned to that time, on
which it was fixed by Ardashîr.

Thou hast transferred Naurûz to its original
condition, whilst before thee it was
wandering about, circulating.

Now thou has levied the taxes at Naurûz, and that
was a memorable benefit to the people.

They bring thee praise and thanks, and thou bringest
them justice and a present well deserving of thanks."

However, Almutawakkil was killed, and his plan was not carried out, until Almu'tadid ascended the throne of the Khalifate, delivered the provinces of the empire from their usurpers, and gained sufficient leisure to study the affairs of his subjects. He attributed the greatest importance to intercalation and to the carrying out of this measure. He followed the method of Almutawakkil regarding the postponement of Naurûz ; however he treated the subject differently, inasmuch as Almutawakkil had made the basis of his computation the interval between his year (*i.e.*, that year, in which he then happened to live), and the beginning of the reign of Yazdajird, whilst Almu'tadid took the interval between his year and that year in which the Persian empire perished by the death of Yazdajird, because he—or those who did the work for him—held this opinion, that since that time intercalation had been neglected. This interval he found to be 243 years and 60 days a fraction, arising from the day-quarters (exceeding the 365 days of the Solar year). These 60 days he added at Naurûz of his year, and put

Naurûz at the end of them, which fell upon a Wednesday, the 1st Khurdâdh-Mâh of that year, coinciding with 11th of Hazîrân. Thereupon he fixed Naurûz in the Greek months for this purpose, that the months of his year should be intercalated at the same time when the Greeks intercalate their years. The man who was entrusted with carrying out his orders, was his Wazîr Abû-alkâsim 'Ubaid-allah ben Sulaimân ben Wabb. To this subject the following verses of the astronomer Ali ben Yahyâ refer :—

“ O thou restorer of the untarnished glory, renovator
of the shattered empire !

“ Who hast again established among us the pillar of
religion, after it had been tottering !

“ Thou has surpassed all the kings like the foremost
horse in a race.

“ How blessed is that Naurûz, when thou hast earned thanks
besides the reward (due to thee for it in heaven) !

“ By postponing Naurûz thou hast justly made precede, what
they had postponed. ”

On the same subject 'Ali ben Yahyâ says :—

“ The day of thy Naurûz is one and the same day, not liable
to moving backward,

“ Always coinciding with the 11th of Hazîrân. ”

Now, although in bringing about this measure much ingenuity has been displayed, Naurûz has not thereby returned to that place which it occupied at the time when intercalation was still practised in the Persian empire. For the Persians had already begun to neglect their intercalation nearly seventy years before the death of Yazdajird. Because at the time of Yazdajird ben Shapur they had intercalated into their year two months, one of them as the necessary compensation for that space of time, by which the year had moved backward (it being too short). The five Epagomena they put as a mark at the end of this intercalary month, and the turn had just come to Abân-Mâh, as we shall explain hereafter. The second month they intercalated with regard to the future, that no other intercalation might be needed for a long period.

Now, if you subtract from the sum of the years between Yazdajird ben Shâpûr and Yazdajird ben Shahryâr 120 years, you get a remainder of nearly—but not exactly—70 years ; there is much uncertainty and confusion in the Persian chronology. The Portio Intercalanda of these 70 years would amount to nearly 17 days. Therefore it would have been necessary, if we calculate without mathematical accuracy, to postpone Naurûz not 60, but 77 days, in order that it might coincide with the 28th of Hazîrân. The man who worked out this reform was of opinion that the Persian method of intercalation was similar to the Greek method. Therefore he computed the days since the extinction of their empire. Whilst in reality the matter is a different one, as we have already explained, and shall more fully explain hereafter.

This is the last of those eras that have become celebrated. But perhaps some other nations, whose countries are far distant from ours, have eras of their own, which have not been handed down to posterity, of such eras as are now obsolete. For instance, the Persians in the time of Zoroastrianism used to date successively by the years of the reign of each of their kings. When a king died, they dropped his era, and adopted that of his successor.”

[From Aghnides' *Intro. to Moh. Law.* New York, 1916.]

pp. 425-433.—There are three distinct classes of revenue (*māl*) which accrue to the Moslem community or the Moslem state as distinct from the public treasury (*bayt-al-māl*). They are: (1) the *sadaqah* or *zakāt* revenue (*amwāl al-sadaqāt*), such as the *zakāt* and tithe; (2) the booty revenue (*ghanimah*), namely, the spoils of war; (3) the *fā'y* revenue, such as the *jizyah* and the *kharaj*. The first applies to revenue derived from Moslems, the other two apply to revenue taken from infidels. *Ghanimah* means property taken from the infidels by assault ('*anwat*) with arms in hand, whereas *fa'y* is property given by the infidels "spontaneously ('*afwa*) without fighting and without making horses and riders run."

These three classes of revenue differ from one another as follows: The *sadaqah* revenue differs from the other two classes in four respects:

(1) The *sadaqah* is received from the Moslems for their purification; the others are taken from the infidels for revenge.

(2) The destination of the *sadaqah* has been entirely determined by special provision (*nass*), whereas that of the others is partly determined by the Imām's *ijtihad*.

(3) In the case of *sadaqah*, the taxpayers may themselves pay it directly to the beneficiaries, while this is not allowed in the case of the others.

(4) The destination of the *sadaqah* is different from that of the others.

As regards the *ghanimah* and *fa'y* revenues, they agree and differ in two points respectively:

(1) The points of agreement: Both are taken from infidels, and one-fifth of both is disbursed alike.

(2) The points of difference: *ghanimah* is taken by force of arms (*qahra*), whereas *fa'y* is taken peacefully ('*afwa*), and secondly, the beneficiaries of the four-fifths of the *ghanimah* are different from the beneficiaries of the four-fifths of the *fa'y*.

Of the above three classes of revenue which may accrue to the Moslem community or the State, namely, the *sadaqah*, booty, and *fa'y* revenues, the (four-fifths of) *fa'y* revenue is a part of the public treasury because its disposition is made according to the personal judgment of the Imām. On the contrary, the (four-fifths of) booty revenue is not

(1) Mawardi, p. 217; *Umm*, vol. iv., p. 63.

(2) *Fā'y* literally means "that which came back", in this instance, as al-Shafi'i (*Muzani*, vol. iii., p. 183) remarks, "that which God returned to His people (without fighting on their part) from those who opposed His religion," the theory implied being that property taken as spoils, as a matter of law, belongs to the Moslems. (Cf. Berchem, p. 9). According to some, *fā'y* is spoils taken without difficulty (*Al-Râghib*). According to Abū 'Ubayd, it is property taken from the enemy after the cessation of hostilities, such property belonging to all the Moslems. According to the *Maḥfatih* (p. 58), it is the revenue derived from a country conquered by force. According to 'Alī Ibn 'Isa, *fā'y* is more general than *ghanimah* (spoils), applying to everything accruing to the Moslems from the enemy (*Mughrib*, vol. ii., p. 80). Finally, according to the *Misbah*, it is the *kharaj* and the spoils.

(3) According to Ibn Rushd, B. (p. 325), "through terror and fear."

(4) Cf. Yahyā, p. 3.

(5) Mawardi, p. 217; cf. *Umm*, vol. iv., p. 64.

(6) The above is according to the Shafi'ites. The Hanafite and Malikiite views somewhat differ.

(7) Mawardi, p. 367.

a part of the treasury—and on this point the Hanifite and Malikite views are at one,—for the beneficiaries of the booty revenue have been prescribed by express revealed provision (*nass*), and are definite persons, namely, the army who fought the battle, and the Imâm may not dispose of the booty in any other way.

As regards the fifth part of the fâ'y revenue, and the State's part of one-fifth of the booty revenue, each consists of three distinct parts : (a) part of it, the Prophet's share, belongs to the treasury, since it is disposed of by the imâm of the community for the time being according to his own judgment ; (b) part of it, namely, the share of the Prophet's relations (*dhawu al-qurba*) does not belong to the treasury, since its beneficiaries are known, and the Imâm has no voice in its disposition ; (c) finally, a third part is kept in the treasury as a trust fund on account of the various purposes for which it is destined. This last part consists of the shares set aside for orphans, the indigent, and way-farers. They receive their shares, if they are present ; otherwise their shares are kept for them.

Applying the Shafi'ite conception of the public treasury to the Malikite view¹, the entire fâ'y, and the State's part of one-fifth of the booty, revenue would be assets of the public treasury, for, according to the Malikites, both are disposed of by the Imâm according to his own proper judgment. Finally, applying the same test to the Hanifite views, the entire fâ'y revenue would be distinctly an asset of the public treasury. On the other hand the State's part of one-fifth of the booty revenue would be outside of the public treasury, to the extent that it must be disbursed to definite classes of people, such as orphans ; though, in so far as it may be disbursed by the Imâm to any one of those classes exclusively, it might properly be classed as an asset of the public treasury.

Finally, the sadaqah revenue is of two kinds : the sadaqah revenue levied on non-apparent property, which does not form a part of the treasury's income, since the property owners may themselves disburse their zakât dues directly to the beneficiaries, such as the poor, without resorting to the intermediary of the public collectors ; secondly, the sadaqah revenue derived from apparent property ; namely, the tithe and the zakât collected from cattle. This second kind of sadaqah revenue, according to al-Shafi'i, is not a part of the treasury, because the beneficiaries are known and the funds may not be disposed of in any other way. Al-Shafi'i, however, holds two different views concerning the lawfulness of keeping this revenue in the treasury as a trust when it is not possible, for some reason or other, to disburse it to its beneficiaries. His earlier opinion was that such funds should be kept in the treasury as a trust until the appearance of the rightful claimants. Later, Al-Shafi'i abandoned this opinion in favour of his later opinion which is that the treasury may not keep these funds in its vaults as a matter of right, although they may be entrusted to the treasury for safekeeping.

Applying the Shafite conception of the public treasury to the Hanifite views concerning the disbursement of zakât revenue from apparent property, we may say that to the extent that such revenue must be disbursed to certain specified classes of people it is not a part of the public treasury, but in so far as the Imâm may disburse it to any one

(1) Kharashi, p. 427.

or more of those classes exclusively, and in view of the comprehensive and loose meaning which has been given to those classes, such revenue may properly be said to be a part of the public treasury. The zakât from non-apparent property, however, is in no way a part of the public treasury. What is true of the Hanîfites as regards zakât from apparent property is ever more true of the Malikites, for, according to the latter, the Imâm might disburse the entire sadaqah revenue to public functionaries exclusively, even if they should be rich. Moreover, as we have already seen, the Malikites practically assimilated the zakât of non-apparent property to that of apparent property by requiring the payment of the former to the State-officials¹.

A detailed description of the various items of revenue, classed by the three schools under one or the other of the three classes of revenue above mentioned, follows :—

(1) The sadaqah or zakât revenue designated in this dissertation under the expression of zakât taxes, according to the Hanîfites² consists of the zakât of non-apparent property disbursed to the zakât beneficiaries directly by the owners, namely, the zakât of gold and silver and the zakât of articles of trade ; as well as the zakât of apparent property collected and disbursed by the State, as the zakât of animals, the zakât collected by the 'ashirs from apparent and non-apparent property of Moslems only, and the zakât of produce or tithe. According to the Shafi'ites³, the tax of one-fifth levied on treasure-trove (rikâz) and the tax collected on mines (ma'dan) also form a part of zakât revenue. Al-Shafi'i, in this connection, remarks that whatever is due on a Moslem's property in virtue of a prescription found in the Koran, or the sunnah, or an ijmâ' of Moslem laymen ('Awâmm al-Muslimîn, that is, all Moslems, laymen or mujtahids), " its meaning is one, namely, it is zakât and zakât is sadaqah, and its disbursement is always one and the same as God divided the sadaqahs." According to the Malikites, on the other hand, taxes levied on mines and treasure-trove are a part of sadaqah revenue only in so far as they are levied at the regular zakât rate of one-fortieth⁴.

(2) Booty (ghanîmah) revenue consists of spoils of war, mines, and treasure-trove. One-fifth of the booty revenue is levied by the State as a tax. According to the Shafi'ites, booty revenue consists of the spoils of war alone. The tax levied on mines and treasure-trove is considered by them as zakât. Finally, according to the Malikites, the tax levied on mines and treasure-trove is considered booty revenue only if levied under the name of one-fifth (khums) ⁵. This tax applies to the treasure-trove, and, in mines, to the gold or silver ingots called *nadrat*, provided the unearthing of neither has involved great expense or labor. In the latter case, treasure-trove, as well as *nadrat*, are subject to zakât.

(3) The fâ'y revenue consists of the kharaj, the jizyah, the dresses (hullah) paid by the people of Najrân, the double rate of zakât paid by the tribe of Taghlib, the tolls collected by the 'ashirs from the dhimmi and harbi traders, and the estates of dhimmis who left no will and no

(1) Adawi, p. 120.

(2) *Majma'*, p. 520 ; Kasani, p. 68 ; *Alamgiriyyah*, p. 268 ; *Bahr*, v. p. 128.

(3) *Umm*, p. 71 ; *Wajiz*, pp. 96, 97 ; *Minhaj*, pp. 247, 248.

(4) Kharashi, pp. 111, 113, 427.

(5) Because the rate of one-fifth is the rate prescribed for the spoils of war, the Malikites, unlike the Shafi'ites, consider every revenue collected on the basis of such a rate as identical with the revenue derived from the spoils of war.

heirs, or only a husband or wife¹, also² the payment for truce (hudnah), property taken from a country whose population has fled, property given to the Moslems by the harbis as a gift, property belonging to apostates (Murtadd), etc. The Malikites merge this and the preceding class into one single class so far as disbursement is concerned³.

(4) According to the Hanifites, there is a fourth class of revenue consisting of property lost and found (luqatah), and the estates (tarakah) left by Moslems⁴, who leave no heirs, or leave only a husband or wife⁵.

As the appropriation of the first three classes owing to their importance will be discussed separately, only the expenditure of the fourth class will be explained here. The revenue from this source is appropriated for the support of sick people who are poor, and for the buying of medicines, for the funeral expenses of the dead who leave no estates, for the support of foundlings (laqîl), for compensation for crimes committed by them, for the support of persons who are unable to earn a living and who do not have a relation on whom their support legally rests, and for similar purposes⁶.

It is the duty of the Imâm to keep each of the above-mentioned four classes of revenue apart from the others in separate treasuries because each has certain peculiarities of its own. If no property is available in one of them, the Imâm may borrow funds on its account from the others. When he does so : if for instance, he borrows money on account of the Kharaj treasury from the Zakat treasury ; he must return the amount borrowed from the latter when the kharaj is collected, unless the fighters who are beneficiaries of the kharaj are poor ; in the latter case the fighters by being poor have a share also in the proceeds of zakât, and therefore the amount taken from the treasury of zakât is not really a loan. If, on the other hand, the Imâm borrows money on behalf of the zakât account from that of the kharaj and distributes it to the poor, it does not become a loan on the charge of the poor, because, the kharaj being treated like (lahû hukm al-fâ'y) the fâ'y and the ghanimah, which are disbursed to provide for the needs of the Moslems, the poor have a share in them, and if they do not actually receive a share from them, it is only because the proceeds of the zakât revenue are sufficient for their needs⁷.

According to al-Mawardî⁸, if the treasury has to meet two claims⁹, while there are sufficient funds for only one of them, that claim is settled first which is a debt (dayn) upon the treasury. If the funds are not sufficient for either claim, then it is allowed to the official in charge to borrow money on account of the treasury in order to settle the debts, if he fears

(1) *Bahr*, vol. v, p. 127 ; but cf. *Fathal-Mu'in*, vol. ii., p. 456 ; *Majma*, p. 520 ; Kharashi p. 427. On wills of dhimmis, see *Majma*, vol. ii, pp. 564-5 ; *al-Mu'in*, vol. iii, p. 456 ; *Wajiz*, p. 269 ; Kharashi, pp. 444-5.

(2) *Umm*, vol. ic. p. 77 ; *Wajiz*, p. 288.

(3) Kharashi, p. 427.

(4) *Bahr*, vol. v, p. 127 ; but cf. *Fathal-Mu'in*, vol. ii, p. 456 ; also Kasâni, p. 68 ; *Alamgiriyyah*, p. 268 ; *Majma*, p. 520.

(5) When the husband or the wife is the only heir, he or she is entitled to the prescribed share (faridah) only, the rest devolving to the State. It would, however, be a different matter if the only heir were another relative, say a sister for she being of the class of heirs called sâhib al-radd, (literally, one to whom the balance is turned over), receives also the balance after the deduction of her prescribed share.

(6) *Majma*, p. 520 ; Kasâni, p. 68 ; *Alamgiriyyah*, p. 268.

(7) *Alamgiriyyah*, p. 268 ; *Mabsut*, part iii, p. 17 ; cf. p. 18,

(8) p. 369.

(9) Of course, here it is a question of claims which have to be paid out of the same class of revenue.

that a contrary policy would result in evils ; but he may not borrow money to settle claims which are in the nature of donations (*irtifâq*). When he borrows money, his successor is obliged to pay back the loans as soon as the treasury has sufficient funds. If, on the contrary, the funds of the treasury are more than sufficient for the settlement of the claims, opinion varies as to the manner in which the surplus should be disposed of. Abu Hanifah holds that the surplus must be laid aside in the treasury in order to meet future emergencies, but al-Shafi'i thinks that the surplus is not laid aside, because the meeting of future emergencies becomes an obligation only after the emergencies have occurred. A similar view is expressed in the '*Alamgiriyyah*', where it is stated that when there is any surplus left it is divided among the Moslems at large, and if the Imâm fails to do this, he suffers the evil consequences of his failure. It is the duty of the Imâm to disburse the revenues to their rightful claimants and not to deprive them of their rights. The Imâm and his assistants are not allowed to take from these revenues more than the needs of their families and themselves, and they are not allowed to hoard the revenues. It is recommended that the Imâm and the collector do not advance to themselves their salaries for the coming month, but that they take their salaries only for the current month.

The dhimmis have no share in the revenues of the treasury, except when the Imâm sees a dhimmi starving from hunger, in which case it is his duty to give him something from the treasury, because the dhimmi is residing in the Moslem State and the Imâm is under obligation (*'alayhi*) to keep him alive².

pp. 360-372—(1) The entire land of the Arabs, namely, the country extending from the borders of Syria and Kûfah to the farthest point of Yaman, or according to al-Karkhi, the districts of al-Hijjâz, Tihâmah, Yaman, Tâ'if, and Barriyah. The land of the Arabs has been considered as tithe-land, because the Prophet, and after him the four "righteous" Khalifs did not impose on it the kharaj, and because the payment of kharaj involves humiliation, and the lands of the Arabs do not deserve kharaj any more than their persons deserve slavery. In fact, the kharaj is imposed only on lands whose owners may persist in their unbelief, but the Arabs, if they are heathens, have only two alternatives to choose between, namely, Islam and the sword.

(2) As an exception, Basrah has been considered tithe-land owing to an *ijmâ'* of the Companions. Abû Yûsuf says that by analogy Basrah should be kharaj land because it is a part of kharaj country, but that analogy was abandoned in this case in consequence of the practice of the Companions who levied the tithe on the lands of Basrah³. The Shafi'ite view is to the same effect⁴.

According to Al-Mawardi this view as to the lands of Basrah being tithe-lands has been justified by the doctors of 'Irâq (*i.e.*, the Hanifites) who follow Abû Hanifah, on two different grounds : the first ground is that the water of the Tigris, which, according to Abû Hanifah, is kharaj water, diminishes at ebb time in the vicinity of Basrah and that the lands are irrigated at flow time only, that is, from sea water. Al-Mawardi remarks that this reasoning is false in view of the fact that the flow holds the sweet water back from the sea and prevents its mixing with the sea

(1) *Alamgiriyyah*, p. 268.

(2) *Alamgiriyyah*, p. 260 ; but cf. Al-Sarakhsi (*Mabsut*, Part iii, p. 19).

(3) Cf. Zyla'i, vol. iii., p. 272. (4) Cf. Mawardi, p. 310.

water, and that consequently the lands are irrigated from the water of the Tigris. The second ground is that the water of the Tigris and the Euphrates disappears in the Great Swamps (Batai'h) and loses its character of kharaj water since the Great Swamps are not kharaj rivers; consequently when the water reappears at Basrah, it is no longer kharaj water. Al-Mawardi, after remarking that this second reasoning is also false, adds that the grounds invoked by the Hanifites as justification for their view on the matter are only pretexts and that their view in reality is based on the *ijmâ'* of the Companions.

(3) All the lands whose owners became Moslems of their own accord and have been allowed to remain in possession of their lands.

(4) All the lands which were conquered by force (*'anwat*) and divided among the victorious Moslem army, or for that matter among any Moslems. This is because it is not fitting to begin with kharaj in taxing the land of a Moslem for the first time, and because the tithe is lighter than the kharaj, and includes besides an element of worship. According to al-Shafi'i such lands become booty of war (*ghanimah*) and, as such, they are divided among the victorious army who pay for them tithe, but never kharaj. According to Malik, however, these lands, by the very fact of conquest, become common property (*waqf*) of all the Moslems and pay kharaj as a rental (*kira*)¹. Abû Hanifah, on the contrary, gives the Khalif the option of dividing these lands among the army and levying the tithe, or of leaving them to their non-Moslem owners and collecting from them the kharaj.

(5) The habitations (*dar*) of Moslems which have been converted by their owners into gardens, provided they are irrigated with tithe-water². If they are watered alternately with tithe and kharaj water, they are still tithe lands.

(6) The waste lands (*mawât*) developed (*ihyâ*) for cultivation by Moslems with the Imâm's permission; according to Abû Yûsuf, if the lands are situated in a tithe district; but according to Muhammad Ibn al-Hasan, if the lands have been developed with tithe-water³.

According to the *Muhit*⁴ the principle just referred to with respect to waste lands developed for the first time applies also to lands previously developed and already subject to kharaj or tithe, namely, that if a kharaj land is cut off from its kharaj water and is watered with tithe water it becomes tithe land, and *vice versa*. The same view is expressed by al-Zayla'i⁵ as well as the *Durar*⁶, and the *Durr*⁷ except that they restrict this to the Moslem owners only, the non-Moslem owners always paying kharaj irrespective of the water they use. The *Fath*, however, restricts this to the case of waste lands first developed by Moslems⁸.

The contention of Abû Yûsuf is that when a piece of land is in a tithe district it legally becomes a dependency (*taba'*) of the district and pays tithe like the rest of the district, exactly as the immediate surroundings of the house are a dependency of the house, and like it, are exempt from taxation. Muhammad's ground is that it is not proper to begin with kharaj in taxing the land of a Moslem for the first time, except when the

(1) Mawardi, p. 254; Kharashî, pp. 426-7; Dardir, p. 200. See *infra*, under (4) of Kharaj lands.

(2) *Majma'*, p. 178.

(3) *Mabsut*, part iii, pp. 57-58. But cf. Mawardi, p. 810. (4) Jami, p. 828. (5) Vol. iii., p. 271. (6) p. 177. (7) p. 304. (8) *Fath*, vol. v. p. 280. According to al-Shafi'i (Mawardi, pp. 262-3, 310), the kind of tax levied on land depends on the kind of land, not of water, used, and therefore, contrary to what Abû Hanifah held, the owner of a tithe-land should be allowed to use kharaj water, and *vice versa*.

Moslem voluntarily incurs such treatment by developing his land with kharaj, rather than with tithe, water. Finally, the ground for the view expressed in the *Muhit* is that the tax levied on a land depends on its productivity and the latter on the kind of water used. However, in the case of the non-Moslem owner the water is disregarded, because the payment of tithe is an act of worship which only Moslems can perform. Therefore the non-Moslem owner perforce pays kharaj in either case.

According to Al-Mawardi waste land developed for cultivation is subject to tithe irrespective of the water used in its irrigation.

The kharaj lands, on the other hand, are the following : lengthwise between Hadithah and 'Abbadān, both on the Euphrates and in breadth between the streams 'Udhayb near Kūfah, and Hulwān. This territory was called Sawād, meaning black, because owing to its rich flora it appeared black from a distance. The Sawād is kharaj land because 'Omar in the presence of the Companions imposed on it the kharaj.

According to the Hanifites the Sawād was conquered by force and its lands were left in the ownership of their original owners who may therefore sell their lands to one another and in general exercise all the rights of ownership.

The Shafi'ites², while agreeing with the Hanifites that the Sawād was conquered by force, claim that subsequently the army was induced by proper compensation to relinquish its property rights in the lands of Sawād, which were thereupon made *waqf* for the benefit of all Moslems, and leased in perpetuity (*ijarah mu'abbadah*) to the former owners who thereby, being mere tenants, may not sell or inherit them³. Al-Shafi'i⁴ says that the question whether the Sawād was conquered by force of arms, or acquired through treaty, cannot be positively settled in view of the many contradictory hadiths bearing on the matter. However, he strongly inclines to believe certain hadiths according to which immediately after the conquest of the Sawād one-fourth of it was divided among one-fourth of the army who received the rentals for 3-4 years until the Khalif Omar by proper compensation obtained their consent to the return of the lands in order that they might be made *waqf* for the benefit of all Moslems. In refutation of Al-Shafi'i, al-Sarakhsi says the following : Al-Shafi'i said in his book : " I do not know just what to say concerning the Sawād of Kūfah, but I will make a guess which is near to knowledge ", but such a statement is contradictory and a sign of ignorance on the part of the person who made it : for how may a guess (*zann*) be called knowledge unless one of its two sides predominates on the basis of evidence. Moreover, the conquest of Sawād by force is too well-known to be a secret to anyone and there is no need to go to all this trouble, for al-Shafi'i now says : " 'Omar made the lands property of the Moslems and made the residents slaves, afterwards allowing them to work on the lands of the Moslems, and the *kharaj* and *jizyah*

(1) p. 310. (2) *Minhaj*, vol. iii., p. 269 ; *Wajiz*, vol. ii., p. 193 ; Mawardi, p. 302

(3) According to the Hanifiite Abu Bakr al-Rāzi as quoted by al-Zayla'i (vol. iii., p. 272), there are ten different reasons against the Shafi'ite fiction about the lands of Sawād being held by their cultivators merely on lease. The most important of these reasons are as follows : A lease implies offer and acceptance by the parties, and in this case they are absent ; had it been a case of lease, the Companions could not have bought any lands of the Sawād, as they have done ; it cannot be a case of lease, for the term and object of a lease must be known, furthermore such term may not be perpetual ; then, too, a lease would not lapse on conversion to Islam, but according to al-Shafi'i, the kharaj lapses on conversion.

(4) *Umm*, vol. iv, p. 193 ; *Muzani*, vol. v. p. 192.

which he imposed upon them is a kind of impost (*daribah*) exactly as the master arranges with his slave for an impost on his earnings and employs him", and again he says "He ('Omar) set them free as a favour and acquired the ownership of the lands, then he leased them to the (people of, Sawād) and the kharaj he imposed on them is a rental." However this is absurd, for their jizyah is too well-known to be a secret and in fact they have been accustomed to sell these lands to one another and inherit them from one another from that time to this, and so we know that the correct view is that of our own doctors, namely, that he ('Omar) set them free as a favour and made them a present of their lands and he imposed on them the jizyah for their heads and the kharaj for their lands¹.

According to the Malikites Sawād was conquered by force and by that very fact became *waqf* territory.

(2) Egypt, because, when it was conquered by 'Amr ibn al-'As, Omar imposed on it the kharaj.

(3) Syria, because concerning it there is an *ijmā'*. According to the *Fathh* the tax collected "at present" from the lands of Egypt and, by analogy, of Syria, is not kharaj but in reality a rental, because the lands became property of the State as the owners gradually died without rightful heirs. According to the Malikites², like the lands of the Sawād, those of Syria and Egypt were also conquered by force and are *waqf* lands.

(4) All lands that were conquered by force (*'anwat*) and were not divided among the victorious army but were left to the original owners or given to non-Moslem settlers brought from elsewhere. The Prophet made an exception in the case of Mecca, which city, although conquered by force and left to its owners, was not subjected to kharaj. According to al-Shafi'i⁴, Mecca was conquered by treaty. However, al-Ghazzālī⁵ and Malik agree with the Hanīfites. According to the *Majma'*, this is because the lands of the Arabs are not subject to kharaj any more than their persons are liable to slavery. According to al-Shafi'i⁶, however, following the precedent of the Prophet with the people of Khaybar and the tribe of Qurayzah, lands too, like chattels, become the property of the army which conquered them, and after deduction of the State's share of one-fifth they are divided among the army and only pay tithe. However, the soldiers may of their own accord relinquish their rights in these lands, and then the Imām makes them into *waqf* and the State collects their rental (*ghallah*). According to the Malikites⁷, lands conquered by force of arms by that very fact become *waqf* but are nevertheless left in the hands of their former owners in order that they may better be able to pay the jizyah. These lands are subject to the kharaj, which in reality is a rental, and being *waqf* lands, they revert to the State, upon the death of their holders. Unlike the lands, the buildings conquered by force pay no rental, though they also become *waqf*. However, buildings put up by the dhimmis on *waqf* ground after the conquest become their private property.

(1) *Mabsut*, *ibid*; cf. *Umm*, vol. iv., p. 192.

(2) *Durr*, p. 364; *Bahr*, *Minhaj*, vol. V, p. 114.

(3) Kharashi, p. 426.

(4) Cf. Mawardi, p. 284; *Minhaj*, vol. iii., p. 271.

(5) *Wajiz*, vol. ii, p. 194.

(6) *Umm*, vol. iv, p. 193.

(7) Kharashi, p. 426.

The author of the *Multaqa*, following Al-Quduri, says that these lands do not become tithe-lands even when irrigated with tithe-water. The author of the *Hidayah*, on the other hand quoting the *Al-jami' al-Saghir*, says¹ :

"All lands conquered by force and irrigated by rivers are kharaj lands, and if they are not irrigated by rivers, but by springs issuing from them they are tithe lands." The author of the *Fath*, however, remarks that the preceding quotation can refer only to waste lands which were conquered by force from infidels and were first developed by Moslems. Indeed the cultivated lands so conquered, if left to their infidel owners, are kharaj lands, even if watered by rain (*i.e.*, tithe water); on the other hand, if such lands were divided among the Moslem soldiery, they are tithe lands, even if watered by rivers (*i.e.*, kharaj water)². For while it is unanimously admitted that in taxing the infidel for his land for the first time, he is always taxed kharaj, the Moslem's land is never taxed kharaj for the first time unless it be that the Moslem entails upon himself such treatment by his own consent, namely, by developing his land with kharaj, instead of with tithe, water³.

(5) Lands concerning which the Imâm (*i.e.*, the Moslem ruler) has come to an agreement with their infidel owners that the lands shall be left to them and that they will not be forced to migrate. According to the *'Alamgiriyyah*⁴, the Imâm, if he chooses, may impose on these lands the tithe ('ushr) but this is in name only for such a tax "is in reality kharaj and it is for that very reason that this tithe is disbursed like the kharaj." An example of this class are the lands of the people of Najrân who had made an agreement with the Prophet to pay on their lands a fixed amount of kharaj. Another example is the tribe of Taghlib who had a similar treaty with 'Omar. Balkh and Sughd are further examples. According to this, the lands of Samarqand should also be kharaj lands, but because they were on the frontier, they were made tithe lands for insuring the protection of the frontiers⁵.

In the *Nutafit* it is written that when the Imâm agrees with a Moslem people upon a certain tribute to be paid by them on their lands this tribute is legally a tithe, and if it is less than the lawful rate of tithe the balance must be disbursed by the people directly to the poor. This applies also to agreements made with the infidels if they later become Moslems⁶.

According to the Shafi'ite view, as summed up by al-Mawardi⁷, this class of lands are the only ones which pay the kharaj and they fall into two classes : (a) The lands whose owners (*ahl*) have evacuated them, so that they came into Moslem hands without fighting. These lands become immobilized (*waqf*) in the general interest of Moslems and are subject to kharaj, which is really a rental collected from them forever, even if no time limit was set for it, because the benefit derived from these lands belongs to the entire Moslem community. Moreover, the kharaj

(1) *Hidayah*, vol. v. p. 280.

(2) But cf. *Zayla'i*, vol. iii, p. 271 ; *Durar*, p. 176 ; *Durr*, p. 364.

(3) *Majma'*, p. 513 ; *Fath*, vol. v, p. 280 ; *Bahr*, vol. v, p. 113 ; *Durar*, p. 176 ; *Durr*, p. 364 ; *Jami'* p. 328.

(4) Vol. ii. p. 291.

(5) In other words, Moslem soldiers stationed on the frontiers were given in lieu kharaj lands, and as an inducement to military pursuits they were required to pay on these lands the tithe instead of the kharaj, because the former was much lighter and, besides, could be paid to the poor by the soldiers themselves.

(6) *Jami'*, p. 330.

(7) Pp. 254-6, also pp. 237-9 ; cf. *Umm*, vol. iv, pp. 103, 193.

levied on these lands is not affected by conversion to Islam, and being *waqf* lands, they may not be alienated by sale to private individuals. (b) The lands whose owners have not abandoned them and which, by the terms of the agreement, are left in the possession (*yad*) of the owners (*ahl*), subject to the payment of *kharaj*. This class is of two kinds : (i) The owners have by the terms of the agreement relinquished their rights of ownership in the lands in favour of the Moslems. These lands become *waqf* (in mortmain) in the interest of all Moslems, as was the case with lands whose owners had abandoned them, and the *kharaj* levied on these lands is a rental (*ujrah*) which does not lapse on their conversion to Islam, neither can they validly sell the ownership in the lands (*bay 'riqabihim*). However, they are entitled to (the possession of) the lands more than other (*ahagq*) so long as they abide by the terms of the agreement and the lands may not be taken away from their possession, whether they persist in their unbelief or are converted to Islam, just as land which was leased may not be taken away from the possession (*yad*) of the tenant. These people by paying the *kharaj* do not become exempt from the *jizyah*, should they acquire the status of *dhimmi* by settling (in the "Moslem world"); for they are not allowed to reside for an entire year unless they relinquish the status of ally (*hukm al-'ahd*) and become *dhimmis*. They may, however, reside for a shorter time without paying the *jizyah*. (ii) By the terms of the agreement they preserve their ownership (*milk*) in the lands but pay *kharaj* on the lands in consideration therefor. According to Al-Shafi'i, the *jizyah* to be paid yearly should be a definite sum, for there is no advantage, he goes on to say, in stipulating that the *kharaj* shall be so much per *jarib* when there is a produce, since crops may fail or be abundant, and so the amount which will be collected is never known. This *kharaj* is of the nature of a *jizyah* which is levied on them so long as they persist in unbelief but lapses upon their conversion to Islam. It is also allowed to provide for the payment of a *jizyah*. These people may sell their lands to any persons they desire, including Moslems and *dhimmis*. When they sell their lands among themselves, the amount of *kharaj* is not affected, but if they sell them to Moslems, the latter do not pay *kharaj*. If, finally, the land is sold to a *dhimmi*, from one point of view the tax should also lapse, because by being a *dhimmi* the owner remains outside of the scope of the treaty by which the tax was collected, since that treaty was made with the "allies"; but from another point of view the *kharaj* should be allowed to lapse, because the *dhimmi*, like the allies, is also an unbeliever.

When the *kharaj* lapses with respect to some of the lands by reason of the owners being Moslems (*bi Islam ahlihi*), if the *kharaj* was assessed on the basis of area, at the rate of so much silver or grain per *jarib* of area, the remaining lands pay the usual rate, which is not increased to allow for the part that has lapsed. If, however, the *kharaj* was assessed as a lump sum without regard to area, according to al-Shafi'i, the amount which lapsed on account of the owners being Moslems is deducted from the total, but according to Abû Hanîfah the share of such Moslems is not deducted from the total.

According to the Malikites², when a city comes under Moslem rule as a result of a treaty stipulating the payment of a tribute under the name of *jizyah* or *kharaj*, the lands of the city in every case remain in the ownership of the former owners who inherit and may sell them

(1) *Umm*, vol. iv, p. 104.

(2) *Kharashî*, and *'Adawî*, pp. 145-5; *Dardir*, p. 204; cf. *Ibn Rushd*, M., p. 280.

at will. Other points, however, vary according to the terms of the treaty as follows:—

(a) The tribute may have been fixed at a lump sum (*ujmilat*) without being distributed over the heads (*riqab*) or the lands, *e.g.*, at so much per tree or unit area. The amount of the tribute in this case does not vary with the increase or decrease of the population of the city, but remains constant, and every one of the people of the city continues to be responsible for the entire tribute until it has been paid. When one of them dies without heirs his lands devolve to his fellow-people who become responsible for his tribute. If some of them should become Moslems they become exempt from tribute, but they nevertheless continue to own their lands. According to Ibn Habib, however, they forfeit their lands when they become Moslems, because the lands are legally immobilized in order to enable them to pay the *jizyah*, and consequently they may not be inherited or sold.

(b) The tribute, on the contrary, may have been distributed over the heads or the lands, or over both. In such case the tribute varies with the number of the heads or the area of the lands. The latter continue to be the property of their owners even after conversion, notwithstanding that in such case they become exempt from tribute. Should one of them die without heirs, his lands become *waqf* property of all the Moslems unless it be that he had willed away one-third of such lands. He cannot, however, in the absence of heirs, will more than one-third of his lands. In case the tribute was distributed over the lands whether or not it was distributed over the heads, the owners and their heirs do not become free from the *kharaj* by selling their lands, but continue to pay it. According to one doctor, in case of sale, the *kharaj* should be paid by the whole community rather than by the seller, and after his death, by his heirs alone. According to a third view of the matter, the *kharaj* should be paid by the buyer.

(6) Waste lands developed for cultivation by dhimmis with the State's permission.

(7) Lands granted by the Imâm to the dhimmis from the lands conquered from the enemy in consideration of assistance rendered by the dhimmis in fighting the enemy¹.

(8) Waste lands developed for cultivation by Moslems if they have been developed with *kharaj* water, or are situated in a *kharaj* district.

(9) Habitations of dhimmis converted into gardens. Also habitations of Moslems converted into gardens, if they are irrigated with *kharaj* water².

pp. 381-387—Al-Mawardî discusses as follows the factors which determine the tax-bearing capacity (*taqah*) of land. The person who assesses the *kharaj* on a piece of land should consider the capacity of land, which varies according to three factors, each factor affecting the amount of *kharaj* more or less. One of these factors pertaining to the land itself is the quality of the land by virtue of which the crop grown on it is rich, or the defect which causes the produce to be small. The second factor related to the kind of crop, since grains and fruits vary in price, some fetching a higher price than others, and the *kharaj* must

(1) *Durar*, p. 176.

(2) For details concerning this and the preceding class, see classes 5 and 6 of the lands.

(3) p. 257 et seq.

therefore be assessed accordingly. The third factor pertains to the method of irrigation, for the crop that has been irrigated with water carried on the back of beasts or raised by a water-wheel, cannot stand the same rate of kharaj which could be charged on land watered by running water or rain.

The irrigation of crops and trees may be effected in four ways : Artificial irrigation without the use of any instrument, that is, by means of running water derived from springs and rivers, by turning their course to the field to be watered. This way is by far the most profitable and least expensive, inasmuch as the water is turned on when needed, and turned off when enough of it has been used.

(2) Artificial irrigation by means of some instrument, *e.g.*, by water carried on the back of beasts, or by buckets or water-wheels, this way being the most expensive, and the one that entails the greatest hardship.

(3) Natural irrigation by means of rain or snow or dew.

(4) Irrigation by means of the humidity of soil, or by water concealed underground. In this case the crops and trees are irrigated by means of their roots.

Irrigation by means of conduits falls under the first class if the water used is running water, and under the second class if not so. Again, irrigation by water derived from wells belongs in the second class if the water is carried on the backs of beasts, and in the first if drawn (*ustukh-rija*) through conduits.

The assessor of kharaj, therefore, in estimating the amount of tax to be assessed on a piece of land, should take into consideration the above-named three factors, namely, the quality of land, the kind of crop, and the method of irrigation. In this way justice is attained, as between the beneficiaries of the *fā'y* and the taxpayer, since neither the latter is overburdened nor the former are prejudiced.

Some have recognized a fourth factor, namely the distance of the land from cities and markets, because the price increases or decreases according as this distance is shorter or longer, but this concerns only the case in which kharaj is paid in silver (*i.e.*, specie), and does not apply to the collection of the tax in grain (kind) whereas the three factors above-mentioned apply equally in both cases.

When the kharaj has been fixed by reference to the above-mentioned principles, it is assessed on the ground according to the most profitable of the following three ways : It is assessed on the area of the land, or on the area of the cultivated portion of the land or, finally, on the produce as a definite proportion of the same. When the kharaj is assessed on the area of the entire land the year used is the lunar year, and if the kharaj is assessed on the cultivated area, the year used is the solar year, but if the kharaj is proportional, the tax is due when the crop is ripe and the grain ready for consumption.

When any one of these three alternatives has been settled upon, one is not allowed to change it to another but it is continued for ever, and hence the tax may not be increased or decreased so long as the land continues to remain the same with respect to its irrigation and advantages (*masalih*).

If, however, the land changes as to its method of irrigation and its advantages, then there are two cases conceivable: 1 The change is caused

(1) Cf. *Bahr*, vol. v. p. 116.

by an act of the landowner, *e.g.*, the productivity of the land is increased by means of water diverted from a river or derived from the ground or on the contrary, it is decreased owing to negligence in cultivation and defective methods. In this case the *kharaj* is left as it is; not being increased for increased productivity, or diminished for decreased productivity. The owner, however, is reproved, in order that he may cultivate the land so that it may not go to waste. 2. The change has occurred owing to no act of the owner, but by reason of a natural contingency, either to the advantage or the disadvantage of the land: (a) When the change is to the disadvantage, *e.g.*, when the valley subsides, or the river dries up, if repair is possible, it is the duty of the Imâm to use for this purpose the revenue appropriated for works of public utility, namely, from the share of *masâlih*; and the *kharaj* is remitted to the landowner for the time the land was laid uncultivated. The Hanîfite view is to the same effect¹. If, however, repair is not possible; in case, for instance, the land cannot be cultivated; the *kharaj* is definitively remitted if the land cannot be utilized in some other way, for instance, as a pasture or hunting ground. But if it can be used for some other purpose, then the land pays the rate of *kharaj* levied on similar lands. (b) When, on the other hand, the change results to the advantage of the land, *e.g.*, when the river follows a new course and as a result, the land is irrigated in the future by running water instead of by artificial means, if the change is not believed to be permanent, the tax is not increased, but if the change is believed to be permanent, then the Imâm increases the tax or desists from so doing according as he holds one or the other course to be in the best interests of both the landowner and the beneficiaries of the tax.

If a piece of land cannot be cultivated every year, but must be allowed to lie fallow every other year, this fact is taken into account when the *kharaj* is first assessed, and one of the following three methods is applied with a view to reconciling the interest of both sides. Half of the regular rate on the cultivated portion is collected on the entire field; or every two *jaribs* are counted as one single *jarib* in order to allow for the uncultivated portion; or finally, the full rate is assessed on the cultivated portion only².

According to the *Hidayah*³, if a person without excuse changes from a kind of crop that pays a high rate of *kharaj* to one that pays a lower rate he still pays the higher rate, because he is responsible for the decrease of the rate. The *Hidayah*, however, does not recommend this view (*la yufta bihi*) because it would give an excuse to tyrants to oppress the Moslems by forcing them to cultivate crops which require great pains.

If a person plants in his farmland vines or fruit-bearing trees, he continues to pay on his land the *kharaj* of crops until the new plants shall have borne fruit, and he then pays ten dirhams per *jarib*, if the value of the fruits is twenty or more dirhams; and if their value is less than this, he pays half of that value, provided it does not fall short of the equivalent of one *qasiz* of grain and one dirham, because that is the least rate that a *jarib* of land pays when its cultivation is possible.

(1) Cf. *Alamgiriyyah*, vol. ii., p. 345.

(2) There is in the text a statement to the effect that in such case "one half of the produce" is taken. This statement was omitted as inconsistent with the previous sentence where it was said that "the whole of the tax is assessed." If the whole of the tax is only one-fifth, one cannot evidently collect "half of the produce." The variants of the text indicated at the bottom of the page confirm the suspicion that the text at this point suffered corruption.

(3) Vol. v, p. 285.

The kharaj is due on land irrespective of whether or not the owner cultivated the land, provided that he has been able to do so, because the reason for kharaj is the productivity of land, and the owner by not cultivating his land, notwithstanding that it was productive, has deprived the beneficiaries of kharaj of their revenue¹. According to Malik, the owner pays no kharaj if the land was not cultivated, whether or not he had an excuse for not cultivating it². If the owner was unable to cultivate his land because he lacked the means to do so, the Imâm is entitled to lease the land to another farmer by way of muzâra'ah³, and collect the tax from the owner's share of the produce, or to lease the land to a tenant and collect it from the rental, or, finally to have the land cultivated at the expense of the public treasury and collect the tax from the owner's share. According to the *'Alamgiriyyah*⁴, a similar course is followed if the owners abandon their lands, or if one of them dies. However, according to a report from Abû Hanifah, when the kharaj people abandon their lands the Imâm may have them cultivated at public expense, or lease (*muqatî'ah*) them, the entire income belonging to the public. If none of the above mentioned courses is possible, the Imâm sells the land and collects the tax from the price, returning the balance to the owner⁵. Should the owner later again be able to cultivate his land, it is returned to him unless, indeed it has been sold.

According to al-Mawardi⁶, if in the above mentioned case of neglect of cultivation the kharaj levied on the land would differ with the kind of crop raised, only the lowest of the possible rate is collected from the owner, for if the latter, instead of entirely neglecting the cultivation, had only raised the crop subject to that lowest rate, he would have been within his right.

According to the *Fath*⁷ there is a reliable report from Abû Yûsuf to the effect that when the owner is unable to cultivate the land, the public treasury should advance him as a loan the necessary funds.

According to Al-Mawardi⁸, however, when the owner lacks the means of cultivation, he is told either to lease his land to another person or to forgo his possession (*yad*) of the land in order that it may be turned over to a person who can cultivate it; for the land is not allowed to go to waste even if its kharaj is paid, because it would then become waste (*mawât land*.)

According to the *Durr*⁹, all the above applies to the fixed kharaj only, provided the owner is not prevented from cultivating his land. For if he is so prevented or if the kharaj is of the proportional kind, no kharaj is due on the land.

In the *Bahr* it is said that since the kharaj levied on the lands of Egypt is in reality a rental, the cultivators (*fallahin*) should not be

(1) *Mabsut*, part x, p. 82.

(2) Mawardi, p. 261.

(3) *Muzara'ah* is an agreement between the owner of a farm and a farmer that the latter shall cultivate the farm in consideration of a certain proportion of the produce. It is also called mukhâbarah. The term muzâra'ah applies to the cultivation of grains, while the terms mu'âmalah and musaqat are used with respect to trees. Mudârabah is the counterpart of the same idea with respect to trade, meaning a partnership between the principal (*rabb al-mâl*) who owns the stock and the trader (*mudârib*) who contributes the labor for a part of the profits. If all the profit is to belong to the capital owner (*mubdi*) the transaction is called bidaah, and the person who trades with it mustabdi.

(4) Vol. ii, p. 344.

(5) *Bahr*, vol. v, p. 118. (6) pp. 261-2. (7) Vol. v, p. 285. (8) P. 264. (9) P. 365.

obliged to pay the kharaj when they do not cultivate the land and are not tenants thereof¹. Furthermore, it is unjust to oppress farmers when they abandon agriculture and settle in the cities, especially when they do so in order to engage in the study of the Sharī'ah.

With respect to the present land holders of Syria, Ibn 'Abidîn² remarks that, being mere cultivators of the land for a part of the produce (*muzari'*), they may not lease (*ijar*) their holdings in consideration of a rental (*ujrah*) to be collected by themselves from the lessees (*mustajir*) over and above what is already paid by the latter to the Imâm. Consequently the above-mentioned practice of the cultivators (*muzâri'*) of the *Sultaniyah* (i.e., *Amiriyah*) and *waqf* lands betokens their ignorance, and so "I have rendered a fatwa to the effect that it is not lawful." According to the *Tatarkhaniyah* as quoted by Ibn 'Abidîn, the so-called *Arâdî al-Mamlakah* (i.e., *amiriyah*), namely, lands without owners may be given away to people on condition of payment of kharaj by them. This is lawful on one of these two grounds : either the people in question become like owners (*iqamah maqam al-mullak fil'-zira'ah wa ita al-kharaj*) so far as cultivation and the payment of kharaj is concerned ; or it is a case of lease (*ijarah*) at a rental equal to the kharaj, and in such case, the amount collected from the lessees is kharaj as regards the Imâm, though it is rental as regards them.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH.

(1) *Bahr*, vol. v, p. 118. (2) *Minhaj*, vol. . v, p. 114.

AN AFGHAN COLONY AT QASUR

FOREIGN colonies have settled in India at various periods of its history and some have played an important part in that history. Among the latter is the Pathan colony at Qasûr. The town of Qasûr is situated "upon the north bank of the old bed of the Beâs on the North-western Railway and on the Ferozepur Road thirty-four miles south-east of Lahore City.... It is a place of great antiquity and General Cunningham identified it with one of the places visited by Hiuen Tsiang in the seventh century A.D..... A Râjpût city seems to have occupied the modern site before the earliest Muhammadan invasion" (*Imperial Gazetteer* XV. 149), and the town appears to have been still owned by Hindû proprietors when Bâbur won the battle of Pânîpat (*Akhbar al-Awliya*² Ch. IV). They were probably Bhattî Râjpûts for that is the caste which is given by Abu'l-Fadl (Jarrett, 'A'in Vol. II. 319) as prevailing at Qasûr, (cf *Ru'asa-i-Punjab* I. 544), though we learn from the author of the *Akhbar* (Ch. V.) that some Chohâns³ also were found in the town in his days.

(1) I am adopting this spelling, as it is commonly in use in the town itself. Probably the Arabic word *Qusur* has influenced this spelling. The word is ordinarily pronounced there as *Kasur*.

(2) For this book see the next page.

(3) These Chohâns were the descendants of Pîr Dhayâ Ghazî who is said to have been a slave of Sher Shâh. He accepted Islâm and was sent to Lakhî Jangal, as Commander of 250. He came to Qasûr and was slain by the turbulent people of Lakhî Jangal. His tomb was being looked after by the Chohâns when the *Akhbar* was written (cf. with these remarks the following statements in the *Lahore Gazetteer* (1893-94, p. 106). "The Rajputs are the third most numerous tribe of importance in the (Lahore) district.... The predominant section is that of Bhatti Rajputs.... Next to Bhattis are the Chohans...." For the Lakhî Jangal mentioned here, see the *Khulasa al-Tawarikh* of Sujân Rây (p. 68), which locates it in the Sirkâr of Dîpâlpur (Multân Province) and states that the joint stream of the Sutlej and the Beâs spread here over leagues of low-land, after the rains. The area which was overgrown with an almost impenetrable jungle afforded a safe retreat for lawless people of all descriptions.

Leaving aside two casual and vague references to the town, one in the *Qiran al-Sa'dain* of the poet Khusraw¹ [Aligarh, 1918, p. 15 (مقدمه) and p. 64 (text)], and the other in *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* of Diyâ Barnî² p. 424, "Kasûr does not appear in history until late in the Muhammadan period" (*Imperial Gazetteer l. c.*) when it was settled, and later held in possession, by "a remarkable Pathan colony—perhaps the most remarkable on this side of the Indus" (*Lahore Gazetteer* p. 331). The task which I have set myself in this article is the tracing of the history of this Pathân colony.

The main sources of information are given below:—

(a) *Manuscript Sources.*

The *Akhbar al-Azeliya*, by 'Obaidullâh, better known as 'Abdullâh Khweshgî of Qasûr (an account of his life will be given in Part II). This work was compiled by the author in A.H. 1077 at Aurangâbâd, to which place he had gone in the service of Diler Khân (for whom see *Ma'athir* II. 42). The work which is divided into six chapters deals mainly with the Afghân saints of Qasûr but it also gives information about the history of the migration of the Afghans to Qasûr and about some non-Afghan saints of that city and the neighbouring region. I have used the copy which was made at Qasûr for Blochmann in 1877 and is now in the possession of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The *Tarikh Punjab* by Ghulâm Mohy ud-dîn (Bûtî Shâh) compiled in 1264 H.=1848 A.C. In the geographical portion (*Muqaddima*) of this work there is a section on Qasûr. The Punjab University Library possesses a copy of this work and the article in question occurs on f. 13 b. of this copy.

The *Tarikh Punjab* by Muftî Tâjuddîn. This work was compiled about 1867 for Mr. W. Smyth, (قبايدو سمايت صاحب) Deputy Commissioner, Lahore. It contains a chapter on Qasûr. I have quoted from my own copy which appears to be the author's autograph.

(1) Khusraw appears to be punning on the words in the following verses:—

از قدم قوم منزل آه بلاد نام و نشانی ز عمارت نداد
از حد سا مانم تالا هنو ر هیچ عمارت نم مگر در قصور

(2) Among the nobles of the court of Ghiyâth al-Din Taghlak (r. 1820-1824) Barni mentions a certain Malak Siraj al-Din Qasuri. The *nisbah* apparently refers to Qasûr.

Printed sources.

Among the printed works the most important for our purpose are the *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*¹ (Lahore, 1909, Vol. I p. 205 seqq.) in English and the *Ma'athir al-Umara* of Shâh Niwâz Khân in Persian. The little-known *Sairistan* by Pîr Ibrâhîm Khân of Qasûr who is noticed towards the end of this article (p.472) is also useful. The *Sairistan* was lithographed in 1854 at Multân. Then there are the usual histories of the Moghul period, references to which will be given as we proceed.

The Afghâns of Qasûr belong mostly to the Khweshgî clan², whose eponym appears to have flourished in the eleventh century³. Their original home was the valley of Arghasan⁴, in the province of Qandhâr.

When Ibrâhîm Lodi was on the throne of Delhi they were having inter-tribal warfare, in the district of Pishîn, with their neighbours the Tarîns, and ultimately, were so tired of it that they decided to leave their highlands and migrate to the plains of India. On their way to this country they were caught up at Kâbul by Babur who was then on the point of making his final descent on India. At the battle-field of Pânîpat they gave a good account of themselves, their losses amounting to seven hundred men.

After the battle they looked round for a place wherein to settle and ultimately decided to settle down at Qasûr⁵.

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- (1) Briefly referred in the following pages as *Griffin-Massy*.
 - (2) For their genealogy see appendix I.
 - (3) I infer this from the fact that his grandson Vatto is said, in the *Akhbar*, to have been a disciple of Sheikh Maudûd Chishtî (b. 430 d. 527 A.H. *Khazinat al-Asfiya* p. 236).
 - (4) Also called Yakka Tut (*Akhbar*)
 - (5) I have followed the *Akhbar* in the above narrative. According to Bûtî Shâh, it was Buhlûl Lodi who, as Governor of Dipâlpûr, planted this colony at Qasûr. The *Sairistan* p. 5 places their migration in the reign of Shihâb ud-dîn Ghori and says they came from their home in Kôh Firôza and Ghaznî to Multân but as the climate of the place did not suit them they moved to Qasûr (cf. *Encyclop. of Islam* I. 152). The Imperial Gazetteer l. c. tells us that the Afghâns "entered the town either in the reign of Bâbar or in that of his grandson Akbar." The *Gazetteer of the Lahore District* p. 331 is a bit more positive and says that "the colony of Pathâns was located at some time during the 15th century, according to the account during the reign of Babar but more probably in 1516 (1561 ?) during the reign of his grandson Akbar," while Griffin-Massy gives the date as 1570. But I am not aware of any reason for discrediting the tradition of the Khweshgîs themselves, as preserved in the *Akhbar*. The *Lahore Gazetteer* and Griffin-Massy put the number of the colony at 8500 souls and the *Sairistan*, probably less correctly, at 700.

In those days the Qasûr territory was exposed to the occasional depredations of a Balûch marauder, Pirâ by name, who used to come with a large following from the district to the west of Qasûr¹. The Afghâns were allowed to settle down on the three sides² of the town—the southern side, which was low and damp and naturally protected by the Beâs, was not occupied by them; and the condition was that they were to defend the town against the ravages of the Balûch free-booters. This they did successfully. The raiders were defeated and hotly pursued by them on their 'Irâqî horses and slain one and all³.

The history of the Khweshgîs from this point up to the reign of Jahângîr seems to have been more or less uneventful. Some members of the clan may have served in the Army but many of them, it would appear, earned their living chiefly as horse-dealers. They brought horses from the 'Irâq and Afghânistân and sold them in Agra and even in Gujerat and the Deccan⁴. Another source of income for the Khweshgîs in their early days is mentioned by their historian (*Akhbar* Ch. IV.) who tells us that Bâbur had promised in writing to give the Khweshgîs, in the event of his success, one-fourth of the revenues of Delhi, which they received up to the time of Akbar, who stopped it, apparently, as one may imagine, on account of a reaction against the Afghâns generally⁵ in that period.

(1) Chûnîyân was the home of Pirâ, according to the *Sairistan* p. 6.

(2) The Western side being higher was called in Pushto کږې (or the Upper Town) the Eastern which was lower ټوټې (or the Lower Town).

(3) Pirâ had 200 horsemen and the Afghâns 500. *Sairistan* p. 6.

(4) This appears from numerous passages in the *Akhbar*. The word for the Afghân country is *Vilayat*. Foreign horses were much in demand in the reign of Akbar when special facilities were provided for horse-dealers. A breed resembling 'Irâqîs was also bred in the Punjâb. See Blochmann, *A'in* p. 133. That horse dealing was not the only form of trade known to Qasûriyâs is shown by the fact that some of them are referred to in the *Akhbar* as keeping oxen and camels. An Afghân merchant is stated by 'Abdullâh to be selling his merchandise in Isfahân.

(5) It is to be noted that Sher Shâh hated the Khweshgîs of Qasûr, in his turn, on account of their siding with the Moghals at Pânîpat—at any rate, so tells us the historian who, it should be remembered, was writing his *Akhbar* under the Moghals. Salîm Khân Jamand, "who built the *barwâlî* at Qasûr," and was one of the Amîrs of Bâbur, once waited upon Sher Shâh who remarked: "If we rip open Salîm Khân's stomach we shall find Sultân Ibrâhîm" meaning thereby that Salîm Khân was responsible for the death of Ibrâhîm. The same authority mentions, however, that Shâh Muhammad Batakzai of Berowâl (Verowâl) was given a village as *madaḍ nu'ash* by Sher Shâh,

The original document, signed by Bâbur, was still in the possession of the Jamands¹ of Qasûr in 1077 A.H., when the historian wrote, and it was produced once, as he alleges, before Shâh Jehân.

From incidental remarks of this author it appears that, in the reign of Akbar, the Afghâns at Qasûr were, on the whole, living in straitened circumstances and we are told that their houses were made of mud-bricks. It seems that, for a time, the town of Qasûr was held in fief by Râja Rây Singh of Bikaner² and the Khweshgîs were much annoyed with his Râjput soldiery. So they asked their saint Akhund Sa'îd to pray for them. He gave his blessings to a young boy of the tribe, Nazar Bahâdur by name, and prophesied an era of prosperity for the tribe in the near future³.

With Nazar Bahâdur begins, in fact, the period from which the Afghans of Qasûr begin to play a prominent part in Indian History. He was the first *Qasuriya* who rose to the dignity of a grandee of the Moghal court. After him, his sons and connections and kinsmen also became *Mansabdars*. Notices of some of them are given below, after the *Ma'athir al-Umara*, that Book of Peerage of the Moghal court.

(1) *Nazar (or Nadhr)*⁴ *Bahadur (Ma'athir III, 818)* entered, first the service of the Prince Parvez, then the service of Jehângîr, when he rose to the rank of a Commander of 1,500 horsemen. Finally under Shâh Jehân he gradually became one of the Great Nobles (*Umara-i-A'zam*). In the second year of the reign of Shâh Jehân he held the Military Command of Sanbhal and distinguished himself at the siege of Dault-âbâd. Then for some reason not stated, he led a retired life for two years

who had a great regard for the saint. But that may only show that Batakzais of the place had no connection with Qasûr, as is alleged by some (see Appendix II.)

(1) See Appendix I.

(2) (Cf. Blochmann *A'in* 398.) The Râja was sent, with several others, as *Tuyûldar* to the Punjab in the 26th year of the reign of Akbar. According to *Akhbar* (Ch. IV.) the Râja, liking the climate of Qasûr, desired to reside in it and began to build a fortress for himself on the mound of Shâik Kamâl Chishtî, on account of its commanding position. But the masonry work on the site of the Sheikh's tomb miraculously collapsed, time and again, so the mound was abandoned as a site for the fortress and the tomb restored.

(3) It appears from the *Akhbar* that in this period the Khweshgîs were still keeping up their language, the Pushto.

(4) In the *Akhbar* he is always called Dîwân Nazar Bahâdur and his genealogy is given thus :—

Nazar Bahâdur Son of Mawlâna Jamâl son of Fîrûz.

but in the 14th year he was again taken into favour and given the rank of 2,500 *dhat*, 1,500 *sowar*¹. Next year he rendered good service at the capture of several forts². In the 19th year, he was promoted to a command of 3,000 + 2,500³ and sent against Balkh and Badakhshân, first under Murâd Bakhsh, then under Aurangzêb. In the 23rd year he was sent against the Persians at Qandhâr, where as Commander of the Vanguard of Rustam Khân Daknî, he opposed such stout resistance to the 30,000 Persians who were attacking him, that they turned away from him and directed their attack elsewhere. For this service his *Mansab* was increased to 4,000 + 4,000. He died in A.H. 1062/A.C. 1651-52.

He is described as a God-fearing and religious man. He was simple in his habits and, his treatment of his soldiers, who were of his clan, was brotherly. Once every day he dined with them. He was noted for his honesty, truthfulness, good temper, regularity in attendance at court and his energetic performance of duty.

He had three sons⁴. (1) *Shams ud-dîn* (*Ma'athir* II 676) the eldest was in the lifetime of his father appointed Faujdâr of the region below the Kângra Hills (*daman-i-Koh-i-Kangra*) in place of Murshid Qulî Khân (20th year of Shâh Jahân). When his father died (25th year of the same reign) he was made first class Commander of 1,500 and sent under Aurangzêb to Qandhâr (2nd expedition). In the 27th year he was sent to Jûnâgarh as *Faujdar* and *Tuyuldar* of a portion of that district. Three years later, on account of a quarrel with his brother Qutbuddîn, he was transferred to the Deccan, when under Aurangzêb he rendered distinguished services in the war with the Deccanis (31st year or 1067 H.). Soon after, when Aurangzêb proceeded to the North he was made a Commander of 3,000 + 2,000 and retained in the Deccan. In the 3rd year (of Aurangzêb) he rendered good service under *Amîr al-Umara* Shâ'ista Khân at the reduction of Fort Châkna. On the day when that fort was stormed he himself made an onrush and reduced it. The date of his death is not recorded. His son-in-law Ismâ'il Khan is noticed below (see p. 460).

(1) For the system of *Mansab* and the meaning of these terms see Irvine's *Army of Indian Moghuls* p. 3 sqq.

(2) In the expedition of Châkna and the reduction of Fort Mhow and Târâgarh.

(3) *i.e.* 3,000 *Dhât* and 2,500 *sowâr*. In the following pages, the symbol (+) will be used to indicate *dhat* and *sowâr*.

(4) See *Ma'athir* II. 700.

(2) *Qutbuddin Khan*. (*Ma'athir* III. 102). He became more prominent than his brothers. He held the Faujdârship of Jûnâgarh (Sûrat) jointly with his brother Shams ud-Dîn, but quarrelled with him, as stated above. He was, therefore transferred by Shâhjahân to Patan (Gujerât) in the same capacity. During the Emperor's illness, which lost him his throne, the Prince Murâd Bakhsh revolted in Gujerât, of which province the Khân was Governor, and Qutbuddîn Khân was forced to submit to and serve under him. But when, a little later, Murâd was captured by Aurangzêb at Muthrâ, Qutbuddîn came to Aurangzêb and was appointed Faujdâr of Sûrat. When Dâra Shikoh visited Gujerât from Thatta, he tried to win him over but, unlike most other officers, the Khân remained loyal to Aurangzêb. After Dâra was defeated at Ajmer Qutbuddîn was promoted and made a *Khan*.

In the 5th year (of Aurangzêb) he crushed the revolt at Jâm. Rây Singh had ejected his nephew, the lawful Zamîndâr of Jâm, and taken forcible possession of the State. He also ejected Qutbuddîn's officers, with the help of the Zamîndâr of Kuchch. The Khân attacked Jâm with about 8,000 cavalry and a large force of infantry and the two armies met at 4 kos from Jâm, where Rây Singh was strongly entrenched. The position withstood Qutbuddîn's gunners for two months before it was stormed by the Khân, when Rây Singh and 300 of his relatives and officers fell fighting together at one place.

When Râja Jâi Singh was sent to the Deccan against Sivâjî, the Khân rendered distinguished service under him at the head of 7,000 cavalry. Later, when the Râja proceeded against the 'Adil Shâhîs, he selected him as the Commander of his rearguard. In the 10th year he served in the expedition against the Yûsufzais; after which he was sent again to the Deccan, where he stayed to the end of his days. In the 20th year (1088/1677) he died, in the campaign against Bijâpûr. His body was taken for burial to Qasûr. He was a skilful and wise chief, with a tendency towards craftiness. Having served for a long time in the Deccan, his relations with the Governors were far from cordial—particularly with Khân Jahân, who was afraid of him—and he and the Governor were constantly sending up to the Emperor letters full of mutual recrimination.

A suburb of Aurangâbâd was known as Qutbpûra after him. They say it really belonged to a son of Râja Jâi Singh but the Khân got it from the Emperor by clever

manœuvring. His descendants through his daughter¹ were living on the revenues of this suburb when the *Ma'athir* was compiled.

(3) *Asadullah*. He was a Commander of 1,500+1,400 (*Ma'athir* III. 820).

(b) *Sultan Ahmad Khalfza'i*² (*Ma'athir* I, 600, III 26) was daughter's son of Nazar Bahâdur, and a kinsman of Jân Bâz Khân Khweshgî (see the following page). He distinguished himself in the service of the Prince A'zam Shâh but ultimately retired to Qasûr. Later he proceeded to the Imperial Court in obedience to a *firman* of 'Alamgîr, when his mind became unhinged and he died before reaching his destination. He had four sons :—

1. *Husain Khan* noticed later.

2. 'Ali Khan.

3. *Pir Khan*, who got a good Mansab under Bahâdur Shâh but did not live long to enjoy it. His son Nûr Khân got the title of Shams Khân, and the Faujdârship of the Bist Jullandhar. When the Sikhs devastated the country between Lahore and Delhi and took Sirhind, after defeating and slaying Wazîr Khân³, its Faujdâr, he proceeded against them with 5,000 cavalry and a host of Muslim *Mujahids* and engaged them near Râhon (7 kos from Sultânpur). The Sikhs sustained heavy losses, and fell back on Râhon where they were besieged but escaped after a few days. The Khân, after this, defeated them in twenty-two engagements⁴. When Muhammad Amîn Khân Chîn Bahâdur came to Sirhind at the head of the Imperial vanguard, Shams Khân refused to co-operate with him and besieged Sirhind independently, for which he was dismissed from service.

4. *Qutbuddin Khan* (*Ma'athir* III. 126), better known as Bazîd Khân (or Bâyezîd Khân). He fought on the side of Bahâdur Shâh in the war of succession, and after the victory was given a good *Mansab* and the title of Qutbuddin Khân. Later he became Faujdâr of Jammû, at the recommendation of the Prince 'Azîm al-Shân.

(1) Khweshgî Khân is given as the name of the man who owned most of Qutbpûra in those days. His uncle, Dôst Muhammad, held Tânkli (Berâr) in Jâgîr for a long time and the Parganah was called after him (*Ma'athir* III, 107).

(2) See the genealogical table given in Appendix I.

(3) In 1709-10. Cf. *Cunningham* p. 92.

(4) For very full details see Khafî Khân II. 657 seq. According to him the Muslims numbered over a lakh and the Sikhs 70 to 80 thousand.

When Banda, who had fled from Lohgarh¹ to the Hills, appeared in the neighbourhood of Râypur (now in the Ludhiana District) and Behrâmpur, Qutbuddîn was at 16 kos North-West of Râypur. It so happened that his nephew Shams Khân, who had been removed from the Faujdârship of the Bist Jullundur was then visiting him. Qutbuddîn, sent Shahdâd Khân, (see below, p. 463) brother-in-law of Shams Khân, with 1,500 cavalry for the defence of Râypur and he and Shams Khân followed in a leisurely fashion with 900 horsemen. After covering half the distance they were engaged in a hunt, when the report was brought to them that Banda was near. Qutbuddîn wanted to reach Râypur at once but Shams Khân, who had often punished the Sikhs, without waiting for the artillery, proceeded at a gallop to meet them. The Sikhs fled and, in spite of Qutbuddîn's dissuasion, he gave them a hot pursuit. The enemy, perceiving the small numbers of their pursuers, turned back and a severe hand-to-hand struggle began. The combatants eventually cast down their swords, being no longer able to use them, and grappled with one another in a deadly conflict, biting each other savagely with their teeth. Shams Khân was killed and Qutbuddîn Khân lay senseless with his wounds. Their elephants kept changing hands. They were now taken away by the Sikhs, now wrested back by the Afghâns. Just then Shahdâd Khân appeared on the scene. The Sikhs, taking him for Shams Khân, fled away and Shahdâd reached Râypur, with his wounded and dead kinsmen. Qutbuddîn also died after three days² and both he and Shams Khân were buried at Qasûr. Qutbuddîn had no son. He is described as worldly-minded (دنیه طلب) and time-serving.

(c) *Isma'il Khan Husain Za'î*³ otherwise known as Jânâz Khan (*Ma'athir* III. 777), was a kinsman and son-in-law of Shamsuddîn Khân (see above, p. 457). He served under the Prince Aurangzêb, who raised him to a Command of 2,000 + 600 and gave him the title of Jânâz Khân after the battle with Mahârâja Jaswant. He fought bravely in the various engagements of the war of succession. Then the Emperor appointed him Faujdâr of Sul-tân-pûr and Nadhrbâr. Later he was sent to Kâbul. He had two sons :

(1) This fort was at Mukhlisipur, near Sâdhora. *Cunningham* p. 92.

(2) *Cunningham* p. 93 gives a different account of the death of apparently this Bâyezâd Khân (about 1713). See also a note on p. 94 and Latif (*History of the Punjab*), Calcutta, 1891 p. 279.

(3) See the genealogical table given in Appendix I.

(1) *Othman Khan*. He inherited much wealth from his maternal grandfather, who had no male issue. He lived a retired and easy life in his native town.

(2) *Ilâhdâd Khan*. He was a more ambitious person than his brother. Not caring for his heritage, he served in the Kâbul Province and in the 47th year (of Aurangzêb) was given a command of 1,500 dhât and 1,000 sowar. When the Prince Mohammad Mu'azzam was appointed Governor of Kâbul, he wanted to supplant the Khân, as all Khweshgîs were partisans of his brother and rival, A'zam Shâh and Ilâhdâd was particularly so, for he was sister's husband of Sultân Ahmâd (see above. p. 459) who was every-where acknowledged to be a staunch supporter of A'zam. But luckily for him, the good offices of a Kâfir slave, Amat ul-Ilâbîb¹,—whom he had presented to 'Alamgîr but whom the Emperor passed on to his son Mohd. Mu'azzam—stood him in good stead and he was given no trouble. When on the death of his father, Mahommad Mu'azzam left Peshâwar to contest the throne with his brother A'zam, Ilâhdâd Khân came to him (Mu'azzam) with a large army, but lingered in Lahore on account of illness and for other reasons. Then death overtook him.

Ilâhdâd's son, Rahmat Khân², in spite of his dying father's dissuasion, joined Mohd. Mu'azzam at Delhi. After the victory he was promoted and given the title of *Mutahawwir Khan*. He was appointed to the Faujdârship of Lucknow and Baisuwâra which he held until the death of Bahâdur Shâh—without much success. Then he joined the army of A'izzuddin which had been sent against the revolting Farrukh Siyâr, who was assisted by the Sayyid brothers. But the Sayyids ultimately succeeded in reconciling him to themselves and in the battle of Agra, fought soon after with the Emperor Jahândâr Shâh (in 1712), he fought on the side of Sayyid Husain. He was sent by the Sayyids to the Deccan as Faujdâr of Sarâ, when he had to fight against the Zamîndâr of Seringâpatam, who would not pay up his tribute to the Government. The Zamîndâr had 20,000 cavalry and 60,000 infantry but the Khân succeeded in defeating him. Just then his transfer brought him to Aurangâbâd where the Governor 'Alam 'Alî Khân gave him a *Jagir*. About this time the Asaf Jâh came to the Deccan and the partisans of the Sayyids opposed his progress. The vanguard of the opposing army was led

(1) For her story see *Ma'athîr* III. 779.

(2) See *Ma'athîr* III. 781 sqq. (3) In A.H. 1132. Cf. *Ma'athîr* III. 840.

by Mutahawwir Khan but the Asaf Jâh inflicted a severe defeat on them¹. Some time after this when the cause of the Sayyids had entirely failed, A'saf Jâh succeeded in winning him over and restored him to his *Mansab* and *Jagir*. He was appointed Governor of Nânder but did not prove successful. He died in A.H. 1156. He was a commander of 5,000.

The Khân receives high praise from the author of the *Ma'athir* but in his life he often met failure, it seems, because of his passion for Alchemy (*Ilm--i-San'at*) which greatly distracted him from his duties. He was a Shî'a by religion. When the *Ma'athir* was being compiled, several of his brothers were holding *Mansabs* and *Jagirs* and his nephew Jân bâz Khân was a Commander of 2,500.

Beside the nobles noticed above, after the *Ma'athir*, there were certainly many more, to whom special articles have not been devoted in that book but whose names occur frequently in it and in the histories of the Mughal period. Among these were *Beg Mohammad*, with the title of *Dindâr Khan* and *Ikhlas Khan* 'Aziz Za'i better-known as Ahmad Khân. Both of these have been casually mentioned in the *Akhbar* and several references to them occur in the '*Alamgir Nama*, of Mohammad Kâzim. Dîndâr Khân² was appointed as Faujdâr of Dîpâlpur in A.H. 1074 and made Commander of 2,500 *Dhat*, 2,000 *Sowar*. He appears to be the man whose sister was treated by Manucci at Qasûr (*Storia de Mogor* Ed. Irvine, II. 214). Ikhlas Khân is represented as playing a distinguished part in the early wars of Aurangzêb. His death is recorded in A. H. 1072³ when his son Khudâdâd Khân and his other relatives were given *Khil'ats* by the Emperor. But historical works, like the '*Alamgir Nama*, refer to them merely as Khweshgîs and do not make a specific reference to Qasûr. Moreover, they give few biographical details about them. We, therefore, leave them and proceed to notice two nobles of Qasûr, who flourished in the 18th century.

Before doing so, however, we must note in passing that the town of Qasûr is claimed in the *Sairistan* to have been held in fief by Nazar Muhammad Khân and his successors. During this period the Afghâns

(1) At Bâlâpûr. 'Alam 'Alî Khân fell in the battle fought on the 6th Shawwâl 1132. (See *Ma'athir* 3.841).

(2) See '*Alamgir Nama* p. 875.

(3) *Ibid* p. 765.

erected palatial buildings for themselves in Qasûr, and the town became enormously rich. Learned men and artisans flocked to it from Lahore, Multân and Hindustân proper. It extended for miles in each direction. Of this old Qasûr only a few traces¹ now exist. Some of us have seen its ruins but even they have mostly disappeared now.

To the history of the Eighteenth century, which saw the rapid decline of the Moghal Empire in India and the rise of the Sikhs in the Punjâb, the Afghâns of Qasûr made important contributions. Take for example the powerful contemporary chiefs Shâhdâd Khân and Husain Khân, who offer such a strong contrast to each other. The former served the Imperial Government to the best of his ability and made the supreme sacrifice for it. The latter lost his life in an attempt to realize his ambition to carve out a principality for himself, like so many others of his time. Here is a sketch of their lives after the *Ma'athir* (II. 711 and I. 600).

Shahdad Khan's real name was 'Abdul-Rahîm. He began his career in poverty but his marriage with a sister of Shams Khân Khweshgî, *Faujdar* of the Doâba Bist (p. 459 above), gave him a lift in life. Under Bahâdur Shâh (r. 1119 H./A.C. 1707 to 1124 H./A.C. 1712) he got a command of 500, as also the title of Shâhdâd Khân and was attached to Qutbuddîn Khân, uncle of Shams Khân, the *Faujdar* of Jammû. That officer lost his life, as we have seen, in a battle fought with Banda near Râypur and 'Abd al-Samad Khân, the Governor of Kashmîr, a Tûranî noble was appointed by Furrukh Siyâr (r. 1713-1719) as Governor of the Punjâb with orders to take charge of the operations against the Sikhs. The country between the Sutlej and the Beâs was held at this time by a new aspirant to power, 'Isâ Khân Manj, who was in open revolt against the Government and, as the Governor had apprehensions of molestation from him, when passing through the territory in which the Manj was supreme, Shâhdâd Khân promptly came to his help and rendered valuable service at this juncture. Later, he was appointed *Faujdar* of Lakhî Jangal and, after the capture of Banda, of the Doâba Bist. He was further ordered to suppress the revolt of the aforesaid 'Isa Khan². He raised new levies and engaged that powerful and very wealthy chief near Thâra, in the 5th

(1) See Appendix II.

(2) For a fuller account of the career of this man and of the battle of Thâra see Appendix III.

year of Farrukh Siyâr's reign (about A.H. 1127/A.C. 1715). His undisciplined troops gave way before the desperate and vehement onslaught of 'Isâ Khân who then rushed his elephant on the Afghan leader and pierced him with his sword. Shâhdâd held the sword of 'Isâ Khân with his hand, which was badly lacerated, and just then his companions shot 'Isâ Khân dead with their arrows. The victors next took the fort of the Manj chief and plundered its hoards of wealth. All the cash was appropriated by the troops and only part of the other loot was remitted to Lahore. 'Abd al-Samad grew furious at this conduct of Shâhdâd, ordered him to present himself alone at Lahore and there put him under arrest. The Afghân quietly sent for some troops from Qasûr and beating his drums escaped from the confinement to his native town, which had already declared its independence. A little later Mîr Jumla, a noble of the court of Farrukh Siyâr, took him to Delhi and made a fruitless effort to reconcile him to his Imperial Master. But, fortunately for him, he succeeded in attracting the notice of the King-Maker, Qutb al-Mulk Sayyid 'Abdullah who sent him to Bengal to fetch the Treasury. He brought in the Treasury, but in the interval his kinsman, Husain Khân, who had revolted at Qasûr, had been defeated and slain (in A.H. 1132/A.C. 1720) as we shall presently see, and Shâhdâd too fell into disfavour. But the assassination of the Sayyid's brother Amîr al-Umarâ Sayyid Husain 'Alî in the same year, induced Qutb-al Mulk again to take him into favour. All was, however, soon over with the Sayyid, who was defeated and taken prisoner. At this time Khân Dawrân, who had now become supreme at the court of Delhi, extended his patronage to Shâhdâd quite unexpectedly¹, and he was made *Faujdar* of Hânsî and Hisâr. The District was virtually in a state of anarchy due to the feebleness of the central Government, and Shâhdâd Khân had to make no small efforts to restore order in it, with the help of his Khweshgis, whose losses at times must have been very great and depressing for him. When he returned to Delhi after these meritorious services,² he was raised to a command of 6,000 and presented with a fringed palanquin³.

(1) For the revolting 'Isâ Khân, referred to above, was said to be a favourite of Khân Dawrân who might be expected to have resented the termination of his career at the hands of Shâhdâd Khân. (2) Attention may here be invited to what appears to me to be an inaccurate statement that he governed Hisâr for thirty years (1707-1737), see the *Gazetteer of the Hisar District* (Lahore, 1916) pp. 247 and 26 (3) see Irvine's *Army of Indian Moghuls* p. 29 last line.



When Nâdir Shâh invaded India, Shâhdâd accompanied his patron Khân Dawrân, the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian forces, to the field of battle near Karnâl (in the spring of A.C. 1739) and like him fell fighting¹. We now turn to *Husain Khan*.

He was the eldest son of Sultân Ahmad whose career has been briefly noticed above (p. 459). It was stated there that Sultân Ahmad died on his way to the court of 'Alamgîr and that his two younger sons Pîr Khân and Bâyezîd having proceeded on to the Imperial court received *mansabs*, while the eldest Husain Khân returned to Qasûr and succeeded to its chiefship. Though he was given a *mansab*, he would not leave his home. He raised a large army and almost assumed independence, refusing to submit his accounts to the Viceroy at Lahore, and paying him what he pleased on account of the Jâgîrs in the Qasûr territory.

In the fratricidal wars which followed the death of Bahâdur Shâh, he remained neutral, watching the issue. Early in the reign of Farrukh Siyâr, 'Abd al-Samad Khân was sent as Governor of Lahore. He tried to conciliate Husain Khân, invited him to Lahore and appointed him *Faujdar* of Lakhî Jangal. The result was quite contrary to the expectations of the Governor, *viz.*, the loss to the Government of the revenues of another district beside Qasûr. The Governor next sent to Qasûr as his agent ('*Amil*') Qutb-ud-dîn Rohela, with a body of troops but the Afghân obstructed him in every way and finally attacking him with his troops, he slew him and plundered his camp². It appears that the Khân had gone to these lengths because the Sayyid King-makers had secretly encouraged him, as they wanted to break the power of the Turanian noble 'Abd al-Samad Khân. We are told they had written to the Khân that, in the event of success,

(1) He fell with the sword (cf. *Jahankusha*, Bombay, 1309 p. 353) or with the bullet (*Bayan Waqî*). Shâhdâd Khân and Qasûriyâs are mentioned in the Ballad on Nâdir Shâh's invasion published in the *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society* Vol. VI. No. 1. (see verses 815, 825 and also 702). From the *Sairistan* (p. 10) it appears that some Khâns of Qasûr had tendered their submission to Nâdir Shâh at Lahore and thereby, saved their town from harm at the hands of the Khurâsânîs.

(2) In fact he had defeated on several occasions the troops of the Viceroys and of the princes royal and, ejecting all the Imperial and Provincial officials from his territory, he revolted openly at the time when 'Abd al-Samad Khân became Viceroy of Lahore (cf. *Khafî Khan* 2-861). The *Tarikh Muzaffari* has "twice or thrice" in place of "on several occasions" in the passage quoted above from Khâfî Khân.

he would be given the Viceroyalty of Lahore¹ (Khâfi Khân, 2.86; cf. *Ma'athir* I. 604 where both this and the opposite views are stated).

Husain Khân next began to ravage the neighbouring territory². 'Abd al-Samad Khân had, therefore, no other alternative left but to take the field against him. With 7,000³ cavalry he left Lahore⁴, and wrote to Husain Khân that he could be allowed to retain Qasûr, provided he did not ravage the neighbouring districts. This offer was not accepted and the two armies⁵ met at Chûniyân (30 kos from Lahore, 18 from Qasûr) on April 15, 1720⁶.

(1) These disgraceful tactics of the intriguers at the Delhi court about this time are thus referred to by the author of the *Bayan Waqi* (Punjab University MS. f. 172).

د ر سلطنت محمد شاه بسبب اختلاف رای امراء رهند و ستان فتنه ها
رون ادزیرا که یکی از امراء بر طبق قانون صلاح و صواب کاری سرانجام
می داد و دیگری برای دفع خرد (و) سبکی او کارش را برهم میزد
و باد شاه دم نمی زد با عفت سکوت باد شاه قضیه محمد فروخ سیر
و حسین علی خان و عبد الله خان بود هر کدام از امرازمینداری
را رفیق خود ساختند راز دیاد قوت او سعی می فرمود تا پیش
پادشاه معروض دارد که اگر فلان امیر خواستم باشد که سر قای
و بی ادبی نماید فلان زمیندار که دست گرفته بدنه است قدر کش
خواهد کرد و این امر و هیله قرب و منزلت نفس می شد آخر شده شد
زمینداران قوی شدند و ارکان و امرا از کار رفتند

(2) With 8 or 9 thousand cavalry (Khâfi Khân 2.862). The *Muzaffari* has 19 thousand but its نوزده may be a mistranscription for نه (8). So in *Ma'athir*, which makes the Imperialists number more than twice the Afghâns (Imper. 7,000, Afghâns 3,000) contrary to Khâfi Khân; who makes them slightly less than the Afghâns (Impr. 7 or 8,000 Afghans, 8 or 9 thousand) and to the *Muzaffari* which makes them nearly 15 p. c. less than the Afghâns (Imper. 10 or 12 thousands, Afghâns 19 thousand) (4) Apparently in the reign of Rafi'ud-Daulah (cf. *Ma'athir* 2.527) which lasted, as calculated from a statement of the *Bayan Waqi* from Rajab to Shawwâl 1131/May-August 1719. Thus the Viceroy must have left Lahore some 7 months before the battle. (5) The Afghân Generals were riding elephants (Khâfi Khân). (6) The *Ma'athir* (1.604 l.8) gives the date of the battle as 6 Jumadâ II, year 2 of the reign of Muhammad Shâh and states elsewhere (III 840) that the year 2 of Muhammad Shâh fell in 1132. Thus 6 Jumadâ II, year 2, is equal to April 15th 1720. (Cf. also Khâfi Khân II 860 seq., where Jumadâ II, 1132 appears to be given as the date of the battle). The *Muzaffari* gives only the year 2—of Muhammad Shâh. The *Ma'athir*, however, contradicts itself on II. 605 where 1130 is given in Arabic words as the year in which Husain Khân was slain. This date, if, not a misprint, must be taken as wrong.

The Afghâns charged down on the Imperial artillery¹ and, cutting through it, fell on the vanguard which was defeated. Husain Khân then attacked the left wing at the head of two or three thousand horsemen². The new levies of the Imperial army melted away before his onslaught; but the Commander of the wing, Aghar Khân, a brave Moghal warrior, whose ancestors had performed prodigies of valour under Shâh-jehân and Aurangzêb, held his ground with about three score³ Moghal archers, and not only withstood the charge but discharged arrows so effectively that the Afghâns, some of the most prominent of whom were killed, turned away from them and in two formations attacked the right wing and the centre of the Imperialists. This time again the Turanians were dispersed and 'Abd al-Samad Khân was about to be borne down⁴ when Aghar Khân came up again and rushed on the enemy. The elephant driver of Husain Khân was shot dead with a bullet and the spiritual leader of the Khân, who was with him in the *howdah*, with an arrow. Husain Khân also had received a mortal wound, his elephant, for want of a driver, rushing about with him madly—a moving target for the arrows and the bullets of the Tûrânians. Suddenly the *howdah* caught fire, probably from a bullet, and the Khân was slain with a large number of his men⁵.

After the fall of Husain Khân the Afghân who acquired great prominence at Qasûr was Jalle Khân. Of him we shall hear more presently.

On the return of Nâdir Shâh from India the Sikhs again became powerful and Jassâ Singh, the Ahlûwâlîya

(1) I have given the account of the battle mainly after Khâfi Khân II. 861 (= Elliot and Dawson VII. 491) who was contemporary with these events. I have also noted in the foot-notes any differences which I could detect between this narrative and that of the *Muzaffari* (Punjab University MS. ff. 39 seq.). In fact there is so much of agreement between the two accounts that I think the author of the *Muzaffari* who is later, probably made use of Khâfi Khân's.

(2) This number is given by Khâfi Khân only.

(3) The *Ma'athir* gives their number as 56, *Khafi Khan* 50 or 60. *Muzaffari* 100.

(4) See the *Siyar al-Muta'akhhirin* (Lucknow 1319) p. 426 for an incident not mentioned by others.

(5) When the news of this victory reached the Sayyids they feigned to be very pleased with what had happened and honoured the Viceroy with the title of *Saif al-Dawlah* 'Abd al Samad Khân, Bahâdur, Diler Jang (Khâfi Khân, but cf. *Ma'athir* 2.516). From a statement of Mufti Taj ud-dîn, it would appear that the present appearance of Qasûr as an aggregation of fortified hamlets (cf. *Imp. Gaz.*) dates from this period. See Appendix II.

Chief, conquered extensive territory on the banks of the Sutlej, which he could not retain, as the Moghal troops drove him to the Hills. But in A.C. 1745, after the death of Zakariya Khân the Viceroy of Lahore, Jassâ Singh found the central power shaken, and taking advantage of the situation he "descended to the plains and with the help of other Sirdârs raided Qasûr. He was not able to accomplish much" (*Kapurthala State* 9. 3).

Soon after this, Ahmad Shâh Abdâli invaded India and as Shâh Nawâz Khân, the Viceroy of Lahore, fled to Delhi, the Zamindârs of Lahore tendered their submission to the Abdâli. Among these were some Khâns of Qasûr¹ including Jalle Khân. Lakhpat, *diwan* of Shâh Nawâz Khân, undertook to collect the indemnity imposed on the city of Lahore and Jalle Khân was appointed by Ahmad Shâh as his representative for the collection of money, and later, as Governor of Lahore². (The '*Umdat-al Tarvarikh*' by Sohanlâl, Lahore 1885-89, I. 123). In 1762³ Ahmad Shâh invaded the Punjâb for the sixth time. He inflicted a severe defeat on the Sikhs but hardly had he returned to Afghânistân towards the end of the year,⁴ when Jassâ Singh, forming an alliance with the Râmgarhya and Kânhyia *Misls*, invaded Qasûr. Four hundred Afghâns fell in the battle and their commanders Alif Khân, Hasan Khân, and Kamâl Dîn Khân were killed. The town was taken, pillaged and burnt down⁵. The loot obtained was so much that jewelled ornaments which fell to the share of Sirdâr Târâ Singh⁶ alone, were worth

(1) cf. *Sairistan* p. 11. The author claims that his great-grandfather Pîr Hasan Khân came to Lâhore with his 500 horsemen and was sent with a flying column to track down the Sikhs, in advance of the army. For this reason the Qasûr principality was allowed to remain intact. This was its second escape since Nâdir Shâh's invasion. (2) But cf. *Latif* 217. He represents "Zila Khan" as going over to the enemy when sent to oppose him. The Qasûriyâ who raised the contribution with Lakhpat, he calls Momin Khân. This Momin Khân, according to him, became *diwan* of Lakhpat whom the Abdâli appointed Governor of Lâhore.

(3) The *Sairistan* places the invasion in A.C. 1764. Cunningham, *History of the Sikhs*, (London 1849) p. 111 refers to no specific invasion in 1764 but simply says that "the whole country from the Jhelum to the Sutlej was partitioned among chiefs and their followers."

(4) Cunningham, *op. cit.* p. 109. (5) Cf. Cunningham *l.c.*, *Sairistan* p. 13, *Kapurthala State*, p. 4. According to the last mentioned, Qasûr territory was given to the Bhangî chief who held it until 1794. A.C.

(6) Bûti Shâh (f. 13 b) states something similar about the share of Jassâ Singh Râmgarhya. The jewellery that he got, when placed on a cot, could be lifted by four men, with difficulty. This was buried in the neighbourhood of Amritsar and was lost, as the site where it was buried could not be traced.

four lakhs (*Tarikh Punjab* by Kanhayâ Lâl, Lahore 1881, p. 107). As Bûtî Shâh puts it, the loot of Qasûr formed the financial basis of the Sirdârship of many a Sikh chief¹.

From Qasûr proper the Sikhs turned towards Kôt Khâwja Husain and besieged it. Just then news arrived that Ahmad Khân Shihnajî, a general of the Abdâlî had reached Gujrât². So the Sikhs made peace with the Afghâns and hurried towards Gujrât (*Sairistan* p. 13). But they reappeared in A.C. 1770 under the Bhangî chiefs Jhandâ Singh³ and Gandâ Singh. Khwâja Ghulâm Mohy ud-dîn, one of the Qasûr chiefs, who had defended Kôt Khwâja Husain on the former occasion, was slain the fortified hamlets were captured and the territory was divided up among the various chiefs. Kôt Khwâja Husain fell to the lot of Gulâb Singh Bhangî, who after appointing his own officials, left the town for Amritsar (*Sairistan* 14.).

Nizâm ud-dîn Hasanza'î and his brother Qutb ud-dîn began their careers as freebooters⁴ and gradually collected some ninety followers. When Zamân Shâh entered the Punjâb, the Bhangîs who were then holding Qasûr left the place and fled to the Hills⁵. Nizâm ud-dîn established himself at Qasûr and in A.H. 1211/A.C. 1796, when Zamân Shâh entered Lahore, placed his services at the Abdâlî's disposal. He offered to restore order in the Punjâb in one year, if the Abdâlî lent him men and money. The men he undertook to return after raising his own levies; as to the money, he promised to submit to Kâbul annually five lakhs of rupees as tribute. The Shâh did not accept the offer and had to leave suddenly on account of the revolt of his brother Mahmûd in Herât. On his return journey he granted Ranjît Singh's request for the temporary occupation of Lahore till further orders, and Ranjît Singh promptly occupied Lahore (in A.C. 1799). This chief was

(1) That the ruination of Qasûr made a powerful impression on the people of the Punjab is shown by a verse of Wârith Shâh who says (about A.H. 1180/A.C. 1766):
سارے ملک پنجاب خراب و چون میزند بُد افسوس :
قصور دلی

(2) The incident is not mentioned by Cunningham. (3) cf. Cunningham 122. "Jhanda Singh succeeded Harî Singh Bhangî in 1770 and carried the power of the *Misl* to its height." *Id.* 121.

(4) Cf. 'Umda, 2: 52, *Sairistan* 15. According to Griffin-Massy the two brothers entered the service of the Bhangî conquerors of the Qasûr territory. They expelled the Sikhs in 1794(?). Gulab Singh made frequent attempts to recover his lost territory. For the genealogy of Nizamud-Din see Griffin-Massy I. 205.

(5) Buti Shâh.

at first friendly towards Nizâm ud-dîn but the revolutions in the Afghân country had hastened the fall of the Abdâlîs and Ranjît Singh wanted to take full advantage of the situation. Nizâm ud-dîn was an able leader¹ and nearly as powerful as the Sikh chief. Like Ranjît Singh he had at this time 7,000 horsemen and a few guns². Such a dangerous rival could not be tolerated so near Lahore. Moreover, Nizam ud-dîn had aided the Bhangîs when Ranjît Singh was reducing them to submission after the capture of Lahore³. He, therefore, resolved to crush the Qasûriyâs, and making an alliance with Sirdâr Fateh Singh Ahlûwâliya of Kapûrthala he invaded Qasûr in A.C. 1803⁴. But the effort proved abortive. Nizâm ud-dîn opposed the advance of the allies at five miles from Qasûr but was forced to fall back on the town,⁵ where he was besieged. Some of the besiegers the Khân managed secretly to win over and they were actually sending him war supplies during the siege. When Ranjît Singh got to know this he decided to raise the siege. He received the Khân's brother Qutb ud-dîn with kindness⁶ established a *thana* near Qasûr and then left the town⁷. It was agreed that certain members of the Khân's family⁸ should act as messengers between the two chiefs. These were received by Ranjît Singh at Amritsar and it so happened that each one of them had a private grudge against their own chief⁹. Ranjît Singh showered favours on them, in return for which they offered him their services¹⁰. They returned to Qasûr and, entering the sleeping apartment of Nizâm ud-dîn, where he was having his siesta, they slew him.

One of the assassins with some of the accomplices was slain in vengeance; the other escaped to the Deccan. The Nawâb's son being a minor, his brother Qutb ud-dîn ascended the *Masnad*. This was in 1803. A year later Ranjît Singh made another fruitless attempt¹¹

(1) cf. Cunningham 128, 143.

(2) cf. *Sairistan* p. 17.

(3) See Cunningham 139.

(4) Sohanlâl, who is followed by Bûtî Shâh, gives the date as Samv. 1860. Bik. which according to Sewell's *Indian Calendar* gives 1802-3 A.C. (5) Cf. 'Umda II, 52. (*Kapurthala State* p. 7). (6) 'Umda I.c. (7) Cf. Cunningham 139, who says that the Khân became a feudatory to Ranjit Singh. So also in Kanhaya Lâl's *Tarikh Punjab* (Lahore, 1881) p. 156. (8) Their names were Hâji Khân and Wâsil Khân Cf. Amar Nâth's *Tarikh Khalisa* (Punjab University MS. f. 8b.) (9) For full details see *Sairistan* p. 18. (10) See Amar Nâth f. 9a. (11) Bûtî Shâh (f. 14a) says he made two or three such attempts.

to take Qasŭr. Ultimately he succeeded in 1806¹. In that year Sirdār Fateh Singh of Kapŭrthala and other Cis-Sutlej Sirdārs accompanied him and the army, horse and foot, numbered one lakh (cf. *Umda* II. 64). Qutb ud-dīn tried to persuade the Khāns, who were occupying twelve fortresses at Qasŭr, to demolish all but one, so as to improve the chances of defence; but his advice was not accepted². So after a month's fighting³ he gave up resistance in despair for want of provisions and war-supplies and offered to surrender the town, provided he was allowed to go with his family and men to the fort of Mamdot, on the other side of the Sutlej. This was agreed to. Qasŭr was annexed to the Lahore Kingdom and placed under Sirdar Nihāl Singh Atārīwāla. In 1808 Qutb ud-dīn⁴ submitted to the Mahārāja and was allowed to retain his estates on both banks of the Sutlej, yielding a revenue of about Rs. 80,000 (cf. *Umda* III. 1. 6.). He took part in the expeditions of the Mahārāja against Kashmīr⁵ (samvat 1571/1813-14 A.C.) and Multān (samvat 1873/1315-16 A.C.).

Qutb ud-dīn died at Amritsar in 1831. His son Jamāl ud-dīn Khān, is described by Bŭtī Shāh (in 1848) as still serving the Mahārāja. Fath ud-dīn Khān, son of Nizām ud-dīn Khān, was also serving the same master. The descendants of Qutb ud-dīn Khān are still⁶ holding the estates of Mamdot.

(1) Sohanlāl gives the date as Samv. 1863 Bik. which according to Sewall is 1805-06 A.C. I have, therefore, not adopted 1807 the date which Cunningham gives. (2) Cf. Cunningham 143: "want of unity weakened the resistance of the chief." So also in Bŭtī Shāh.

(3) Griffin-Massy I. 206.

(4) "The lands belonging to the township of Kasŭr, comprising slightly over 8,000 acres were confiscated by the Sikh Government when the city of Kasŭr was taken from the Pathans and had not been disposed of by them when the Government passed from the hands of the Sikhs to the British." (*Lahore Gazetteer* p. 248). Most of these are still crown lands.

(5) Fath Dīn Khān son of Nizām Dīn Khān was given a Jāgīr by Ranjīt Singh, at Ma'rūf (Gugera District) on the same condition as to his uncle, *viz.*, the service of one hundred horsemen. But Fathdīn was not satisfied, as he considered Mamdot to be his by right. So he crossed the river in 1831 and drove out Qutb uddīn from Mamdot, who died soon after at Amritsar. But Ranjīt Singh interfered at this stage, recalled F. D. and confirmed Jamāl uddīn Khān in his father's possessions. F. D. made one more abortive effort to take Mamdot but the Mahārāja ordered him back to Lāhore. He fell in 1845 at Ferozeshah fighting on the Sikh side against the British (Griffin-Massy I. 206 seq.)

(6) In the *Tashriah al-Aqwam* by Col. James Skinner, compiled in 1241/1825, Qutb ud-dīn is described as the Chief of the Afghāns of Qasŭr (British Museum copy f. 116.)

Qasûr was first occupied by the British on the 11th February 1846¹, the day after the battle of Sabrâon, and again on the annexation of the Panjâb.

Perhaps the most important figure among the Afghâns of Qasûr, in the British period, was Mubâriz al-Dawla Pîr Ibrâhîm Khân Bahâdur. His father and other relatives settled in Mamdot after the annexation of Qasûr by Ranjît Singh. In 1817 he entered the service of the Mahârâja, but after some time left it and went to Delhî to study medicine. In 1830 he returned to Mamdot and managed his Estate for Quth ud-dîn. In 1837 he joined the service of the East India Company. From 1840 he held the post of the Native Political Agent of the British Government at the Court of Bahâwalpur, and rendered valuable services during the siege of Multân (Second Sikh War). Major Edwards in *A year on the Punjab Frontier* (1851) II. 315 speaks of him thus :

“The Peer was one of those men who are found only on Frontiers, as the Chamois is found only amid snows. On one side of his girdle was a pen, and on the other a sword ; and he had a head and a hand and a heart, ready to wield either with vigour.”

In 1849 Ibrâhîm Khân visited England and on his return wrote a brief account of his travels, in Persian, which also contains a short history of his own tribe. He published this work under the title of *Sairistan*² and I have often quoted it in the preceding pages.

Besides Ibrâhîm Khân, some other Afghâns³ of Qasûr have had distinguished careers, especially in the Army and Police departments, which used to attract great numbers of them at one time, but the elements of decline have been at work and very few of them join these services now. Nor have they taken to modern education, with the result that they are gradually sinking into the background at Qasûr—sorry remnants of a noble band of high-spirited warriors⁴ who built their fame for daring and courage, by much tough fighting on numerous battle-fields spread

(1) Cf. Latif p. 548.

(2) The book was lithographed in Multân in 1854.

(3) Perhaps the best known of them was Risâldâr Major Nizâm ud-dîn. His son Sirdâr ‘Abdullâh Khân was native A.D.C. to Lord Kitchener and died of Cholera at Qasûr in 1909.

(4) Cf. *Tashrih al-Aqwam* (f. 116) :

افغانان آنجا (یعنی قصور) جمہور و زکار پیشہ و رہنما و شہسوار و جلا دت معروف و مشہور علمی و مخصوص د رہنما شمشیر زنی طاقت

over the length and breadth of India, throughout the modern period of its history.

The above is a brief sketch of the contribution of the Qasûriyas to the political history of their own province in particular, and of India in general. There is some more material available relating to their contributions to the world of letters and to the spiritual life of their country. I propose to deal with this aspect in another essay.

The accompanying illustration is taken from a painting in the British Museum copy of this work.

MOHAMMAD SHAFI.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE OCCULT IN REVEALED RELIGION.

THAT devoted student of Sûfism, Khân Sâhib Khâja Khân of Madras, to whom we are already indebted for some interesting research-work, has, now in pursuance of his self-appointed task to bring the wonders of Tasawwuf to the notice of the English-reading public, brought out a translation of the *Fususul-Hikam* of Sheykh Muhyî-ud-dîn ibn 'Alî al-'Arabî, which he has named "Wisdom of the Prophets¹", and of which one chapter appeared some time ago as an article in "Islamic Culture." He calls it a "synoptical" translation, a term which rather puzzles us in this connection; and probably means (an opinion confirmed by study of the contents) that in this book he has translated a summary only of the Sheykh's work, a general account merely. The Arabic title of the work means "The Bezels of Wisdom" (bezel being the precious stone which bears the signet in a ring). As the bezel is the essential part of the signet-ring, the term may be applied to the essential part of anything, hence it is here used to indicate the peculiar psychic gift bestowed on each Prophet which endowed him with authority and power within a certain sphere. Indeed Sûfism is altogether concerned with the psychic or, as some would call it, occult meaning of the Scriptures, and with the psychic or occult in human life, and Sheykh Muhammad Muhi-ud-dîn ibn 'Alî al-'Arabî (who "came out of the outer arc of the Divine knowledge on the 7th of the month of Ramazan 560 A.H. (July 28, A.D. 1165) in the city of Murcia in Spain and entered the outer arc of ayan on 22nd Rabiuth-thani 638 A.H. (Nov. 16, A.D. 1240) having been

(1) Wisdom of the Prophets (in the light of Tasawwuf). A synoptical translation into English of Shayk Muhiuddin ibn-i-Ali ul Arabi's famous standard book on Tasawwuf—*Fusus-ul-Hikam* (Bezels of Wisdom), with analytical notes on each Fas, and a life of the Shayk. By Khan Sahib Khaja Khan, B.A., Madras, Hogarth Press, Mount Road Rs. 2.

on the road of travel to gather experience of both sides for 78 years, 7 months and 9 days as the Hijara year counts)" is one of the most renowned exponents of Sûfism. "Fusus-ul-Hikam is an abstract of the whole philosophy of the Shayk" (*sic*), writes the Khân Sâhib in his preface. "It was considered to be a standard work, and was used as such in the Muslim colleges of ancient days. This is the translation of a summary of each Fas (bezel of wisdom) of this book. It is as close to the original text of the Shayk as possible; inasmuch as there is no additional matter incorporated, nor an idea added; only such portions of each Fas have been excluded as are offshoots from the main line. The Shayk is in the habit of running off the line; sometimes he runs off at a tangent in explanation of a mere word that occurs in his theme, and does not finally revert to the point from which he digressed. He is carried away by his thoughts and is not under the control of sequence. Such treatment will be objected to by modern writers. The Shayk's trend of thought is more or less Carlylean. Portions like these have been omitted as well as portions that did not seem quite germane to the subject. The Shayk does not sometimes stick to one subject in each fas; he reiterates it in other fases. The threads of his arguments run one into another without connecting links. Such reiteration specially relating to points of Arabic philology and grammar had to be kept out."

Thus the Khân Sâhib's work is confessedly an abstract of an abstract of one of the most abstruse works ever written; he admits that he has omitted at his own discretion passages of interest to the learned. In fact he has punished the Sheykh severely through disapproval of his idiosyncrasies, as he apparently would punish Carlyle, if he had the handling of his work, merely for being Carlyle. Add to this the Khan Sahib's habit of using the Arabic and Persian terminology of Sûfism, without even italics, as if it must be familiar to his English readers, instead of seeking English equivalents, thus shirking the hardest part of the translator's work, and it is no wonder that his book is largely unintelligible even to a reader with some knowledge of the matter in hand. He writes:

"In the transliteration of Arabic characters I have tried to adopt the system of the Royal Asiatic Society." There is certainly an improvement in transliteration since his "*Studies in Tasawwuf*," but the prevalence of misprints prevents it from attaining the R. A. S. standard.

Still, for those who can put up with these initial difficulties we have indicated and have the patience to read through it, the book affords some interesting information and even here and there a glimpse of that unearthly beauty which no writing by a Sûfi of the higher order can be quite without. Most curious is the inclusion among well-known and generally acknowledged Prophets of one Khâlid, of whom the Sheykh (if one may say so of the words contained in this abridged translation of a summary) writes : “ Khalid, the son of Sanan laid claim to the prophethood of *barzakh* (hades), which consisted in his coming back to this world to reveal the secrets of that state after his death. He asserted that he would reveal these secrets with a view to corroborate the statements that the former prophets had made, if they dug out his corpse after he was buried and questioned him whether the affairs of the hades were conducted after the manner of this world (as the prophets had described). His object was to become a source of blessings to the whole world, if the whole world brought faith in all these prophets. He was a herald of the Prophet Muhammad (peace be on him), although he was not a prophet himself nor had a mission of his own, but wished to have a share in the blessings in store for ‘ the Seal of the Prophets. ’ His nation did not, however, turn him or at least his advice to good use. ” Khân Sâhib Khâja Khân, in an “ analytical ” note, explains : “ This Khalid is not the same as the Khalid, the renowned Muslim general, who fought with the Persians and Romans. He was a seer who lived in one of the villages of Aden, shortly before the time of the Prophet (peace be on him). The story connected with him is as follows : Once a fire emerged out of a mountain cave near Aden, and burnt down the fields and cattle of the villagers. Khalid drove back the fire, and himself entered the cave, telling the villagers that if they called him out after full three days he would come back sound and healthy. They, however, had not sufficient patience, and called out after two days. He came out, but with a bad headache caused by their premature call, and gave out that he was doomed to die ; and that forty days after his burial a flock of sheep headed by a tail-cut ass would approach the grave. He also said that they had to wait till then, and reopen his grave ; when he would rise up and give a description of things in the hades—a state said to be between *ajsam* (material bodies) and *amthal* (thought bodies), i.e., a state in which thoughts appear in forms. When what Khalid had foretold actually came to pass, the people wanted to

reopen the grave ; but his sons stood in the way, as they did not like to become known to the world as the descendants of one whose grave was reopened ; his behest was thus not carried out ; and he was not able to come back and explain how far a mere intention could secure a reward in the next world."

The region of Tasawwuf, a world inhabited by men for whom the dead are as the living, as conversable, and "miracles" are as simple as the act of swimming, has acquired new interest today owing to the growth of similar ideas in Christendom. The spiritualists of Islâm base their research on faith and their aim is to draw nearer to the Divine Presence, whereas the modern European "Spiritualists" claim science for incentive, their avowed aim being only to demonstrate scientifically the existence of a life beyond the grave, in which the human soul preserves its personality ; but the phenomena which the Spiritualists record are those familiar to the Sûfis, and their conclusion in terms of belief bids fair to be the Sûfi's starting-point. First of all, there is the medium, the human being gifted with the psychic properties necessary to enable spirits to converse with men. He may be a self-seeking person, and if so, whatever his gifts, he is untrustworthy ; he degenerates into the juggling sorcerer growing worse and worse as he goes on. In the same way, among the Sûfis, as Ibn Khaldûn in the admirable passage on Tasawwuf in the *Muqaddamat* explains, any lower aim than the approach to God vitiates the whole study, effort and progression of the adept, making whatever psychic power he has acquired a bane both to himself and others. Again, the Sûfis find a psychic sense in Holy Scripture and follow that alone. The leaders of what may now be almost called the religion of Spiritualism were mostly, to begin with, deists, like Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, or scientific agnostics like Sir Oliver Lodge. But psychical research has led them to a belief in the Bible akin to that of the Sûfis in all revealed Scriptures. We have before us a book¹ which states the new standpoint clearly, expounding the Old and New Testaments in the light of psychical research. It is by Mrs. St. Clair Stobart, a lady who distinguished herself greatly in Serbia during the war and

(1) *Ancient Lights or The Bible, the Church and Psychic Science*. An attempt to restore the ancient lights of the Bible and the Church. By Mrs. St. Clair Stobart with an Introduction and a Preface by Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S., D.Sc. London. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co.

has an introduction by Sir Oliver Lodge. Of the prophets in the Old Testament Mrs. Stobart writes :

“ From the psychic scientist’s point of view there is no reason to suppose that all the revelations always came direct from the Supreme Spirit, whether he was Jahveh or another, and very obviously the communications often suggested an atmosphere which was not at all divine, as when the Lord ordered Saul to slay the Amalekites hip and thigh, and to leave neither women nor children alive ; or when the Lord, having just elaborately prepared Moses for his great mission of rescuing the children of Israel from Egyptian bondage, tried to slay him in the lodging-house just after he had started on his work. According to our modern notions of the extent of the Universe, we cannot suppose that the Supreme Deity would personally superintend the conversion of a walking-stick into a serpent or the healing of boils etc. For these minor purposes, holy angels acquainted with God’s will would probably be employed. But the translators, who had lost the intimate knowledge of the spirit-life, formerly a common possession, assumed that because there was only one God, there was only one communicating spirit.”

The Muslim reader is astonished at the almost frivolous tone, and still more the materialistic attitude adopted towards such a subject as Divine Omnipotence, but we have observed in many writings of the Spiritualists that the object of their interested search is not the approach to God, but only spirits, good, bad or indifferent. Here they differ from the Sûfis, but there are not lacking signs that, with more experience, they are likely to be forced to take the Sûfi standpoint on this subject too, just as they have learnt from experience to banish the self-seeking medium.

“ Now when we read that the Lord spake unto Abram, and that Abram obeyed the command, we must assume that Abram heard a voice, the direct voice of the Lord, of the communicating spirit ; that he was, in fact, clair-audient, and that it was to him a very real voice and a very real communication, or he would not have taken it seriously....and when (Gen. XII v. 7) we are told that the Lord, that is the spirit, presumably the same spirit, appeared unto Abram by the oak of Moreh, and told him that this land would be given to his seed ; and that Abram built an altar to the Lord and that the Lord again appeared to him, we cannot but believe, if words have any meaning, that this was a real apparition of the

communicating Lord and that Abram was clairvoyant as well as clair-audient. Abram then (Gen. XII v. 8.) moved to a mountain on the east of Bethel, and built another altar to the Lord, and "called upon the name of the Lord." This phrase, it will be noticed, does not in the least suggest prayer, praise or worship in the ordinary sense, but an invocation of the spirit which was in the habit of appearing to him. For, as we have just seen, men had already begun (Gen. IV. v. 26) to "call upon the name of the Lord" or "to compel spirits" in accordance with the recognised procedure for intercourse with the spirit world. And we find continually that, when Abram and others who had psychic powers were in difficulties, it was the custom to build an altar, to hold a sitting, to call upon the Lord, and doubtless the smoke from the burning of the animals sacrificed afforded for the Spirit useful conditions for materialising purposes... And it does not seem that Abram was selected for personal intercourse with the Lord on account of superior virtue. For we have in this twelfth chapter (of Genesis) an example of a very shabby trick which he was in the habit of playing upon his hosts when he travelled with his wife Sarah."

All through the narrative Books of the Old Testament Mrs. Stobart carries her point, that only for their psychic powers were these men exalted, and only for their psychic element were these events deemed worthy of narration, and shows how the methods and phenomena described agree with those of modern "Spiritualists"; and every now and then we have a recurrence of the remark that it was not for superior virtue that these men of old were chosen by the Lord, but only for the psychic powers inherent in them. That remark, though absolutely contrary to Muslim teaching, comes naturally from a reader of the Scriptures written by the Hebrews who, unlike the older Semitic race, seem to delight in attributing to their Prophets failings of which the Qurân exonerates them. None of the examples of "shabby tricks" which Mrs. Stobart finds in the Biblical accounts of Abraham and Jacob (peace be on them both) among others, are to be found in the Qurân, or indeed in Arab folk-lore which deals much with those great men of old.

"All Sunday-school teachers" writes Mrs. Stobart, "know from experience the difficulty of explaining to their scholars, conformably with the morality they are supposed to inculcate, the high favour in which Jacob was held by God. But this difficulty vanishes, together

with many similar difficulties, when we read these stories with even but a glimmering of psychic knowledge. For we then realise that, though the psychic sense is probably inherent in everyone, it is so latent in the majority of people that the Lord's choice of individuals through whom He can reveal himself is limited, and He must make his coat of such cloth as is available at the time."

Evidently by "the Lord" the author here understands only a communicating spirit. But she makes the mistake, from a Muslim's point of view, of supposing that all spirits are under the same limitations as those with whom the Spiritualists can communicate through any medium, who cannot "get through" without the service of the medium. According to the Muslim spiritualists, who take guidance from our holy Prophet, all angels are inferior to men except the "High Chiefs" and it is one of the "High Chiefs" always who is sent by Allah to inspire and to support His chosen messengers. The difference in the points of view is interesting and significant. The psychic element in the story of Joseph is much more evident in the Qurân than in the Bible; but in the narratives of other Israelitish Prophets Muslims will be able to follow Mrs. Stobart quite as well as those for whom she writes, and will be much more likely to agree with her conclusions, which will not seem new to them.

"If psychic phenomena are figments of the imagination now, they were equally figments of the imagination in the days of Moses; and, if this is so, the story of Moses and the Exodus is a fairy-tale which should, together with the greater portion of the Bible, be discarded as a meaningless and misleading fiction. Then this record of Moses and all the other psychic records are absurdities. But if psychic phenomena today are found to correspond in almost every detail with phenomena recorded everywhere in the Bible, and if we can, by scientific investigation, assure ourselves of the genuineness of the phenomena today, as Moses in his day was assured, we all should, Church people and psychic Scientists alike, be led to a further and more sympathetic study of the general principles which are contained in the psychic messages of the Bible, in the hope of re-establishing the Kingdom of Heaven on earth."

On the narrative of the New Testament Mrs. Stobart writes more reverently but quite as strongly, showing that all the miracles of Jesus (upon whom be peace) conformed to known psychic laws, which she regards as natural,

though till now uninvestigated, laws, and are therefor no proof of divinity, but only of extraordinary psychic powers. "The churches fail to see that by taking Christ's Resurrection, Appearances and Ascension as exceptional occurrences which were due to his exceptional divinity, they deprive men of a proof that there is an after-life for them. The more the Church differentiates the nature of Christ from the nature of mankind, so much the less can men derive from the Resurrection of Christ any hope of Resurrection for themselves. If Christ only rose from the dead and ascended into heaven, as the Bible crudely puts it, because he was the Son of God, there is no proof that there is Resurrection and Ascension for us who are only sons of men.....But those who cannot believe, as the heathen did, in vicarious sacrifice realize today that it is not Christ's death which saves us, as the Churches tell us, from our own sins, but His rising from the dead which gives us hope that our earthly sins will be remitted, when we grasp the spiritual meaning of life, to which death is but the open door."

"No mention here of creeds and doctrines, no Immaculate conception, no Trinitarian abstractions, no casuistry. All that these early Christians had to believe was that Christ had risen from the dead, and all they had to do was to lead a life which proved their belief that this life is only the shadow cast in advance, instead of in the rear, of the real life to come."

We have tried, by these quotations, to give the reader some idea of the tenets of a new religious sect, for it amounts to that, which is animated by desire for life beyond the grave. Half a century ago scientists scoffed at the idea of miracles and discredited the Bible therefor. Now a rapidly increasing number of persons, claiming to be scientists, hold the miraculous element in the Bible to be alone worthy of credence. They have come near to the Muslim theory of Prophethood and in other respects draw near in thought to the position of the Muslim spiritualists. We wish that Khân Sahîb Khâja Khan or somebody would write a simple exposition of the spiritual teaching of Islâm for them. They have never even heard of the Qur'ân, apparently.

M. P.

INDIAN MUSIC.

Rapturous appreciation of Indian music—the sort of appreciation which is to be seen in Indian audiences more often than in any Western theatre or concert-room—by an English listener is so rare as to be practically non-existent. Indian painting, Indian sculpture, have their hosts of European enthusiasts, but music's intimate appeal to something in the human being which is not intellectual or objective but intensely personal has to encounter barriers of personality, which is largely an affair of barriers. Intellectual appreciation there has been and is, but the thrill, which is the soul of music, is left out; and so a treatise by a European writer, however sympathetic, on Indian music—we might say, any Eastern music—reads like an effort to explain a curious phenomenon; as the peculiar influence of certain sound-schemes on a section of the human race. Eastern music is not a carefully elaborated art as Western music has become, but is a thing of nature, and what art there is in it lies in the deliberate adherence to a natural tradition, so that here the palm is given to simplicity, not elaboration. The pipe of Pan, like Krishna's flute, gives the note of a pastoral age, which the East still remembers lovingly while the West has forgotten it. The story of the Bedawi girl, in the harem of Hârûn-ar-Rashîd, who hearing a shepherd boy playing his reed pipe as he passed by on the road, was seized with such an anguish of remembrance that she cast off all that luxury and wealth and fled in her old cloak back to the desert life, is the story of the call of Eastern music. Very rare indeed must be the Western ear attuned to hear it in this crowded age. In the introduction to the latest English book on Indian music¹ Mrs. Rosenthal has written:

“Owing to absence of harmony and unfamiliar melodic progressions, due to the employment of microtones, and the general absence of the tempered scale, it is no easy matter for a European to appreciate Indian music at first hearing. As his ear becomes attuned to Eastern airs, however, the Westerner realises that the freedom of melody compensates for lack of harmony, and learns

(1) *The story of Indian Music and Its Instruments.* A Study of the Present and a Record of the Past. Together with Sir William Jones' Celebrated Treatise in Full. With 19 Plates chiefly of Instruments, Music Illustrations and a Map. By Ethel Rosenthal A.R.C.M., F.R.C.S., etc. London. William Reeves. 7/6.

to estimate the drone at its full value. The heart of Indian music is its melody, and, to become sensitised to its charm, the Western ear must accustom itself to the employment of grace notes as a means of characterisation. Grace in Indian music is essential, not accidental, and supplies the *chiaroscuro* which harmony furnishes in Western compositions." A true and sympathetic statement, to go beyond which when writing for the British public, would seem as mad an overturn of values as was the Bedawi girl's flight from the Khalifah's palace in the opinion of the inmates.

Again :

" Probably Indian audiences are the most appreciative and emotional in the world. They are more concerned with the song than with the singer, and concentrate so completely on the work interpreted, that they establish a wondrous bond of sympathy between themselves and the performer. In Indian music, the art of the listener equals in importance the skill of the interpretative artist. In certain Indian cities it has even been considered necessary to limit public performances of Tyâgarâja's songs to one per week, as the authorities have found that workmen are ready to spend the whole of their earnings on musical entertainments, instead of purchasing the necessities of life."

And again :

" The effect produced by the bands stationed over the gates of cities, palaces and shrines is peculiarly impressive when the gateway is situated on a height, for, under these circumstances, the music carries a long distance. Recently, the author climbed the famous Parvati Hill, near Poona, at an early hour and, long before she reached the summit, she distinguished the sounds of the *naubat* band located over the entrance to the temple of the goddess. In the still morning air, heavy with monsoon mists, the traditional music acquired fresh charm, enhanced by a flavour of mystery." Here is evidence of real understanding, for the best Eastern music must be heard in the open air, to which it plainly belongs, to be appreciated, whereas the best European music calls for a closed building. " Indian Music " in Mrs. Rosenthal's vocabulary is synonymous with Hindu Music, and quite rightly so for the Persian, Turanian and Arabian modes which became the fashion under Muslim rulers were not, and never became, Indian ; though they may be said to have acquired a domicile in India. It is true, as Mrs. Rosenthal

has written, that "the Hindus are almost unanimous in praise of music, whereas the Muhammadans disagree as to its merits." But when the author adds : "Some Muslims consider the art an incentive to evil-doing and regard professional musicians with contempt," we, remembering Tolstoi's "Kreutzer Sonata" and various strictures passed from time to time by famous Christian preachers, are tempted to remark that such an attitude is not peculiar to some Muslims. The fact is that Muslims object to the idolisation of anything, and object to the association with religion of anything tending to produce illusion ; holding with enthusiasm the conviction that through disillusion only lies the path to truth ; and naturally they object to music as the handmaid of vice. But, apart from religion, and as an innocent enjoyment, music has always flourished in Muslim lands. The vast empire of the Omayyads and the Abbasids twittered from end to end with song and lute-playing, as later did the empire of the Turkish Sultan; and almost every one, from prince to peasant, played and sang. And in India music never had more splendid patrons than the Muslim rulers. If, of the thirty-six most famed musicians of Akbar's court, only six were Hindus, that was because the competition at that court was of all Asia, not of India only. And we doubt whether the statement that Alamgîr the Great showed disapproval of music in the abstract is not as unfair as other statements which have obtained currency concerning that sovereign's views and behaviour. Mrs. Rosenthal writes :

"When Aurangzeb, the sixth Mughal emperor of India, ascended the throne in A.D. 1658, he openly evinced his disapproval of music, and many authorities cite the following account of his treatment of the art. The Emperor was in the habit of showing himself every day at a window of his palace, and on one occasion he remarked that several court musicians were stationed outside with a bier, and were performing funeral dirges. He made enquiries as to what was taking place, and the musicians replied that melody was dead, and that they were taking the corpse to be buried. 'Very well,' replied the Emperor, 'make the grave deep so that neither voice nor echo can proceed from it.' Despite his severity and puritanical tendencies, however, Aurangzeb maintained dancing-girls and singers for the entertainment of his wives and daughters."

As we recall the story, it was not the serious court

musicians, but the public dancing girls and their accompanist musicians who got up the mock funeral which obtruded itself upon the Emperor's notice outside the palace (the "window" above mentioned opened only on the hall of audience, and the ceremonial during his appearance in it was too strict for any such byplay); and Alamgîr's reply was really good natured, implying toleration of a gross impertinence. His aim was to suppress such music as served a public invitation to vice, in the interests of all his subjects (his severity towards certain Hindu temples and his patronage of others had a similar motive). He saw laxity of conduct, which had been rather encouraged by his predecessors, as the greatest enemy of India, and throughout his long reign he did his best to check it. But for all we know he may have been a lover of good music. We, naturally, are chiefly attracted by those passages in the book which have reference to Muslims—a very small proportion of the whole. There are chapters on Time and Tune; the Vinâ and some other instruments; Tyâgarâja; the All-India Music Conferences; Poetry and Dancing; extracts from some older European writers, in particular the reprint of Sir William Jones' valuable treatise "On the Musical Modes of the Hindus"; several reproductions of Hindu airs in European notation; illustrations, an index and a formidable bibliography. Lastly Mrs. Rosenthal has eyes not only for the past but also for the present and the future, and among the names of those whom she praises for their efforts to revive and strengthen Indian Music we find two Muslims.—II. H. the Nawab of Rampur and Atiya Begam—honourably mentioned. She is concerned for the fate of the musicians no less than for the preservation of the music; and has given careful study to the instruments. She writes with ease—a gift not always granted to the expert—and has succeeded in the very difficult task of making technicalities pleasant (and intelligible) for the layman. The publication of her concise, yet comprehensive and quite competent work, is an event to be welcomed by all lovers of the Art.

We cannot close without one more quotation (from the Introduction) of an anecdote which is new to us and will, no doubt, be new to many of our readers.

"Govinda Mârâr, known also as Govind Baba Beri, died at Pandharpur, after his visit to Thiruvaiyar to pay his respects to Tyâgarâja. Some of the oldest inhabitants of Pandharpur, who remember reports, heard in their youth, of Govinda Mârâr's wonderful singing, recount

the following incident. While Govinda Mârâr was living at Pandharpur, the Maharâja of Gwalior, accompanied by a Muhammadan vocalist, who sang daily in the *darbar*, visited this town. One day, while the Muhammadan was singing, a member of the audience, who wished to gratify the Maharâja, exclaimed *Wahwa!*—meaning “Well done!” The artist was much annoyed by this interruption, and requested the Maharâja to prohibit inopportune applause. The Maharâja complied, and orders were issued that severe punishment would be inflicted upon any person daring to make a noise during a musical performance. Govinda Mârâr, who was anxious to judge of the Muhammadan’s skill, concealed himself in a room adjoining the *darbar* hall. Lost in admiration of the singer’s art, Govinda Mârâr shouted *Wahwa!* at a certain juncture, in defiance of the Maharâja’s commands. Govinda Mârâr was forced to appear before the Maharâja, and was ordered to explain his reason for infringing the rules concerning interruptions. The situation threatened to assume an ugly complexion when the Muhammadan intervened, stating that only an expert musician would have chosen the suitable moment, which Govinda Mârâr had selected, in which to voice his appreciation. Favourably impressed by this testimony to Govinda Mârâr’s scientific knowledge, the Maharâja agreed to pardon the culprit, and through his generosity, Mârâr’s position was greatly improved.”

We hope that Mrs. Rosenthal, having paid her tribute to the strictly Indian school of Music will some day give attention to those Central and Western Asiatic modes, which are represented in India, and which, not being identified with a religion, are generally more congenial to the Muslims.

M. P.

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ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE

HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

Edited by

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

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THE TABLE-TALK OF A MESOPOTAMIAN JUDGE Vol. VIII

(The newly recovered eighth volume of *Nishwar al-Muhadarah*
of Abu 'Alī al-Muhassin al-Tanukhī.)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

SOME time after the publication of the first volume of this work¹ in text and translation from the Paris MS. which was the only part of whose existence I was then aware, my attention was called by Dr. F. Krenkow to MS. Or. 9586 of the British Museum, which has no title, owing to the mutilation of the first leaf, but which evidently deals with matters similar to those contained in the Book of the Viziers by Hilal, and edited by the late Mr. H. F. Amedroz. The Colophon says merely *End of Part viii to be followed by Part ix.* The Preface, however, reproduces some phrases which occur in the preface to the first volume of the Table-talk, and since that work was when complete in eleven volumes, it was natural to conjecture that the British Museum MS. contained Part viii of that. Since quotations from the Table-talk are found in considerable numbers in the works of Yâqût and other writers, there seemed a good prospect of verifying this conjecture. This hope has been amply realized. In the Geographical Dictionary of Yâqût, edited by Wüstenfeld (iv. 847, 17) the *Nishwar*² of Abu 'Alī al-Tanûkhī is cited for a lengthy story which extends for about two pages; the whole is to be found in the MS. pp. 53b to 55b, beginning "There told me" as in Yâqût. Dr. Krenkow sent me a citation from the *Nishwar* of Abu 'Alī al-Tanûkhī in the *Bada'i 'al-Bada'ih* of Ibn Zafīr (ob. 623)³, which is to be found on p.70b of the MS. In Yâqût's *Dictionary of Learned Men*

(1) Royal Asiatic Society, Oriental Translation Fund, N. S. xxvii and xxviii.

(2) Misprinted *Nashwan* here as in Ibn Zâfir's work.

(3) Margin of *Ma'ahid al-Tansis*, Cairo 1316, ii. 22.

v. 444, 7, a story is quoted from "the Book of Abû 'Alî al-Tanûkhî", which is found in the MS. p. 106b. These quotations make the identification a certainty. Further the "Mubashshir, my father's client", who is mentioned in the MS. p. 76a, is clearly identical with the "Mubashshir, my father's slave," of vol. i. 96.

Although the author confines himself mainly to matter which had not previously found its way into books, he makes certain exceptions. In a few cases (e.g. pp. 83a, 88a) he introduces anecdotes which are also to be found in his "Deliverance after Stress." From the mode wherein these anecdotes are introduced there can be no doubt of identity of authorship. Considerable portions of the content are to be found in Hilâl's *Book of the Viziers*. This author, in his History¹, claims to have received information directly from Tanûkhî, whom he often cites in the former work. He uses the formula *There narrated* (p. 327) in the case of an anecdote taken from the first volume of the Table-talk (p. 30); in several of those which are common to his work and our MS. he cites Tanûkhî's authority with the same formula (Viziers, p. 81=MS. 40b, p. 76=MS. 7a, p. 339=MS. 45a); in the case of an anecdote which is common to him (p. 103) and Miskawaihî (*Eclipse* i. 88) Hilâl cites Tanûkhî as reporting what had been told by Abû'l-Husain, whereas Miskawaihî cites the same Abû'l-Husain directly. It seems probable that in all these cases the citations are from the Table-talk, in which Tanûkhî regularly employs the formula *There narrated to me*, implying that the communication was direct. The textual differences, which are rarely serious, where they are not due to carelessness on the part of copyists, may be explained by the desire of the subsequent writers to render the matter intelligible.

The content of the volume is miscellaneous according to the author's plan, but less so than that of the first volume; unless indeed the copyist has omitted some matters, as the quotation in Ibn Zâfir's work might suggest. Occasionally indeed the collector descends to trivialities; but in the main the anecdotes justify the alternative title *Jamî' al-Tawarikh* "Collection of chronicles." Many deal with the lives, characters and careers of eminent viziers of the third and fourth centuries of Islam; the most valuable are those which belong to the second half of the third century, as Tabarî's Chronicle is

(1) Amedroz, p. 421.

notoriously scanty for the period which he himself witnessed. Being by profession a Traditionalist and savant, Tabarî had neither the experience of public business nor the acquaintance with the ruling class which would have enabled him to treat contemporary history adequately. The viziers in his narrative are sketched so faintly as to be almost indistinguishable. Tanûkhî's anecdotes clothe some of these with flesh and blood, and reveal some of the hidden motives which led to crises of various sorts in the history of the Caliphate. They let us into various secrets of the administration, explain how careers were started, and in some cases record the commencement of the power exercised by certain families during the period which began with the murder of Mutawakkil and ended with the establishment of Buwaihîd rule.

Besides the narratives which should find their place in the history of the Caliphate there are many which are contributions to the history of Islamic civilization, as illustrating the manners, customs, and interests of the community which looked to Baghdad as its metropolis.

It is hoped that the Arabic text may appear in the *Journal of the Academy of Damascus*. The writer has found by experience that translating a text should precede editing, since the process calls attention to numerous difficulties which might otherwise escape it. It was not therefore possible to insert the pagination of the original in the translation. For convenience of reference the anecdotes have been numbered, and since most of them are short, comparison should be easy when once both are in print.

THE COMMENCEMENT IS LOST.

So I took up this subject and committed it to writing, mingling therewith elegant verses, recent in time and fresh in character, by contemporaries whose odes had not become stale by familiarity or nauseous by over frequent recitation, and notable epistles, literary anecdotes, original apophthegms, and similar matter, which, though old, had not to the best of my belief been recorded in any book. To this I added narratives of remarkable dreams, extraordinary occurrences, queer customs, and problems of easy and satisfactory solution, to show the difference between the two groups¹ and the divergence of their character. Such a work will be greeted by persons who have finished their studies, have probed the intelligence of most of their fellows, and are anxious to acquaint themselves with the mysteries of conduct, with the practice to be followed in dealing with the majority, and with what on any occasion will prove the wisest, the most eligible, and the most diverting course. Mere reflexion will not reveal these matters except in the course of a long life; but if one comes upon them here, they will be close at hand and easily reached.

I have not arranged my matter in sections for reasons and motives which I have mentioned on a previous occasion², where I have expressed myself similarly; and indeed in the Preface to each volume I have stated what renders it unnecessary for me to dilate on this subject, since it makes my purpose clear, and justifies my method. I hope that I shall not incur censure by my collection, even if my efforts win no praise, and that the matter written will be better than blank pages, as indeed I have stated in my earlier volumes—if God will.

1. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain Ali b. Hishâm b. 'Abdallah³, whose father was known as Abû

(1) *i. e.* the ordinary and the extraordinary.

(2) See Preface to vol. I.

(3) Little seems to be known of this person except as an authority for anecdotes which seem mainly to have been communicated by him to our author. Hilâl, p. 148, produces a dirge composed by him on Ibn al-Furât, when the latter was put to death,

Qîrât, clerk in Baghdad to Ibn al-Furât¹. I heard, he said, that when Abû'l-Qasim² had leisure to think about the next world and the affairs of government which distracted his thoughts therefrom, he used to say : O God, take me not directly from the front to the grave.—And (Abû'l-Husain added) his prayer was answered. He sat at home for about a year before his death, repenting of having held office, and no longer seeking it. When he fell ill of his final illness, he received a summons from Râdî³ bidding him come to make arrangements for his acceptance of the vizierate. He said : What, *now* ! Had the summons come before, although I had repented, possibly I might not have refused, and might have scrapped my penitence. Praise be to God, who has not permitted this to come about⁴ !

2. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. A letter in the handwriting of 'Alî b. 'Isa⁵ was shown him, he said, by Abû 'Abdallah Ahmad b. Muhammad al-Hâkimî⁶, written to him by the former in his last vizierate, when the addressee was in charge of the districts of the Khorasan Road, earnestly urging him to transmit money. It ran as follows :—

I used, God favour you, to regard you as too strict in the performance of your duty to need any reminder, and only too anxious to do what would win you unique credit, and raise you in estimation above your fellow commissioners. Hence I have consistently placed confidence in you, have always kept you in mind, entrusted you with momentous business, and relied on you to deal with matters of importance. Now, however, your conduct and reports about you have shown me that I must call on you to do more, and yet later reports justify me in remonstrating with you for tardiness in the discharge of your duties. You are acquainted with the state of affairs and the anxiety wherewith I await the arrival of the indispensable supplies. Your own sense of duty ought to have compelled you to strenuous efforts in

(1) Famous vizier of Muqtadir ; for his career see Index to *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*.

(2) It is unfortunate that the author has not stated more clearly whom he means. The patronymic Abû'l-Qâsim suggests Sulaimân b. al-Hasan, who was repeatedly vizier, but he held office after Radî's death.

(3) Caliph 322-329.

(4) In 324 the power of the vizierate was broken, Miskawihf i. 396.

(5) Famous Vizier, whose life has recently been written by Mr. Bowen.

(6) Hilâl's text has Hâlimî.

collecting the revenue, so that your province¹ might furnish a steady and copious supply, and the stream flowing from your quarter be continuous without delays. I implore you therefore to avoid all forms of negligence and slackness, and accompany your reply to this letter with a remittance, to be procured from all legitimate sources, and transmitted with speed. Our eyes are on the look out for it, and we are counting the hours till its arrival. I dread the evil consequences of delay to yourself. Greeting².

3. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain after Abû 'Abdallâh b. 'Alî al-Bâqitâ'î after Abû Ja'far Ahmad b. Isrâ'îl. The cause (he said) of the promotion of 'Ubaidallâh b. Yahyâ³ was Mutawakkil's requiring a lad of one of the clerical families to draft in his presence documents connected with buildings and other concerns. He had abolished the vizierate after dismissing Muhammad b. al-Fadl al-Jarjarâ'î, and contented himself with heads of bureaux, who were ordered to present reports personally. He set the date of the rescripts in the name of Wasîf the Turk, who though not actually called vizier had assumed the office. Wasîf nominated several persons, among whom 'Ubaidallâh was selected by the Caliph. He presented himself the first day and after a prayer of certain inclinations in the Palace sat down, being attired in clerical style with *qaba*⁴, sword, belt, and bonnet of stuff; for (Abû'l-Husain remarks) no one except the Judges could appear before the Caliph in any other costume whether at a *levee* or on any other occasion. At *levees* the *qabas* were all black; on other days the majority were black, but some might be white. When 'Ubaidallah had finished his orison and taken his seat, he proceeded to rise up before and salute each member of the personnel of the court who passed by him, small or great, even the chief bedmaker. One of the courtiers, seeing this, said; *Who is this wretch who rises to salute every one, down to the dogs?* He was told *Oh, some one or other*. Presently Mutawakkil had leisure to give him an audience, and he entered the royal apartment. He had on his head a bonnet of black stuff, which left the back of his neck bare, as his neck was long. When Mutawakkil saw him, he stretched out his hand to the nape of 'Ubaidallâh's neck, and gave it a

(1) The metaphor in the original cannot be easily reproduced.

(2) The letter (which is in rhymed prose) is of a very ordinary character, but indicates that this virtuous vizier had to be severe in exacting the revenue from the provinces.

(3) Made secretary by Mutawakkil in 286, Tabari iii. 1407.

(4) A sort of tunic.

mild cuff. Ubaidallâh grasped the hand and kissed it. This made a favourable impression on the Caliph, who was delighted with the attention. The Caliph bade 'Ubaidallâh write. Still standing he wrote down the first three verses of Surah xlviii, down to *And God will help thee mightily*, after which he added *and He shall help thee, O Prince of Believers, mightily*. This increased Mutawakkil's appreciation of him, as he regarded it as an auspicious commencement. He ordered 'Ubaidallâh to remain in the Palace, which he accordingly did from the morning till the time when Mutawakkil retired at night. His importance steadily increased, and presently he began to present the documents to the Caliph as viziers did, though he was not yet officially vizier, and the dating continued to contain the name of Wasîf. One day Mutawakkil ordered him to indite a deed dealing with some buildings. He agreed to do so, and after a little the Caliph asked him whether he had written it. He replied that he had no inkhorn on him. The Caliph sent for an inkhorn and bade him write at once. This dialogue was heard by the Chamberlain Itâkh, who was standing by, and he said to 'Ubaidallâh when he was leaving *The Prince of Believers required you for the sole purpose of writing in his presence ; if you come without an inkhorn, what are you here for ?* 'Ubaidallâh retorted *What business is that of yours ? Are you chamberlain or are you vizier ?* Itâkh was furious at this reply, ordered 'Ubaidallâh to be laid on the ground, and beat him on the feet with twenty lashes. Now, he added, *you know that it is my business*. 'Ubaidallâh attended the next day as usual, but limped in his walk. Mutawakkil asked him what had happened to him, and was told the facts, which he regarded as a grave offence, supposing that Itâkh had ill-treated 'Ubaidallâh merely because of Mutawakkil's attachment to him. Mutawakkil harboured a whole collection of grievances against Itâkh for treatment which he had received at the latter's hands in the time of Wâthiq, but had been unable to displace him owing to Itâkh's having control of the Turks. Mutawakkil now ordered that 'Ubaidallâh should receive a robe of investiture on the following day, that no chief of a bureau should in future present any deed to himself personally, but that all should entrust their documents to 'Ubaidallâh for presentation to the Caliph. He further assigned 'Ubaidallâh a monthly stipend of 10,000 dirhems. Itâkh was now sorry for what he had done, and began to make himself agreeable to 'Ubaidallâh and get right with him. 'Ubaidallâh now

became so powerful that on his own authority he removed the name of Wasîf from the datings, and inserted his own instead. Mutawakkil presently ordered that he should receive a vizier's stipend, and shortly after he was accorded the title vizier, and given the robes of honour belonging to that office. Soon Mutawakkil appointed him secretary to the prince Mu'ayyad, giving him another robe of honour. Mutawakkil proceeded to attach to his two sons a guard of over 10,000 men, making 'Ubaidallâh their commander. 'Ubaidallâh thus became vizier and commander at once. Being now so highly placed and having this force at his command Ubaidallâh proceeded to thwart Itâkh, putting off his demands, resisting him, and disgracing his clerks; these measures increased in severity till ultimately he procured the death of Itâkh at the hands of Ishâq b. Ibrâhîm al-Zâhirî in Baghdad after Itâkh's return from pilgrimage¹.

4. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain who said he had heard it from the clerk Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî b. al-Hasan known as Ibn al-Mâshitah, who at one time had been in charge of passage-duties², but afterwards became a chief clerk, and in the days of Hâmid b. al-'Abbâs was in charge of the Treasury Bureau. This person had heard it from al-Fadl b. Marwân, who gave it on his father's authority.—The Caliph Wâthiq, he said, harboured violent resentment against Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Zayyât in consequence of the treatment which he had received from this person during his father's reign. Thus Wâthiq's teacher once complained to Mu'tasim that his pupil would not learn, and when he was urged to do so abused and assaulted his teacher. Mu'tasim bade Muhammad administer four lashes to Wâthiq; Muhammad proceeded to send for Wâthiq, and administered thirteen, which caused Wâthiq to fall ill. When the father learned of this, he disapproved and swore to Wâthiq that he had only ordered Muhammad to administer four. Wâthiq concealed his resentment, but hated Muhammad, who, knowing this, assailed the estates and properties of Wâthiq when he grew older, and became a prince. One day Mu'tasim issued an order that Wâthiq should be assigned a property producing revenue of a million dirhems. Muhammad erased these words and wrote instead *property of*

(1) The material in this section appears to be fresh. Tabarî has an account of the murder of Itâkh (iii. 1384), but says nothing about 'Ubaidallah's share in the plot, supposing that Mutawakkil organized it out of resentment.

(2) This seems to be the meaning, but the expression is ambiguous.

the value of a million dirhems. When the attendant came and informed Wâthiq of what Muhammad had done, he rushed to his father and told him, showing him the rescript. Mu'tasim declined to alter what he had signed and asserted that he could see no sign of alteration in the deed ; for Muhammad had erased with skill, and Mu'tasim knew that Muhammad's economy was the wiser course. So Wâthiq was foiled, and went off and said to the attendant : *This hound has succeeded in doing me any amount of mischief, and if the Caliphate comes to me, God slay me if I do not slay him !* Then he said to the man : *You are my confidential servant ; if this thing come to me, then slay him the moment I am proclaimed Caliph. Do not ask for further orders, but bring me his head.* Time went on and Wâthiq became sovereign. On the first day of his accession Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik presented himself with the clerks, and Wâthiq ordered each of them (but not him) to compose a letter announcing Mu'tasim's death and his own accession to the Caliphate. They all did so and presented their compositions, but not one of them satisfied the Caliph. He then said to Muhammad : *Now you write one.* Muhammad straightway wrote a fine letter, without a rough copy, and presented it. Wâthiq approved it, and ordered that copies should be made of it for circulation. Before Muhammad left the Caliph's presence the latter had confirmed him in the vizierate, and when the vizier left the palace all the people followed him. The attendant said : *I was surprised by this, and asked myself whether he could have forgotten his orders to me, and had I not better remind him and ask his permission to proceed. So when the Caliph was alone I approached him, reminded him of the conversation and solicited permission. He said : Let me tell you that the Sultan needs Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik more than Muhammad needs the Sultan. So leave him alone.* And indeed (he adds) Wâthiq promoted him to higher honours than had been bestowed on him by Mu'tasim. Al-Fadl b. Marwân observed that we know of no vizier who served three successive Caliphs continuously in that capacity without dismissal except Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik.

5. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain, after his father after the qâdî Wakî'. (Abû'l-Husain mentioned that he had himself seen Muhammad son of Khalaf Wakî', and taken down many anecdotes from his dictation, among which however this was not one.) I had charge,

he said of certain *waqfs* for Ibn Hâzim¹ in the days of Mu'tadid, some of these having been instituted by al-Hasan b. Sahl². When Mu'tadid was building his palace called the Husaini³ on a great scale, he brought into it certain of the properties of al-Hasan b. Sahl which were under my control and were near the palace. The (financial) year had reached its end, and I had collected the revenue from these properties except the property which Mu'tadid had seized. Approaching Ibn Hâzim, I informed him how I had collected the year's revenue and asked permission to distribute it as it ought to be applied, and among the persons who had a right to it. He asked me whether I had collected what was due from Mu'tadid. I asked him who would venture to make such a demand from the Caliph. He told me with an oath that I must not distribute the sum collected before I had obtained what was due from the Caliph, and that unless the Caliph made good he would not remain in his service. He ended by telling me to go at once to the Caliph and demand payment. But who, I asked, will introduce me?—He bade me go to Sâfi al-Huramî⁴ and state that I was Ibn Hâzim's messenger despatched on a matter of importance; when I was introduced to the Caliph I was to inform him what Ibn Hâzim had said. So I went and spoke accordingly to Sâfi, who introduced me. The day was coming to an end. When I appeared before the Caliph, he supposed some serious matter had occurred, and with evident anxiety said to me *Quick, speak!*—I replied that the Prince of Believers' qâdî 'Abd al-Hamid⁵ had charge of the *waqfs* of al-Hasan b. Sahl, including some which the Prince of Believers had taken into his palace; and that when I had collected the year's revenue the qâdî had declined to distribute it until I had collected what was due from the Prince of Believers; that he had sent me at once to compass this object, with orders that I should claim to have come on an important errand in order to obtain admission.—The Caliph (he proceeded) was silent for a space, rapt in thought; then he said: '*Abd al-Hamid is quite right; do you, Sâfi, bring the chest.*' Sâfi produced a small chest. The Caliph then asked me how much was due. I replied that the sum which I had collected the previous year

(1) Qadi of the City of Mansur, whose name was 'Abd al-Hamid.

(2) Vizier of Mâ'mûn.

(3) Mu'tadid (279-289) is said by an encomiast to have built more splendid edifices than any predecessor.

(4) i. e. Keeper of the private apartments. See Index to *Eclipse*.

(5) It would be improper to use his *kunya* (Abu Hazim) before the Caliph.

from the produce of these lands was four hundred *dînârs*. He then asked me whether I was an expert at testing and weighing coins. I replied that I understood these processes. He then ordered scales to be brought. The instrument brought was of Harrân make, elegantly ornamented with gold. He then took out of the chest a number of gold *dînârs*, and weighed out four hundred, of which I took possession. I then went off to Abû Hâzim and told him what had happened. He told me to add the *dînârs* to the revenue from the *waqf* already collected, and to distribute it on the following day to the proper quarters, without delay. I obeyed these instructions, and there was general gratitude to Abû Hâzim for his boldness in thus dealing with the Caliph, and to Mu'tadid for his justice¹.

6. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain 'Alî b. Hishâm Abû Qîrât the clerk of Baghdad, who said he had heard it from Abû'l Hasan 'Al b. Muhammad Ibn al-Furât.

The official Nahîkî had attached himself to Abû'l Qâsim 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân during the period of the latter's fall, so when the latter became vizier² he was anxious to favour Nahîkî and made him finance minister of Bâdûraya³; an office held only by the most competent. I have heard (said Ibn al-Furât) my brother say that a man who was competent to have charge of Bâdûraya was qualified to be head of the *Kharaj* Bureau, and one who was fit for that was fit for the vizierate; the reason being that the contracts connected therewith are numerous and varied, that it is the centre of the empire, and its minister has to deal with princes, viziers, generals, secretaries of state, and the most important of the nobility and the commons. A man who can grasp all the different usages, and satisfy all these ranks, is fit for great affairs.

Nahîkî remained in charge of Bâdûraya some two years, during which 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Muhammad b. Yazdâd was chief of the *Kharaj* Bureau and afterwards Abû'l-'Abbâs Ahmad b. Muhammad b. Abî'l Asbagh, 'Ubaid allâh being vizier. Then my brother⁴ and I were released from prison, and he was given charge of the Bureau of Control of the *kharaj* and the Control of the Bureau of Estates; I served him as deputy. When we wrote to

(1) Volume I also contains some stories illustrating this Caliph's strict sense of justice.

(2) He was imprisoned in 265, but became Vizier in 267.

(3) District of Baghdad, on western bank of the Tigris.

(4) Ibn al-Furât is speaking.

Nahîkî demanding accounts he sent no reply, banking on his influence with the vizier and his reputation for integrity, which stood very high. When we wrote to him about any matter connected with his office, he paid little attention to our letters. When this process became tedious we pressed him to render accounts, and complained of him to the vizier, who put him in custody in his house, urging him to render accounts for a number of years. I busied myself with drawing up a statement for the case, but found little with which I could find fault. We appeared in the presence of 'Ubaidallâh for the purpose of publicly examining him. I began the first section of my statement by showing that the details which he had furnished of the crops sold exceeded the total which he had calculated by a thousand dînars. Nahîkî said "I must scrutinize." He did so, and it became clear that his calculation had been wrong. He said that it must have been a miscalculation on the part of the clerk. I was beginning to address him, when my brother stopped me, and turning to 'Ubaidallâh, said: *He is right, this is an error in the calculation, only into whose purse did these dinars go?* 'Ubaidallâh said: *Abu'l-'Abbas is right: You thief, you shall never hold office for me again.*—I proceeded to produce another section dealing with cases wherein the separate quantities of crops apportioned came to less than the whole quantity previously set down in his contract. When he was clearly convicted he asked to have his original paper. I began to address him, but was stopped by my brother, who said: *Vizier, can any two credible witnesses be got to asperse your bureau and the correctness of the copies there made of documents issued and received?*—The vizier said: *He is right, you miscreant.* He then ordered Nahîkî to be dragged off, which was done, and we obtained from the latter a bond for 13,000 dînârs. Thus we effected the man's ruin, and he held no considerable office afterwards.

7. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain after his father and Abû Mansûr 'Abdallâh b. Jubair the Christian. We were present, they said, in the audience chamber of Ibn al-Furât when a statement had been drawn up against Ibn Habash of Omân, who had been in charge of the Zab and the Sabûs Canal in the time of 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân's vizierate. Abû'l-'Abbâs and Abû'l Hasan¹ started examining him with regard to his accounts and ultimately he was made responsible for 25,000 dirhems

(1) The two Ibn al-Furât.

on various heads that had been proved, and he was ordered to pay this amount. He signed a promise to pay, and actually paid 540 during the time, but withheld the remainder. He was fettered, but this proved useless; seven lashes were administered, but he would not pay. At that time it was the practice that when any public official had been proceeded with to this degree of severity, it was supposed to be the utmost to which such treatment could go. Abû'l-Abbâs then had the man brought to his presence, and demanded the money of him; he maintained that he had nothing in his possession and that his estate was a *waqf*¹. Abu'l-'Abbâs said to him: *You fool, I know no one more stupid than you. If you are so well able to endure pain and so ready to sacrifice your life, why did you not appropriate the whole revenue? For we should have treated you no worse. Still, if you will, I will let you keep the money, and send you home, only after letting the vizier know your endurance of torture, and you will not be employed in his time, or indeed be heard of again.*—The man was alarmed at this, and asked for a reduction of the debt so that he might pay the rest. Before we parted it had been arranged that he should pay a portion, which he did, after which he was allowed to go away.

8. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain who said that he heard the story told by Abû'l Hasan b. al-Furât.—I examined (said he) a certain finance official al-Jahz, on a statement which we had drawn up for him, and my brother and I began to obtain his signature for each item. As this became tedious, al-Jahz whispered to me: *It is not the signature which matters, but the payment; you will find out that you will not get anything.* 'Ubaidallâh, in whose audience-chamber we were, heard the whisper, and told al-Jahz to repeat to him what he had said. The man was embarrassed, but the vizier told him that he *must* repeat it. He did so. *In that case, said the vizier, you shall never be employed by me in any office again. Go home, with God's blessing.* The man went home, and was not employed after that by 'Ubaidallâh. The story got abroad, and all the people fought shy of giving him any employment. He starved in his dwelling, and had to have recourse to the alms.

9. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain after the clerk Abû 'Abdallâh Zanjî after Abû'l-'Abbâs b. al-Furât.—The secret-service man in Baghdad wrote to Ismâ'il b.

(1) Devoted to religious or charitable uses.

Bulbul¹ during his first vizierate to Mu'tamid to the effect that a singing-girl belonging to the elder Bid'ah² had sung the following song in the house of al-Hasan b. Makhlad,³ who was out of office at the time, and that it had pleased him :

The practice of Tay⁴ on the Asadite hordes
Is to water their spears and to crimson their swords.
Ah me, for the slain at Nibâj⁵ and their worth !
Men lofty as mountains that steady the earth !
Inviolable refuge to guests ; even so
A sword like Muharriq's⁶ were they to the foe.
Expire not of anguish, for still I confide
In spears that we wield and the turn of the tide.

Ismâ'il communicated this to Mu'tamid, saying : *This person is working against you, and is on the look out for the turns of fortune.* The Caliph ordered him to be banished to Egypt, and his migration thither was the cause of his death.

10. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. I heard (he said) Abû'l-Qâsim Sulaimân b. al-Hasan b. Makhlad narrate as follows before his vizierate⁷. I was told (he said) by Abû 'Abdallâh Hamd b. Muhammad al-Qunnâ'î the Clerk, who (said Abû'l-Husain) was sister's son to al-Hasan b. Makhlad, and frequently served as his deputy over the *Kharaj* Bureau, and once over the Estates' Bureau, and afterwards held various important governorships and headships of bureaux, among them the Bureau of the West, and when he died was head of the Bureau of the *Kharaj* and the Public Estates in 'Irâq and matters therewith connected (I myself saw him, and studied under him and heard him tell many anecdotes, but not this one) how he had asked the eunuch who had accompanied his uncle (al-Hasan b. Makhlad) when he was banished and sent to Ibn Tûlûn⁸ concerning the reason which led Ibn Tûlûn to put him to death. He replied : When al-Hasan b. Makhlad came to Ibn Tûlûn, the latter received him with the utmost honour and benevolence, and

(1) Vizier 265.

(2) Originally a slave-girl of 'Arib, the songstress.

(3) Vizier 263 and 264.

(4) Names of tribes.

(5) Said to be ten stages distant from Basrah, and the scene of a battle between Tamîm and Bakr b. Wâ'il.

(6) Epithet of a Ghassani King. See *Letters of Abû'l-'Ata*, p. 116.

(7) Repeatedly Vizier, 318, 324, 328.

(8) At that time (254-270) independent ruler of Egypt.

got to like him so much that he made him his companion at table, and consulted him about all important affairs. Many a time he asked Al-Hasan's advice on the question of throwing off his allegiance to Mu'tamid. Al-Hasan pointed out to him the great resources of the Sultân, and warned him against rebellion, and Ibn Tûlûn took his advice. Presently a demand was sent to Ibn Tûlûn for the money due from him by contract (as governor). He said to Ibn Makhlad: I know nothing stranger than *the folly of this unsuccessful creature* (meaning Muwaffaq)¹. *He demands the money due to the government from me, while he is himself in rebellion against the Caliph. To whom am I to transmit it?* Al-Hasan said to him: *You had better not (withhold it); the government is in his hands and he has the army on his side. If you withhold the money he will lead an expedition against you.*—Ibn Tûlûn got the fixed idea that Ibn Makhlad was a secret agent of those persons (the 'Abbasids) against him, thinking that had he been their enemy, he would not have given him this advice. No, he concluded, he must be involved in a plot of theirs against my realm, whose object is to get the territories out of my hands and put them into theirs, and act upon my fears so as to rob me of my lands by finesse. So Ibn Tûlûn thanked Ibn Makhlad, but presently ordered him to be seized and thrown into prison. But, being a coward, and unwilling that he should escape after he had offended him, he had his drink poisoned so that he died.—Muwaffaq proceeded to energetic measures and sent (his son) Mu'tadid with an army against Ibn Tûlûn, who put his brother² Khumârûyah in command of a force to fight Mu'tadid; there was a battle, in which each of the commanders was routed, neither knowing that the other had taken to flight. The affair became proverbial: people said *Child met child; that is how children go to war.*—When affairs took this turn Ibn Tûlûn regretted having put Ibn Makhlad to death, admitting that the latter had given him sound advice, which he had not taken, and which had roused his suspicion (without ground).

11. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. I was told (he said) by Abû'l-Qâsim Sulaimân b. al-Hasan b. Makhlad that Nâqid, his father's confidential eunuch and manager of his household accounts, said to him: I have seen no one less scrupulous than my master about taking

(1) Whose title means "successful." He was brother of Mu'tamid, and managed the affairs of the empire.

(2) His son would be correct,

the property of the Sultân. For example, I went to him one morning when he had put on his black uniform¹ in order to go to Mu'tadid's palace; at that time he was in charge of the bureau of control, of the chancellery, and of the treasury. I said to him: Yesterday you drew upon me for persons with whom you have dealings to the amount of sixteen hundred dînârs; and I have not the very smallest coin in my possession for the purpose. He replied: Odious creature, do you address me about this at this moment? Why not yesterday so that I could have sent you the wherewithal? However, follow me to the Palace.—I did so. He entered the presence of Mu'tadid in the company of 'Ubaidallâh b. Yahyâ the vizier and Ahmad b. Sâlih b. Shîrzâd, head of the *Kharaj Bureau*.—When he came out, he bade me go to the head of the Treasury and take from him what he would deliver to me.—I supposed that he had obtained an advance on his salary. So I went off to the head of the Treasury, who handed me thirty thousand dînârs. I was surprised at the vastness of the amount, and was certain that it could not be out of the salary. I took the money to the house, and told him about it. He bade me employ some of it on the drafts which he had signed, and take care of the rest; for, he added, such a chance does not always occur.—Some days passed and he gave a banquet at which there were present Sâ'id b. Makhlad (at that time in charge of several bureaux) and a number of clerks. They ate, slept, and woke. Suddenly one of the clerks in the employ of Ahmad b. Sâlih b. Shîrzâd asked to be admitted. I went to ask my master's permission to admit him. By this time the guests had begun to drink. My master left the hall and went to his private room, whither he summoned the newcomer and admitted him. I heard the man say: Your brother (meaning Ahmad b. Sâlih) sends greeting and wishes to speak to you as follows: You know my practice with the head of the Treasury. I have the right to scrutinize his accounts of all sorts; at the end of every thirty days I send my chamberlain to the keeper, whom he brings together with the head of the Treasury, that the final balance-sheet may be drawn up in my presence, and that I may verify all its records. For the last ten days we have been engaged on this task, and finally got the accounts in order, with the sole exception of thirty thousand dînârs, about which the head of the Treasury asserted that you had come to him from the presence of

(1) See above, Anecdote 3.

the Prince of Believers and ordered him to deliver them, to your eunuch Nâqid. I do not know (he wishes to say) to what use they have been put, under what head you have entered them, and what excuse you have to make about them.—My master (he continued) answered without hesitation: My friend, Abu Bakr (Ahmad b. Sâlih) is a fool; am I to ask the Caliph to what purposes he has put a sum of money which he ordered to be brought to his presence! There should be written in the balance-sheet *further, money brought to the presence of the Prince of Believers on such and such a day: 30,000 dinars.*—The messenger stood up, blushing with shame. The item passed into the account in the style stated, no one noticed it and al-Hasan b. Makhlad secured the money.

Abu'l-Husain continued: Sulaimân said to me after telling this story that the only parallel to it known to him was a performance of Ibn al-Furât in his first vizierate. He set up the collectors Yûsuf b. Fînhâs and Hârûn b. 'Imrân, and passed through their hands to the exclusion of the heads of the Private and Public Treasuries all the money of Ibn al-Mu'tazz, al-'Abbâs b. Al-Hasan, all those who had been ruined or killed in the civil war¹ the persons on whom fines had been inflicted and similar persons. He made his clerk Ibn Farajawihî attend to this business, and scrutinize the two collectors' accounts; no account was rendered by them to any bureau. In the year wherein he was arrested he wrote a letter in his own name to Mu'nis the eunuch, head of the Treasury, wherein he stated that the accounts of Yûsuf b. Fînhâs and Hârûn b. 'Imrân had been examined with respect to what they had received from various sources, exhaustively, and that what remained in their hands after deduction of sums transmitted to the Prince of Believers (God prolong his life!) and had been spent on purposes ordered by him and the royalties (God support them!) came to 1,470,546 silver dirhems, which he had ordered to be collected from the two and to be deposited in the Public Treasury.—Mu'nis accordingly collected this residue from the bankers, but the main sum disappeared, no one knowing on what objects it had been spent, and this, in the opinion of the clerks who were in frequent communication with the narrator, came to about a million dînârs. Ibn al-Furât pocketed the lot, and could not be convicted of having done so.

(1) See Eclipse of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate: 10 fol.

Abû'l-Husain continued : My father, after repeating this story, went on to narrate : when I was given charge by 'Alî b. 'Isâ in his first vizierate of the *Bureau of the palace* (which embraced all the bureaux), he bade me summon the two Collectors, and demand of them their official statements of the amounts which had come into their hands in Ibn al-Furât's first vizierate from the sources enumerated above. I summoned the two, and made the demand. They alleged that Ibn al-Furât had seized their accounts and had left no copy of the same with them. The vizier ordered them to be imprisoned and threatened. I carried out these orders, and presently they produced a fragmentary account which they professed to have discovered. I noticed that it was out of order, and gradually coaxed them into the confession that there had come into their hands a balance of receipts over expenditure amounting to 100,000 dirhems, which I reckoned as 10,000 dînârs ; I settled their indebtedness at this, and took their bonds for the amount. 'Alî b. 'Isâ, however, was not satisfied with this, took them out of my hands and delivered them over to Hamd b. Muhammad, who was in charge of the Bureau of the West, ordering him to investigate their case himself, he being a competent clerk ; not informing him that I had already obtained their bond for a certain sum. Hamd carried out his investigations but could find nothing in the record except such entries as "Sums transmitted to the Caliph and the royalties," "Sums expended on Ibn al-Furât's private account." Hamd thereupon told the vizier that the whole amount had been stolen, but, he said, these people (the bankers) have evidence of their discharge, and cannot be prosecuted ; and indeed Ibn al-Furât was far too sharp to let them secure any atom of it.—So 'Alî b. 'Isâ sent them back to me, asking me to do my best to obtain from them 200,000 dirhems.—I told him that it was impossible.—He said : Make them think that the amount which you are demanding to make up the 200,000 dirhems is a private profit for yourself.—I said to him : Suppose I do that, what am I to get out of it for myself ?—He said : Take 20,000 dirhems and make them pay 180,000 (to the Treasury).—So, he said, I went off, and induced them to accept these terms, and took for myself out of the amount the sum which the vizier had specified. When we had finished the discussion, we got their bonds and obtained the vizier's written discharge for them.—Alî b. 'Isâ then said to me : Now I will show you my place in the affairs ; for the chief has a place in every transaction

which no one else can occupy.—So I summoned them to his presence, and remained in the room when he said to them : Would you like me to remove from you an apprehension which, unless I remove it will hang on you and your heirs for all time ? I will only do it for a consideration which is not difficult and will involve you in no loss. At the commencement of every month I am in need of a sum which must be paid within six days to the infantry, amounting to 30,000 *dînârs*. Occasionally I have no such sum at my disposal on the first or even on the second day of the month. I should like you to advance me on the first day of each month 150,000 *dirhems*, which you will recover in the course of the month out of the revenue of Ahwaz ; you are the collectors of the revenue of Ahwaz, which will be a permanent advance to you, to which I shall add the payment due from Hâmid¹, which comes in every month, to the amount of 20,000 *dînârs*. These concessions will be a set-off to the first instalment, and I shall be eased of a great burden.—The bankers made difficulties at first, but the vizier would not leave them until they had agreed.—‘Ali b. ‘Isâ then said to me : What say you to this ?—I replied : Who could effect this except the vizier (God aid him !).—The narrator added : When the time for payments came and ‘Alî b. ‘Isâ had not the means, he would borrow from merchants on bills, which had come in from abroad but were not yet due, 10,000 *dînârs* on interest of a silver *dânaq* and a half on each *dînâr* ; thus he had to pay in interest each month 2,500 *dirhems*². This arrangement was carried on with Yûsuf b. Finhâs and Hârûn b. ‘Imrân and their successors for sixteen years, and after their deaths, for they were never dismissed up to the time of their deaths, and had received their appointment in the time of ‘Ubaidallah b. Yahyâ b. Khâqân³. The Sultân was unwilling to dismiss them, in order to maintain the dignity of the Collector’s office in the eyes of the merchants, so that the merchants might be willing to lend money through the Collector if this were necessary. If a collector were dismissed and another appointed instead with whom the merchants had not dealt, the business of the Caliph would be at a standstill.

(1) Hâmid b. al-‘Abbâs, the vizier who was a revenue farmer on a great scale.

(2) A *dânaq* and a half = a quarter of a *dirhem*.

(3) This vizier died in 263 : clearly the author’s information is incorrect.

12. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain after Abû Bakr b. Muhammad b. Jinnî the clerk (whose father had been a singer; he was himself one of the wealthiest among the clerks) after the Clerk Ibn Thawâbah after Abû'l-Faraj b. Najâh b. Salamah after his father after al-Fadl b. Marwân. This last narrated as follows: I was in charge of the Chamber of Accounts by appointment of the head of Rashîd's Bureau. An old man who was a relic of the Umayyads' clerks used to come to us in the Bureau, and the head of the Bureau used to tell us that he was the greatest clerk of his time. He used to wear a *darra'ah*¹ and a *galansuwah*², garments such as were worn by uniformed Christians³, and red shoes; this was the dress of the clerks who were out of employment at this time. The head of the Bureau used to treat him with great respect. One day he came to me in consequence of some emergency that had occurred. I was busy at the time on some important document which Rashîd required, and was sitting facing the head of the Bureau, drawing it up. Consequently I was not sufficiently respectful to the old man, and was rebuked by the head of the Bureau for my want of courtesy severely. I excused myself on the ground of my attention being otherwise engaged. Some days later the man came again to see me, and I treated him with excessive respect, rose up to greet him, and sat down in front of him. Turning to the head of the Bureau he said: I fancy you must have been censuring this young friend of ours for his former neglect. Then he turned to me and said: Young man, we used to regard our profession, our fortune, our language, and our religion all as ties of kinship.

13. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain after Abû Abdallâh al-Bâqitâ'î after Abû'l-Fadl 'Aûn b. Hârûn b. Maklad b. Abân, who was clerk to the Caliph Mâ'mûn for the Bureau of Estates, after Maimûn, who narrated as follows: I heard (he said) al-Fadl b. Marwân say: No one should ever despise any one else, or despair of promotion. In my early days during the reign of Rashîd, I was kitchen steward to Harthamah b. A'yan, a miserly man, who had a eunuch who inspected his kitchen. He gave me fifteen dirhems a month as pay, and a ration of bread. When he found that I saved him a great deal, he increased it to twenty. I used not to eat from his kitchen at all. One day he asked the eunuch about my food, and when the

(1) A woollen robe.

(2) According to Dozy a cap worn underneath the turban.

(3) The text is doubtful.

eunuch told him that I ate nothing, he ordered the eunuch to give me food every day from the kitchen, and save the ration which used to be sent to my dwelling. On one occasion he gave a great banquet, and I saved a thousand dirhems on the prices which he would have had to pay, and showed him an account to that effect. He was pleased and it made a favourable impression. One day he said to me : You have earned an increase and how much would you like it to be ?—I said : At least another ten dirhems.—That, he said, is a lot of money ; let us say four dirhems.—I despaired of getting any good from him, so when it chanced, after that, that he had to leave Baghdad, I feigned illness, and did not follow him, but attached myself to the Bureau, and learned enough to become a reporter in Rashîd's Bureau. That was the commencement of my promotion. I acquired professional skill, and as time passed got on. When Mâ'mûn came to the throne, and he made much of Mu'tasim, the latter was very fond of hunting. There came the civil war with Muhammad the Deposed (al-Amîn). I had spent my savings on the purchase of estates and orchards in Baradân¹ and allied myself by marriage to one of the cultivators there, and acquired a considerable fortune. By the end of the civil war I was one of the magnates of Baradân. Mu'tasim after a hunting expedition was hurrying home, and passed by the village, having with him few attendants. I was standing by my door as he passed on his way, and, observing the signs of nobility about him, I supposed him to be a great general. The finance minister of the district had promised to be my guest that day, and I had prepared for him such dainties as kid's meat, sweetmeats, a quantity of fruit, and ice for which I had sent to Baghdad. A little before this hour I had received a message from the minister to the effect that he had been obliged to go to the country to attend to some business there. So seeing Mu'tasim, and perceiving that he was some one of high rank, I thought to myself : Why should I not make this general a substitute for the minister and entertain him with the fare which has been got ready ?—So I accosted him, and requested him to come in, to which he assented. He ate and drank, and I immediately sent for some singing girls ; he sat and drank, and I made myself agreeable to him and attended to his wants. While we were drinking, the army came in search of him, and learning what had happened to him, surrounded the house. Then I learned

(1) Village seven parasangs distant from Baghdad (Yâqût).

that he was the Caliph's brother. This alarmed me, but he set me at my ease, and asked me about myself, and I told him. He said that I must certainly accompany him to Baghdad, and enter his service; and he would not leave me till he had persuaded me to go with him. I entered Baghdad in his company, and he put me in charge of some of his affairs. Presently I increased in favour with him till he put me in charge of everything, making me chief of his staff. Then he got me into the service of Mâ'mûn, who put me in charge of the *kharaj* Bureau in addition to the Secretaryship of his brother; and afterwards I was promoted to the vizierate, having started with the position I occupied in Harthamah's establishment.—Abû'l-Husain observed that no clerk except al-Fadl b. Marwân in the 'Abbâsid empire had been known to have been continuously in office without interruption from his youth till his death and to have been appointed vizier after being in charge of the *kharaj* and Estates bureaux. Mu'tasim fined him forty million dirhems, and he paid them without suffering torture.

I heard (he added) Hâmid b. 'Abbâs relate that he had heard Sâ'id say that he had been told by Ahmad b. Isrâ'îl that the latter had heard al-Fadl b. Marwân say: There is no greater fool on earth than a vizier who when in office accedes to the demand of his Caliph for money. This only arouses the Caliph's desire to seize his fortune. He will only put off his dismissal for a time, and when it comes his money will have gone. For example. When Mu'tasim went on his raid into Byzantine territory, he appointed me his deputy in Samarra and Muhammad b. al-Fadl al-Jarjarâ'î in the metropolis. When he returned, he coveted my possessions and said to me: Now I have got back, money gone and the army claiming payment. So procure for me a hundred thousand dinârs out of your own estate.—I did so. A month passed, and he demanded fifty thousand dinârs on the same plea.—I furnished them. Presently on the third occasion he demanded thirty thousand dinârs on the same ground, which I promised. I put him off for a few days, and then transmitted them to him. I was informed that he said to his son Wâthiq: This Nabataean and son of a Nabataean woman¹ has appropriated my money wholesale, and is now doling it out to me by way of charity.—Shortly after Mu'tasim arrested al-Fadl and made him pay forty million dirhems.

(1) Al-Fadl b. Marwân was originally a Christian.

14. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain after Abû Bakr Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik the Chronicler, an old man who had got this surname from his practice of collecting chronicles. He used to sit in the public mosque by the side of Zajjaj, whom he treated with honour¹. He said: I heard Mubarrad say: I used to accompany Al-Fadl b. Marwân. Once in the days of Wâthîq some one mentioned in his presence the wonderful building of Ahmed b. al-Khasib² in Samarra, and how he had used for the roof of his vestibule seventy beams of teak, each of them vast and flawless. Al-Fadl said: I never, so long as I have been in office, took any interest in buildings or furniture or slaves, male or female, nor have I wished to outdo others in entertainment. My sole interest had lain in cultivation of the soil and economy; hence my long association with them³, and their care of me. Mâ'mûn put me in charge of the *kharaj* Bureau, and I found that Ahwâz was suffering from a serious breach in the dams which put a stop to cultivation; I spent a hundred thousand dinârs on its repair, and did my utmost for the agriculture of the provinces. The districts of Ahwâz had fetched at that time 24 millions of dirhems to be paid to the government, and I farmed them for 48 millions ready cash.

15. I was told by Abû'l-Husain after Abû'l-Faraj Muhammad b. Ja'far b. Hafs the Clerk, after his father, who heard it from Najâh b. Salâmah the following; The reason, he said, for the promotion of 'Ubaidallâh b. Yahyâ b. Khâqân at the court of Mutawakkil was that his father Yahyâ b. Khâqân was in charge of the *kharaj* Bureau in the time of that Caliph. Yahyâ gave his son Abû Muhammad 'Abdallâh charge of one of the offices of the Bureau, but did not regard his other son 'Ubaidallâh as fit for such an office. 'Ubaidallâh was annoyed by his father's conduct, and went to al-Fadl b. Marwân, who at that time was in charge of the Estates' Bureau, attached himself to him, and wrote at his dictation. Now Armenia was included in the Estates' Bureau, and its people had made a contract which gave them a handsome

(1) Zajjâj was a famous grammarian, ob. 311 A. H. Yâqût has a long biography of him. Mubarrad (another famous grammarian) died 285.

(2) An important personage in the reigns of Mutawakkil and his successors.

(3) He means the Caliphs,

profit¹; al-Fadl b. Marwân declined to ratify it, and when a secret profit of a hundred thousand dirhems was offered him, he would not accept it. The people applied to most of the magnates at Samarra, but none of them agreed. So they had recourse to 'Ubaidallâh b. Yahyâ, owing to his well-known familiarity and influence with al-Fadl b. Marwân. 'Ubaidallâh pleaded their cause with al-Fadl, who was unwilling to refuse, since 'Ubaidallâh served him without stipend, or any other benefit, he being a man of means, who desired to have government employment in order to spite his father. Al-Fadl therefore let 'Ubaidallâh have his way, treating the concession as a personal gift, and ratified the contract. The Armenians offered him 5,000 dînârs, but he refused them, declaring that he wanted no price for an act of kindness which he had wrought. Being anxious after their return to Armenia to offer him some recompense, they had a set of Armenian house furniture manufactured, including a carpet of vast size, praying mats and rugs, cushions, pillows, sofa, and curtains, gilded the whole and inscribed his patronymic and his name; nothing so beautiful or magnificent had ever been seen. It was despatched to him. It so happened that Mutawakkil had that year set guards on the roads and given orders to his agents to let no goods enter without being shown to him. So the tent with all the articles that had been brought from Armenia was shown him and he was aghast. Who, he asked, is the person for whom this is intended?—He was told: 'Ubaidallâh b. Khâqân.—What office has he, the man asked, that such goods should be manufactured for him? Possibly it is a commission sent to his father.—He was told that Armenia was under the Bureau of Estates, and that 'Ubaidallah's father had no connexion therewith.—So he pursued his inquiries into the case until the true story was told him, and, approving of the conduct of 'Ubaidallâh in the matter, he ordered the furniture to be handed to him. This young man's conduct, he said, gives evidence of great spirit. When he dismissed Muhammad b. al-Fadl al-Jarjarâ'i from the vizierate, Mutawakkil said: I can now dispense with a vizier, for the heads of the Bureaux can present their documents to me, and the date may be made out in the name of Wasîf the Turk.—He conducted affairs in this style for a certain period, then he felt the need of a secretary who should be in his presence to draft deeds concerning his buildings and matters of importance about

(1) The meaning apparently is that the sum offered in respect of land-tax left them a great surplus.

which he issued commands to the heads of the bureaux, and other business. He gave orders that a young man of secretarial family should be sought to whom he could assign that office. Several were nominated, among them 'Isâ b. Dâwûd b. al-Jarraâh¹, Abû'l-Fadl b. Marwân and others. The two sons of Yahyâ b. Khâqân, 'Abdallâh and 'Ubaidallâh were also among the nominees. When the Caliph came across the name of 'Ubaidallâh, he recollected the story of the furniture, and selected him. He rose continually in the Caliph's favour till ultimately he was made vizier.

16. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain after Abû Ja'far Muhammad b. Yahyâ b. Zakariyya b. Shîrzâd. When, said Abû Ja'far, my father was put in charge of the Bureau of the Estates known as those of Gharîb the Uncle (of Muqtadir), he appointed my brother Abû'l-Husain Zakariyya b. Yahyâ as his deputy over the bureau. He assigned Zakariyya a stipend of twenty dînârs per month and ten dînârs to me as a writer in the same bureau. I was annoyed at this, and declined the stipend and the work. I went off to the Bureau of Private Estates (of the sovereign) which at that time was in the charge of Abû Hâmid Muhammad b. al-Hasan, called Sudaniyah². To him I got no access, neither did I utilize the relations between my father and him for the purpose. I attached myself to that Bureau under the eye of Abû Yûsuf 'Abd al-Rahmân b. Muhammad b. Sahl, called Murammad, who was in charge of the accountant's chamber, and studied the business for a month. Abu Hâmid heard about me and, though I was at that time nowhere near twenty years of age, he summoned me, remonstrated with me for failing to call on him and make myself known to him, and bade me be constantly in his presence; he provided me each day with two scrolls, a fair copy of some deed, and paper, telling me to practise on these and acquire proper handwriting. After some days the clerks' pay for a month was distributed, and he ordered his treasurer, whose business it was to distribute it, to transmit to me three hundred dirhems, valued at twenty dînârs. The treasurer informed me that this was assigned me as my monthly stipend.—So I went to my father, showed him the money, and said: God has treated me better than you!—He told me to keep the ten (which he had allotted me), and remain in my place, so as to have thirty dînârs a

(1) Father of the vizier 'Alî b. 'Isâ.

(2) Perhaps Sûdâniq.

month. I did this, and this was the commencement of my fortune.

17. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain, who had it from Abû'l-Qâsim Sulaimân b. al-Hasan b. Makh-lad.—When my father (said he) was despatched to Egypt¹, I sought assistance from al-Buhturî² and Abu Ma'shar³, and affected their society, owing to my loneliness and confinement to my house. They were constantly with me and gave me their company. One day they told me how on a certain occasion they had both been in great straits, and being comrades, bethought them of interviewing Al-Mu'tazz⁴, who at that time was in prison. They tried repeatedly but failed to gain admission; ultimately however they succeeded in obtaining leave to visit him in his place of confinement. And, said Buhturî to me, I recited to him some verses which I had composed in honour of Muhammad b. Yûsuf al-Thughari⁵, when he was imprisoned, and which I now transferred to al-Mu'tazz:

From time honoured friend, both the troubles that grieve
Successively come, and the joys that relieve;

Our days are like dwellings, accorded by fate;
Some lordly and ample, some squalid and strait.

Adversity has been thy schooling; of old
The flame of the furnace has purified gold.

God's messenger, Joseph, do thou call to mind,
By false accusation in dungeon confined.

Who fitly in patience his dungeon endured
And by seemly patience a kingdom secured.

Though virtue herself has to rue thy arrest,
And by false beliefs the true faith is sore pressed.

Al-Mu'tazz took the paper which contained the verses, and handed it to an attendant whom he had with him, whom he told to set the verses to music and preserve with care. And, he added, if God should deliver me remind me of them that I may recompense this man.—

(1) See above, Anecdote 10.

(2) Famous poet, died 284 A.H.

(3) Famous astrologer, died 272 A.H.

(4) Caliph 251-255. The anecdote, as will be seen, deals with the period before his accession.

(5) Hero of campaigns in Armenia, to whom Buhturî devotes many odes.

Abu Ma'shar said : I had taken the horoscope of Al-Mu'tazz, and was acquainted with the date of the proclamation of Musta'in, and the date of the public appointment by Mutawakkil of Al-Mu'tazz as successor. Studying these carefully, I decided that Al-Mu'tazz would become Caliph after a civil war, and that Musta'in would be deposed and put to death¹, and I handed my forecast to Al-Mu'tazz, after which we departed.—Events now took their course, my forecast was realized in every detail, and when Al-Mu'tazz was Caliph and Al-Musta'in had been deposed, we presented ourselves at a full assembly. Then (said Abu Ma'shar) Al-Mu'tazz said to me : I have not forgotten you ; your forecast has come true, and I assign you a monthly stipend of a hundred dīnārs, and thirty more for occasional expenses. I also appoint you chief astrologer at the court. Further I have ordered a gift of a thousand dīnārs to be handed to you at once.—Abu Ma'shar added that he was paid the whole that very day.

Buhturī said : On the same day I recited to him the odes in which I eulogized and congratulated him, and censured Al-Musta'in. The first of these began

One shuns my endearment whom I would endear ;

One keeps far away whom I fain would be near

and so on till I reached the passage

What think you of justice erect on its base,

And what of injustice expelled in disgrace ?

The Misguided of God—could he hope to evade

Pursuit by the man to whom God gave His aid ?

No longer in ruin the sceptre he gripped ;

And off him the cloak of the Prophet was stripped.

Amusing his flying to Wāsit, because

Its chickens are just the fit prey for his claws²!

Al-Mu'tazz laughed and desired me to repeat the lines several times, which I did. He then summoned his attendant and asked for the paper which contained the verses which I had recited to him when he was in prison. The attendant brought the identical paper, and the Caliph

(1) This happened in 251.

(2) Wāsit (or Kaskar in some copies of the ode, the district of which, Wāsit was metropolis) was famous for its chickens ; Yāqūt says that in his time two dozen were sold there for a dirhem. When Musta'in was deposed he was at first authorized to go to Meccah, but presently his destination was changed to Wāsit,

said : I order that a thousand dînârs should be given you for each couplet which this paper contains. There were six, so I got six thousand dînârs.—The Caliph proceeded to say : Doubtless you will without delay purchase a slave, a slave-girl, a horse, and furniture, and so squander all this money. Pray do nothing of the sort. In the time to which you can look forward at our court with us and our viziers and courtiers, when they know of the esteem in which we hold you, you will have no need to make such purchases ; far better use this sum to buy an estate in your own country, from one end of which you can see the other end, of which you can enjoy the fruits, while the ground remains your own ; just as Ibn Qais al-Buqayyât did with the money which was presented to him by ‘Abd-allâh b. Ja‘far¹.—I told the Caliph that I would certainly obey his command. So when I left the palace I did what he advised, and purchased myself a fine property in Manbij. Soon I became firmly established in his favour, and he made ample additions to what he had already given.

I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain. We were told, he said, by Abû'l-Fath b. Ja‘far b. Muhammad b. al-Furât after his return from Egypt and Syria in the days of al-Râdi, when he became vizier, as follows². On this return (he said) to “ the City of Peace ” (Baghdad)² I passed by Manbij, where I saw some estates in an ideal state of cultivation. Asking about them, I was told that they were the fief and the properties of the poet Buhtûrî². I asked : To whom do they now belong ?—I was told that they were in the possession of a son of the daughter of his son Abû'l-Ghauth.—I said: That is a distant relationship, and ordered al-Hasan b. Thawâbah to seize them.—The next day a man well on in years came to me, dressed in the uniform of the army, who asserted that he was the owner of the estates, and that they were the properties on account of which his grandfather Buhturî had composed the Ode which contains the couplet.

Oh, why impose on me a tax for which

All entered liable save me are rich ?

He recited all the verses³, and said : This is a lament occasioned by a moderate levy ; what will be my plight

(1) In the *Aghani* this poet records that he received enough from his benefactor to maintain him for his lifetime. The *diwan* of this poet, whose death-date was 74 A. H., has been published by Rhodokanakis.

(2) See Index to *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, S. V. al-Fadl b. Ja‘far.

(2) The ode is of nine lines,

if these estates are confiscated? Al-Fadl said: I did not like the idea of being the cause of the man's destitution, and let them remain in his possession.

18. Abû'l-Husain told me that he had heard the following from Abû'l-Fath a long time before his first investiture with the vizierate¹. I was told the following by my father: I superseded Muhammad b. Saif, who was finance minister of Bâdûraya, and took his place; I found many arrears due from him, which I demanded of him. He repaid nothing. So I had him fetched one day and examined him. He adhered to his resolution. I grew angry and ordered him to be cuffed. He uttered no lament, but merely kept on crying out "One!" When a second cuff had been administered he said "Number two!". He went on in this style till he had received thirteen blows. I was astonished at his numeration, and said to him: Pray, what is the use of your counting? Why do you not rather ask for pardon?—He said: I am counting (God exalt you!) in order that I may cuff you the same number of times some days hence when I have superseded you and got your place, so that I may neither wrong you by administering more nor give you less than your due.—My father said: I felt ashamed, and said to him: Go home, but not under God's protection! And I let him go. So the money was lost.

19. The following was told me by Abû'l-Husain after Niftawaihi² after Tha'lab³, from whom he heard it. There was, he said, a neighbour of ours in the Harbiyyah quarter⁴, who was a porter by occupation, a respectable man, said to be an ascetic. He would not carry for persons connected with the court. He would carry to the extent required to earn him a bare living, no more; he would then rest, and only carry some light parcel, such as meat or fruit, weighing fifty *ralls*⁵ or thereabout. One day (said Tha'lab) I followed him, without his knowing that I was behind, and I saw him put a foot on the ground and say "Praise be to God," and lift it and say "I ask pardon of God."—I asked him why he did this. He replied: "I am between favours of God and sins. I praise the Almighty for His favours and ask His for-

(1) Ibn Hinzabah, as this person is ordinarily called after his mother was first vizier in 320 near the end of Muqtadir's reign.

(2) Famous grammarian, who died 323.

(3) A yet more famous grammarian, who died 291.

(4) "The great suburb stretching to the northward of the City of Mansûr" (Le Strange, Baghdad, p. 107).

(5) Some 86 pounds.

givenness for my sins ! ” Desiring to test him, I said to him: What say you of ‘Alî and Abû Bakr—which of the two was the better¹ ? He replied : When the rolls are unfolded and the balances set up, shall I be asked about my sins or about the rival claims of Abû Bakr and ‘Alî ?—I said : Certainly about your sins.—He said : My soul gives me enough concern without finding out which was the better of the two.

20. Abû'l-Husain told me that he had heard his father say : I heard Hâmid b. al-‘Abbâs say : Nothing in this world does a man more harm than making himself agreeable to an enemy. You should make public the relations between yourself and your enemy so that what he says about you may not be accepted. I also, he said, heard him say : A man in adversity may often derive more benefit from a humble individual than from a magnate. For example : When Ismâ'il b. Bulbul imprisoned me, he put me in charge of a janitor, who had been long in his service. He was (he said) a free man, and I treated him generously. I used to rely on the good services of Abû'l-‘Abbâs b. al-Furât. The janitor had been long in the service of Ismâ'il, and used to enter his private room and stand in front of him, the other servants not objecting owing to his past attendance. One night the man came to me and said : The vizier is angry with Ibn al-Furât and has been saying to him : You and no one else are the person who prevents Hâmid from paying up, and the arrears of his fine must be vigorously demanded of him. Tomorrow the vizier is going to summon you to his presence, and threaten you.—This caused me anxiety, and I asked him whether he had anything to suggest. He said : Write a letter to one of those with whom you have dealings, who is notorious for miserliness and meanness, asking him for a loan of a thousand dirhems for the support of your family ; and request him to write the answer on the back of your letter so that it may be returned to you, and you will be able to produce it. The man, being mean and miserly, is sure to refuse you with some excuse ; so keep the paper, and when the vizier makes his demand, produce it and say : My circumstances have come to this, and I am producing this without collusion. Possibly this plan may help you.—So I did what he suggested, and the refusal came as we had calculated. So I kept the letter on my person. The next day the vizier had me fetched and made his demand. I produced the paper and told

(1) A test question to find out whether he was a Shi'f or a Sunnî.

him to read it. I then endeavoured to mollify him and succeeded in making him feel compassion and shame; and this led to an alleviation of my sufferings and the termination of my adversity. When I obtained office in the days of 'Ubaidallah b. Sulaimân I made inquiries about the janitor and induced him to enter my service. I assigned him a stipend of fifty dînârs a year, and he is still with me.

21. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain after his father after his grandfather 'Abdallâh b. Hishâm, who said he had heard it from Yahyâ b. 'Abdallâh al-Kaskarî.—I was, he said, clerk to the younger Ibn al-Bakhtarî, minister of *kharaj* in Egypt, who was superseded by Sulaimân b. Wahb¹. The latter's son 'Ubaidallâh came out with him, and served as his deputy in the office. The new official imprisoned Ibn al-Bakhtarî while he made out his accounts, and they had a private meeting for the purpose of arranging them. I went to Sulaimân morning and evening to show him what I was doing. He had put Ibn al-Bakhtarî in the custody of an Egyptian general, to whom a number of cavalry, infantry, and retainers² were attached. Ibn al-Bakhtarî furnished them with lavish supplies. Mihrajân³ came on, and he ordered the cauldron used for making palm-wine to be brought to the dwelling wherein he was confined, and the stew to be cooked therein. He was himself a short and slight man. The cauldron was brought and the stew cooked in it and there were other dishes. The custodians ate and drank, and became intoxicated. He then trickily got into the cauldron, on which the lid was put, after which it was removed. They knew nothing about him till they became sober, when they sought but could not find him. Yahyâ b. 'Abdallâh went on to say: I too knew nothing about this, but coming according to my custom to Sulaimân next morning I found Ubaidullâh seated distraught with the search, for the man's escape was now known. 'Ubaidallâh was saying: what could be more scandalous than that the Caliph should hear that we were unable to keep the dismissed official? People will say about us: How do they propose to guard the goods and the provinces when they could not guard a prisoner?—He began to beat the soldiers in order to make them confess as to his whereabouts, and he ordered my arrest when he saw me.

(1) See Kindî, ed. Guest, p. 203, where the date 247 is given for Sulaimân's holding this post.

(2) This usually means Turkish "janissaries."

(3) Feast of the autumnal equinox, properly a Zoroastrian festival,

I said to him : God exalt you, had I known anything about this, I should not have come to you.—He believed what I said, and my presenting myself was the cause of my deliverance.—Now (he added) there fell into his hands a Christian steward of Ibn al-Bakhtarî, who looked after his kitchen. He was a Nabataean. 'Ubaidallâh was told that this person must certainly know where his master was and began to beat him. There were present in the room Sulaimân b. Wahb, the chiefs of the post and the secret service, and a whole crowd of others. I knew the Nabataean language well, whereas 'Ubaidallâh did not. When the beating of the steward waxed hot, the man was near confessing where Ibn al-Bakhtarî was to be found. Sulaimân perceived this, was unwilling to order him to deny all knowledge, for fear this should be reported, yet was anxious that the disgraced official should escape, herein following an old principle, whereby men secured themselves by sparing their enemies. So he said to the man who was being beaten certain words in Nabataean, of which the import was : Do not confess, for confession is like pitch, it cannot be got off. —The man in consequence held out against the beating, and presently Sulaimân said to 'Ubaidallâh : How long are you going to beat this unfortunate man ? If he knew anything, he would have told you. Stop the beating or else he will die, and we shall be guilty of his blood. The man was released that day and the man who had gone into hiding escaped.

22. I was told the following by Abû'l-Husain after abû Bakr Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Malik " the Chronicler ", after Mubarrad. I was told (said Mubarrad) by al-Hasan b. Sahl¹, after he had grown old and sat in his house, how one day he had presented himself before Mâ'mûn, when the latter was seated, with a number of his courtiers present, among them Ishâq b. Ibrahim b. Mus'ab. The Caliph had a paper in his hand which he was reading, and so he did not notice me. I remained standing, and Ishâq said to him : Prince of Believers, here is Abû Muhammad al-Hasan b. Sahl. The Caliph bade me be seated, so I sat down. He told me to produce my inkhorn, which I did. He then said : Make out the appointment of Ishâq b. Ibrâhim to the Directorship of Public Security in the whole of the Sawâd², as a reward to him for having called attention to the respect which is your due, Abû Mu-

(1) Vizier of Mâ'mûn, died 236.

(2) Often used for 'Irâq.

hammad.—I thanked him, invoked blessings on him, and made out the deed.

23. The following verses were recited to me by Abû'l-Hasan Muhammad b. Ghassân b. 'Abd al-Jabbâr al-Dârimî, grocer in Basrah, who heard them from Abû'l-Hasan 'Abdallâh b. Sulaimân the Blind, of Kûfah, called "the Seeing," their author :

Ah me, for the fate that betides !
Each town a fresh sorrow provides.
I cheerfully enter, then pity
O'ercomes me for those in the city.

24. The following was told me by Abû'l-Hasan Muhammad b. Ghassân b. 'Abd al-Jabbâr.—I saw (he said) in Omân a khârijî¹ shaikh who had come on a Friday from the direction of the Rebels' country to the main street in Omân. This was the people's road to the Mosque, and they were hurrying to the Friday service for fear of missing it. The khârijî was walking leisurely, thinking of his business and not troubling about the Friday service. Presently a shaikh appeared coming from the direction of the Mosque, and the two met. The second shaikh, not knowing the khârijî, and assuming that he was making for the Mosque, said to him : Whither are you going, shaikh ? The people have said their prayers, and you have missed the service.—The Khârijî replied : Stupid fellow, it can only be missed after its time has arrived—meaning that praying in public with them would not release him from the obligatory prayer, at noon ; if he were to pray with them in assembly he would omit the noon prayer, and so miss the obligatory prayer, while performing a ceremony which would be of no avail, since according to his system these people were all infidels².—The shaikh did not understand what he heard, but I said to the khârijî : I fancy, good sir, you are a *shari*. The man said : Yes, thank God ! Now these people like to be called *shari* (vendor), and object to being called *khariji* (rebel), basing on the text of the Qur'an (ii. 203) *And there is one that selleth his soul seeking the pleasure of God*.

25. I was told the following by Abû'l-Hasan 'Alî b. Natîf of Baghdad, the theologian of the Bahshamite³

(1) The Qarmatians are doubtless the sect meant here.

(2) According to the Shâfi'î code the Public prayer on Friday should be *before* the time of the noon prayer.

(3) i. e. the system founded by Abû Hâshim. For their views see Kate C. Seelye, *Moslem Schisms and Sects*, p. 190.

doctrine, known as Ibn al-Sarrâj. There used, he said, to appear at our gatherings in Baghdad a shaikh of the Imâmî sect¹, called Abû Bakr b. al-Fallâs. He was an amusing man, and told us one day how he had called on a man whom he had known as a Shî'ite, but who had become a Transmigrationist. I found him, he said, with a black cat in front of him, which he was stroking, playing with his fingers on its head above the eyes. The cat's eye was watering as happens when this is done, and he himself was weeping copiously.—I asked him why he wept.—He replied: Can you not see that this cat sheds tears each time I stroke her? She is my mother, without doubt; and weeps out of grief when she sees me.—He then proceeded to talk to the cat in the style of one who was convinced that she understood.—The cat began to mew very gently.—I said to him sarcastically: So she understands what you are saying to her?—He said: She does.—I said to him: And do you understand her mewings?—He said: I do not.—So I said to him: Then you are the transmigrated, and she is the human being.

26. Muhammad b. 'Isâ, one of the clerks of our time, wrote a letter of condolence to a friend, which I read in the autograph, and of which I admired the commencement; it was as follows:

Whoever has the privilege of longevity has to suffer many a calamity, such as the loss of relations and sudden tribulations. This is fortune's ordinary course, and her rule which remains in force. And he is best qualified to resign himself to such vicissitude whom God has endowed with the virtue of fortitude: if a blow strikes him, he takes it with resignation, and it finds him prepared for it by anticipation.

27. The following verses were written to me by 'Amr b. Muhammad b. al-Ash'ath, a lad who passed through Wâsit on his way from Oman. He mentioned that he had been in the army there, but had been ruined and forced to flee when the Dailamites took possession of Oman². The verses were at the end of a letter in which he solicited payment for a eulogy on me which he had advanced.

Hope "died of its chagrin³", but you remain;
How often happiness must end in pain!

(1) i. e. that branch of the Shî'ah who held that Ali had been definitely appointed to succeed the Prophet.

(2) i. e. by Mu'izz al-Daulah's general in 355. See *Eclipse* v. 281.

(3) From the Qur'ân, iii. 115.

If I 'm ablaze, disaster is to blame ;
 Far smaller sparks have often kindled flame.
 Leafless and dry is bounty's tree, and why ?
 It is unwatered by your charity.
 Should you reject my claims, yet still be good,
 And help me somehow to a livelihood.

28. The following was told me by Abû 'Alî al-Muntâb, who had heard it from his father¹. "We were sitting one day (he said) with Hâmid b. al-² during his administration in Wâsit under a panka owing to the heat in the latter half of November. The cold came on in the night, and the next day we had to put on furs and padded garments. We were astonished at the change from extreme heat to extreme cold in the course of a single night.

29. The following was told me by Abû A'li Muhammad b. Muhammad b. Ismâ'il b. Sâ'idah.—I heard (he said) one of our shaikhs repeat a saying ascribed to Ibrâhim al-Harbî² : Everything is tasty with health, and everything successful with wealth.

30. The following was told me by Abû'l-Husain 'Alî b. Hishâm. I heard (he said) the Qâdi Abû Ja'far Ahmad b. Ishâq b. al-Buhlûl al-Tanûkhî of Anbar³ conversing with my father, once when I came to congratulate him on the Feast of the Sacrifice⁴. He told a number of anecdotes, among them one which he had heard from the Qâdi Abû Hâzim⁵. This last said : There were in my charge several orphans, male and female, who had been left by certain officials, and I entrusted their property to one of the "witnesses"⁶. One day this trustee came and informed me that the official in charge of the Sultân's revenue-bearing properties in Baghdad, and the revenue officer of Bâdûraya had laid hands on properties belonging to these orphans, asserting that they had done so by order of the vizier 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân, with the authority of the Prince of Believers Mu'tadid. I went to Mu'tadid on a day when there was a procession, and when this was over, approached him and gave him an account of the

(1) Probably the person mentioned by Hilal, p. 174, 5.

(2) Famous Traditionalist, died 285.

(3) Qâdi in the City of Mansûr for twenty years; died 318. According to an anecdote told by Yâqût he proved himself superior in knowledge and accuracy to the historian Tabarî.

(4) Tenth day of Dhû'l-Hijjah.

(5) See above, Anecdote 5, which is parallel in many ways.

(6) Persons certified as of good character by the qâdi.

matter. He said to me : 'Abd al-Hamîd¹, this² was an official who has embezzled my money, and owed me large sums due from parts of my private estates of which he was in charge ; his debts to me are double the value of the property which he left.—I said : Prince of Believers, your claim requires evidences, for I have ascertained that these properties were his at the time of his death, and I cannot take them out of the hands of his heir without evidence of debt. This is God's law concerning those who are of age ; how much more must it be observed in the case of infants³ ?—The Caliph was silent for a time, meditating ; presently he called for an inkhorn and himself made out an order to 'Ubaidallâh b. Sulaimân to release the properties.

(1) Abu Hâzim's name.

(2) Meaning the father of the orphans.

(3) Qur'ân xvii. 36, iv. 12 etc.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued.)

AN ISLAMIC HYMN

Unseen, all-seeing Lord of all,
 Eternal, increate !
 Thy will makes worlds arise and fall,
 Thy thought unknown is Fate ;
 Creator Thou of heaven and earth,
 Lord of Eternity,
 All life from Thee alone has birth,
 All life returns to Thee.

Thou wast, Thou art, and Thou shalt be
 As when Thy work began
 From Nothing to Infinity,
 From formless Clay to Man.
 Atoms of dust, we are made whole
 And quickened by Thy breath.
 Yea, Thou dost breathe a deathless Soul
 Into the heart of Death.

All-seeing and all-knowing, Thou ;
 Master of Morn and Night ;
 O guide us on Thy way, e'en now
 From darkness unto light !
 Our life on earth is idle sport,
 A year, a month, a day ;
 Thou art our Refuge, our Resort
 When all shall pass away.

The hidden and the manifest
 Alike are known to Thee ;
 All acts, all thoughts within man's breast,
 Of sin or probity.
 Thou guidest with a Master's care,
 If man but understood,
 His soul from that which seemeth fair
 To everlasting Good.

We praise Thee, Merciful, Benign !
We praise Thee, and obey.
Lord of the Worlds ! All life is Thine
And Thine the Judgment Day.
O lead us to the path of Right ;
Guide us along the Way
Of those on whom Thy grace doth light,
And not of those who stray !

NIZAMAT JUNG.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF THE MADRASA

In the historical tradition Nizâm al-Mulk, who from 456 to 485 A. H. was Wazîr of the Seljuk sultans, is regarded as the founder of the Madrasa. Some historians, e.g., al-Maqrîzî and al-Suyûtî, object to this tradition rightly that there were madrasas before the time of that great Wazîr. As a matter of fact Nizâm al-Mulk was not the founder of the Madrasa as an institution, but it was due to his interest that this institution attained such a flowering state in the east that it spread widely over the whole of Mesopotamia, Syria and Egypt. As the work of Nizâm al-Mulk, above all his *madrasat-al-Nizâmîya* in Baghdad contributed to the spread of these institutions in Egypt and Syria, where they assumed an immense importance, it is only natural that to those countries he appeared as the founder of the whole institution.

From the beginning, the science of Islâm was connected with the mosque. The main points of interest were the Qur'ân and Hadîth. In the Hadîth-collections we see a reflection of the mode of learning, when the Prophet is represented as sitting in the mosque with his *halqa* of listeners who repeat his words three times in order to memorise them¹, and people come and ask him about this or that hadîth². As some learning about Islam was indispensable to every Muslim, 'Umar sent in the year 17 teachers of the Qur'ân in every region, and the people attended their lectures in the mosque every Friday. Lectures of this kind were called *mau'iza*, because there was no real difference between learning and edification³. Such edifying instruction was given in the mosques by the *qussâs*. In the time of 'Umar, Tamîm al-Dârîs spoke

(1) *Bukhari*; *K.-al-'ilm* 8. 30. 35. 42.

(2) *Ibid.* 4. 14. 33. 50. 51. 53.

(3) *Ibid.* 12.

in the mosque of Medina as qâss. As early as 38 or 39 A.H. an official qâss was appointed in the 'Amr mosque in Cairo; it was the Qâdî Sulaini b. 'Itr al-Tujibî, and after him several Qâdîs were qussâs as well: Ibn Hujayra, d. 83, Khayir b. Nu'aim in the year 120, Ibr b. Ishâq al-Qârî, d. 204, etc¹. The qâss recited, standing, a part of the Qur'ân, and after that explained, sitting on his chair, what he had read, and edified the listeners with his mau'iza or dhikr. The qussâs or wu'âz acted still for centuries in the mosques; in 580 A. H. Ibn Jubayr listened with keen interest to some famous wu'âz in the mosques of Baghdad² and even afterwards we hear about them in Cairo. But they were preachers much more than teachers, and beside them other people had taken over the real instruction.

'Umar b. 'Abdal-Azîz sent a learned maulâ to Egypt in order to teach the Egyptians the sunan, and after that time we find a number of muftîs and Qâdîs sitting in their halqa in the 'Amr mosque and teaching their pupils Islamic Science³. It is not possible to trace the evolution of the instruction given in the mosques, in all its details. But in the 3rd century A.H., we find that all the mosques are centres of learning as well as of worship and jurisdiction. The instruction had a very free character. In the year 256 al-Tabarî dictated the poems of al-Tirmîh in the 'Amr mosque, sitting near the Bait-al-mâl⁴, and some years earlier the great al-Shâfi'î spent the most of his time in this mosque. Just after the Salâtal-Subh he taught the Qur'ân; at sunrise Hadîth; later, the subject of scientific method (*Mudhakara wal-nazar*), at duhâ came the ahl al-'Arabîya and learned with him grammar and poetry; at noontime he went home⁵. Every teacher had his special seat in the mosque, and after his death it was inherited by another.

When you entered a mosque you witnessed a very motley life. Nâsir i-Khosrau, of the 5th century, tells that 5,000 people daily visited the mosque of 'Amr, amongst them teachers, qurra', students, strangers, writers making contracts and bills, etc⁶. You found circles, halaq, of people attending lectures in all kinds of science, especially

(1) V. Maqrîzî, *Khitat*, Cairo, IV 17 f; Kindi. *K.-al-Untat* ed. Guest p. 808 f. 317, 427; Suyûtî, *Husn al Muhadara* I 131.

(2) *Rihla* ed.-de Qoeje 219 Q; 2247.

(3) *Husn al-Muhadara* I 130 134; Kindi, *untat* 89, 17.

(4) Yâqût, *Udaba'* VI 432.

(5) Yâqût *Udaba'* VI 883.

(6) Ed Schefer p. 50, 148.

as told by al-Maqdisi, Fuqahâ, Qurrâ, and Ahl al-Adab wal-Hikma¹. Since the third century, after al-Shâfi'î, it was no more the Hadîth, but the more systematical fiqh that was the main subject. Famous scholars gathered a vast audience, like al-Na'âli, (d 380) whose attenders filled up the space of 17 columns². Not only young people attended the lectures. Interested people of all social positions came to get the *baraka* of the great scholars. Discussions were not uncommon, and the great scholar won over the audience of his adversaries. When al-Shafi'i came to Baghdâd (195 A.H.) Al-Subkî tells, there were in the great mosque 20 halaq listening to Hanafitic teachers ; but al-Shâfi'î's argumentation won over so many of them that only 3 or 4 halaq stayed with the Hanafites.

Beside fiqh, the Hadîth, and of course the Qur'ân, formed still a very important subject in the lectures of the mosques. And the Arabic philology never failed to interest the Muslims who were very careful about their rich and difficult language. Some of the Fuqahâ, like al-Shâfi'î taught philology as well as fiqh, but there were also special philologists, lecturing in their own part of the mosque, as was the case in Basra³ and a philologist renowned as al-Kisâ'î lectured in the mosque named after him in Baghdâd⁴. The Mu'tazilite Kalâm was taught in the mosque of Mansûr in Basra, where al-Ash'arî attended the lectures of al-Jubbâ'î. But also quite different subjects were treated in the Mosques. Al-Khatib al-Baghdâdî read his history of Baghdâd in the big mosque of that town⁵. Even medicine, (*Tibb*) was occasionally treated in the mosques. Ibn al-Haytham (d. 430) gave lectures upon that subject in al-Azhar in the time of al-Hâkim, and when Lâjîn restored the mosque of Ibn Tûlûn, he ordered lectures for medicine⁶, a subject that otherwise was taught in the hospitals.

These examples show us to what a great extent the mosques were schools. We know not much about the organization of the instruction and of the teachers in the old time. But we can suggest that the organisation was a very free one. Every Muslim could enter the mosque and attend a lecture, the traveller could always go to the principal mosque in the town he visited to attend

(1) *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* III 205.

(2) *Husn al-Muhadara* I 20.

(3) *Yâqût Udaba'* IV 135.

(4) *Ib.* 248 f.

(5) *Yâqût Udaba'* I 246 p.

(6) *Maqrîzî.* IV 41.

a lecture about hadith¹. There was no examination, but when a pupil had finished a book he got the *ijāza* of his master, by which he was entitled to teach the book himself. Everyone could lecture on such a book, if anyone would listen to him, but in the big mosques it was necessary to get the permit of the leader in order to give lectures as we are told in the biography of al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī². In all mosques there were several *waqfs* for the professors, and these *waqfs* gave the background of the appointments. But a ruler or another mighty one of this world could always give an allowance for any scholar, enabling him to spend his time in giving lectures in a mosque. This was very important, as many of the great scholars spent their time in travelling. This is a main feature in the scholarly life of Islam, an inheritance from antiquity. It contributed to make a unity of Islam, and was always stimulating to the studies. In that way al-Shāfi'ī, al-Ghazālī, 'Abdal-Latīf, Ibn Khaldūn—just to name some few examples—could give their lectures in different parts of the Islamic world without difficulty.

The travelling of the scholars was facilitated in another way. The mosque was not only—to speak in the European way—church and school at once, but also hostel. Pious people could spend day and night in the mosque if they liked to do so, and it is told of some scholars that they never left the mosque. And when poor travellers came to a town it was their right to spend the night in the mosque. Therefore dwellings were arranged in connection with several mosques.

From the oldest time pious ascetics were living in the minarets, and in the mosque of the 'Umayyads at Damascus al-Ghazālī as earlier al-Baghdādī, lived in one of its minarets³. And Ibn Jubayr tells us about the well-equipped dwellings that were connected with that mosque, not only for ascetics, but also for scholars and students⁴. According to al-Wāqidī, as quoted by al-Suyūṭī, there was very early a dwelling-house for the *qurrā'* in Medīna, in which house 'Abdullah b. Umm Maktum was living⁵. Institutions of that kind may not have been uncommon in connection with a mosque. We know from Egypt in the time of the Fatimids 361 A.H. (*i.e.* 972 A.D.) that after the build-

(1) *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* III 415.

(2) *Yâqût Udaba'* I 246 p.

(3) *Yâqût Udaba'* I 255.

(4) *Rihla* 269 cf. Ibn Battûta I 204.

(5) *Husn al-Muhadara* II 142.

ing of the Azhar Mosque had been completed the Shî'itic Qâdî of the new ruler, 'Alî b. al-Nu'mân, lectured about the fiqh-system of his madhab. And in 378 the Caliph al-'Azîz and his Wazîr Ya'qûb b. Killis, inaugurated a foundation for 35 professors, giving them salaries and dwellings in a big house beside the mosque¹.

All branches of Islamic science found an asylum in the mosque. This was the meeting-place of all learned men, the place of devotion and study, of working and discussion, not strictly organised, open to every Muslim, and at the same time many of the students and teachers found a lodging in the mosque, appropriate to their humble pretensions. The mosque was a very cheap high-school, as the halaq were sitting only on the floor, mostly in the same big hall. A library was the only thing especially wanted for the students.

But science had other refuges besides the mosque. It is well known that al-Mâ'mûn (198-202) founded an academy, *Bait al-Hikma*, in Baghdâd. This institution that reminds us of the older, pre-Islamic one in Qundê Shâpûr, consisted mainly of a library, an astronomical observatory and dwellings for the scholars; their principal task was to translate the Hellenistic literature into Arabic². A somewhat similar institution was founded much later by al-Mu'tadid (279-289) who built a palace for himself and, in connection with it, rooms and dwellings for students of every branch of science, who got salaries for studies and instruction³. These institutions were of special importance because they were interested in studies that lay rather far from the main interest of the mosque, where the Qur'ân, Hadîth and Fiqh always stood in the foreground. The academies were occupied with the Hellenistic sciences like Logic, Philosophy, Mathematics, Astronomy, Music, Medicine and Alchemy, that were named "the old sciences" *al-'ulum al-qadîma*.

Some wealthy people, scholars themselves, or interested in the studies, founded institutions of a similar kind. 'Alî b. Yahyâ, named the Astronomer, (*al-Munajjim*) d. 275, was the owner of a palace with a big library, *khizanat al-hikma*, that comprised a large collection of astronomical books; this library was open to every one who wanted to use it, and it was visited by scholars from every country. It is told that Abû Ma'shar the Astronomer arrived there

(1) Maqrîzî IV 49.

(2) Fihrist ed. Fluegel p. 243.

(3) Maqrîzî IV 192; *Husn al-Muhadara*, II 142.

from Khurâsân bound for Mecca to fulfil the Hajj. He was then not much versed in astronomical studies, but when he had stayed some time in this institution he was so affected with them that he never more went on pilgrimage and even left Islam¹. In Mausil Ja'far b. Muhammad, (d. 323) founded a "dwelling of science", *dar al-'ilm* with a library, in which the students worked daily in every science and got paper gratuitously. The founder himself read papers to them about poetry². In the 4th Islamic century we get information about several institutions of this kind, founded in the eastern countries. Al Maqdisî gives an account of a library, *khizanat al-Kutub*, arranged in Shirâz by 'Adud al-Daula (367-72) and well organised with a director (*wakîl*), an assistant (*khâzin*) and an inspector (*mushrif*); every person of consideration could get admittance to it³. In those libraries splendid manuscripts of the Qur'ân and the classical authors were found. In the library of Bahâ al-Daula, son of 'Adud al-Daula, probably the same library as that just mentioned, Ibn al-Bawwâb found a very precious copy of the Qur'ân in 80 parts, written by Ibn Muqla on fine Kaghid paper, with golden letters; as one part was lacking, Ibn al-Bawwâb prepared that himself just like the other parts and stipulated as his reward a robe of honour and 100 dînârs⁴. In the year 383 the Wazîr Sâbûr b. Ardashîr founded a *dar al-'ilm* with a big library for the scholars⁵, and in the same century a friend of science, Ibn Sanwâr founded a *dar al-kutub* in Basra and one in Râm Hurmuz with salaries for the scholars; and in Basra a Shaikh gave lectures about Mu'tazilite Kalâm⁶. In al-Rayy there was at the same time a library comprising more than 400 camel-loads of books, amongst them many of the Shî'a doctrine⁷. In other towns of the east we get information about such more or less public institutions.

In the west the Fatimids founded their renowned institutes on the same lines. Their aim was to support the Shî'a doctrine, but not only that. The institutions were real working places of science. In their palace in Cairo they had a library disposing of 40 rooms, as al-Maqrîzî tells us, and he mentions that there were not less

(1) Yâqût *Udaba'* V 467.

(2) *Ibid* II 420.

(3) *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* III 449.

(4) Yâqût *Udaba'* V 446 s.

(5) Ibn al-Athîr IX 85.

(6) *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* III 413, 15 ff.

(7) Yâqût *Udaba'* II 315 9. B.

than 1200 copies of Al-Tabari's *Tarikh*, and—as in the east—the Hellenistic sciences, *al-'ulum al-qadima*, were represented by many volumes¹. The Wazîr of al-'Azîz, Ya'qûb b. Killis, founded an institute that cost him 1000 Dinârs every month; the money was spent on books and salaries for the scholars². And in the year 395 A.H. (i.e. 1005 A.D.) al-Hâkim founded his famous academy, *dar al-'ilm* or *dar al-hikma*, in the northern part of the western palace in Cairo, containing a big library, a reading room and lecture rooms. A big staff of scholars were busy with studies, with lectures and with the administration of the library, that comprised all kinds of books of Muslim science, a large amount of books treating of Medicine, Astronomy and others of “the old sciences”, that were of little interest to studies connected with the mosque³.

This splendid institution was in a flourishing state for half a century. During the frightful famine that devastated Egypt under the reign of Al-Mustansir (427-487) every thing fell in disorder and large parts of the rich library were spoiled⁴. But the institution still was preserved until the decline of the Fatimids. When Saladin took the power (567/1171) he put an end to this Shî'a-institute, and all the books were taken off. Some of them were burnt or thrown in the Nile, or heaped up in the sand, making “the Mound of books”; the book-bindings were good enough for boots for the Turkish soldiers. But some of the books were saved, being sold and given over to the new institutions of learning that just then had appeared in Egypt, the *Madaris*. A lot of camel-cargoes were brought to Syria⁵.

In spite of the decay under Al-Mustansir the Hâkim institute was still a very important one when it was closed. Abû Shâma says the library was the biggest one in Islam; it sounds quite fantastical when he estimates the number of its books as 2 millions.

The institution called *dar al-hikma* or *dar al-'ilm* vanished from Egypt because the Fatimids had connected it with their propaganda, and the director of the institute was the Fatimid head missionary (*da'i'l-du'at*). But as we have seen, it was not solely that, and the institution was itself originally quite independent of doctrinal

(1) About 18,000 books Maqrîzî, *Khitat* II 258 sq.

(2) Yahyâ b. Sa'id ed. Tallquist fol. 108 a.

(3) Maqrîzî *Khitat* II 384 sq.

(4) Maqrîzî II 254.

(5) Maqrîzî II 258 sq.; Abû Shâma *K.-al-Raudatâin* I 200, 268.

controversies. There can be little doubt that with these academics Islam carried on old traditions from the Hellenistic period. Not only was the academy of Al-Mâ'mûn not very different from the pre-Islamic one in Qundê-Shâpûr, where Hellenistic scholars worked, but Ibn Abî Usaybi'a reckons natural science in Egypt under Islam as a continuation of an older *dar al-'ilm*, where Hellenistic science was taught¹, and also Al-Maqrîzî (Khitat IV 377) mentions the pre-Islamic *dar al-hikma* in Egypt as an institute that, according to the description, was nearly related to the Islamic academy. From other sources we know well the importance of such institutions in Alexandria and Pergamon in the old time.

So we find in the first centuries of Islam two kinds of seats of learning. One is the mosque, that is mainly but not only, interested in the special Muslim learning, and another is the more or less public *dar al-'ilm*, *dar-al-kutub* or *dar al-hikma*, that often, but not only, serves the interest of physical science, etc., but whose character is determined by its founder and his interests, as it is a quite independent institution. Of course many of these institutions served the same purpose as the Mosque. As the Shî'a Academy, so also the Sunnite *Madrasa* came into existence in close continuation of such institutions.

In his *Tabaqat al-Shafi'iya* al Subbî relates of the foundation of institutes with libraries where learned men taught the subjects they were interested in. Some of them were founded in the 4th century. Abû Hâtîm al-Bustî A. H. 277/890 founded such an institute with dwellings and scholarships for students from abroad. Sometimes wealthy people founded a special institute for a renowned scholar, as in Tâbarân for al-Hâtimî (d. 393/1003) or for al-Isfarâ'inî (d. 418/1027) in Baghdad or for al-Sâ'igh al-Nisâbûrî (d. 349/960) in Nisâbûr, where later on a splendid institute of that kind was built for al-Isfarâ'inî². Some scholars were not content with the opportunity they had of giving lectures in the Mosque. If they were able to do so they built a house of their own, where they received the students and gave lectures on fiqh or dictated hadîth; we know examples of that in Merw and Nisâbûr from about 400 A.H.³.

As mentioned above there were given lectures in many of the institutions called *dar al-'ilm*, but the study in the

(1) I. 104.

(2) V. Wüstenfeld Der Mian Schafi'i II 163, 156, 204, 219, 217.

(3) Ibid. 208, 216, 232; III 284.

library was the principal thing. In the institutes here mentioned it was otherwise. Here the instruction was the main purpose, and they were especially interested in subjects of a more practical character, necessary for Muslim education. But that there was no fundamental difference between the two places of learning is seen by the fact that al-Hâkim established a Sunnite *dâr al-'ilm* in Cairo 400 A. H. for hadîth and Malikite *fiqh*, the scholars living in the institute¹. They were named *madrasa*, a word that means place of study and instruction. When al-Maqdisî travelled in the eastern countries in the 4th Islamic century, these institutes were so developed that he can praise the excellent *madaris* of Irânshahr². According to their character these *Madaris* were very nearly related to the mosques. The subjects taught in them were the same; in both places there were libraries and often dwellings for the students. And we may suppose that the *madrasa* had that very small apparatus making it fit for a Muslim worship place: the indication of the Qibla in a room large enough for the gathering in the prostrations of the *Salât*. The difference between the mosque and the *madrasa* was that in the first worship was the principal purpose, and also that it had a more public character. Like the above named institutions the *madrasa* was a private institution; even if the public was admitted in a liberal way, not every one could enter it who liked. Often a *madrasa* was founded, not separately, but in a mosque, a room being arranged in it and one or more scholars being appointed to give lectures and may be even to live there. This was the case with the Sunnite *dar al-'ilm* founded, but soon again abolished, in Cairo by Al-Hâkim. And later on a lot of *madâris* were founded in the big mosques, as in the mosques of Amr and Al-Azhar in Egypt and the Mosque of the Umayyads in Damascus.

The practice that a scholar founded a *madrasa* of his own or that an eminent scholar was given a *madrasa* by others developed to a high degree in the beginning of the 5th century. In the first half of this century there were 4 famous schools of that kind in Nisâbur: Al-Bayhaqiya, founded by al-Bayhaqî 441, Al-Sa'idiya by Nasr al-Dîn Subuktakîn, governor of Nisâbûr 389, one founded by Al-Astarâbâdhî and one for Al-Isfarâ'inî³. All of these schools were, according to the development of Muslim

(1) Ibn Taghribirdi II ed. Coppen. 64, 153, 105, 559; 106, 4 sq.

(2) *Bibl. Geogr. Arab.* III 315.

(3) V. Wüstenfeld *Schafi'i* III 270; Maqrizî IV 192.

learning and the needs of the time, above all centres of fiqh-studies.

In this manner there developed from the private institutions of learning besides the mosque a definite type of school related to the mosque in its principal aims. The type was fully developed when Nizâm al-Mulk became Wazîr in the year 456. He saw clearly the importance of the school as an education-place for people determined to be functionaries of the State and leaders of the people. They were moulded on a frankly Sunnite type, and they received in a regular way the necessary Muslim knowledge, in a more regular way than in the mosque. This was important for the unity of the empire and the strength of its administration.

Nizâm al-Mulk founded several madâris, called after him al-Nizâmîya. We know of one in Nîsâbûr, founded for al-Yuwaynî, Imâm al-Haramayn, one in Balkh, one in Mausil, one in Herât¹. Like the above mentioned, these also were mostly founded for a special scholar; the madrasa in Herât was destined for al-Shâshî (d. 485/1092), who came from Ghazna. The most famous Nizâmîya was that founded in Baghdâd. Its construction took two years, and it was inaugurated in the year 459. As its teacher was appointed Abû Ishâq al-Shîrâzî, who gave lectures in a mosque in Baghdad. It is told, as a proof of his scrupulosity, that he declined to take over the new professorship, because it was rumoured that the ground of the building was taken over by force without justice. Therefore Ibn al-Sabbâgh was instituted in his place, but after some few weeks he overcame his misgivings².

Beside Nizâm al-Mulk, many others founded madâris in his time as before him and a great number of them were raised in 'Iraq and the eastern countries, also in the same cities as those in which the great Wazîr founded his colleges. Only to mention one, the competitor of Nizâm al-Mulk, Tâj al-Mulk (d. 484/1093) founded in Baghdad his *Madrasa Tâjiya*³. But the Nizâmîya in Baghdâd was the most splendid of them all, and after it had been repaired in 504/1110 it still was the most beautiful of the colleges whose number was about 30, found by Ibn Jubayr in

(1) Maqrizî *Khîtat* IV 192; Suyûti *Husn al-Muhadara* II 141 sq. Wüstenfeld *al-Schafi'i* 240, 310, 319.

(2) Wüstenfeld cf. cit. 297 sq.; Ibn. Khallikân *Wafayat* I Cairo ed. 143 sq.

(3) Wüstenfeld cf. cit : 311.

Baghdâd when he visited it in the year 581/1185 and also further on until the sumptuous Mustansirîyâ was founded 631/1234, a few years before the conquest of Baghdâd by Hûlâqû.

As the madrasa had become a stronghold of Sunni doctrine it is natural that it did not get any importance during the 5th century in Syria and Egypt, where the Fatimids were the rulers. But we find a *dar al-qur'an*, al-Rishâ'îya in Damascus about 400, arranged like the other *dar al-'ilm*, and in 491/1097 Shujâ' al-Daula Sâdir founded a madrasa for Hanafi fiqh in the neighbourhood of the mosque of the Umayyads¹ and various other madâris were founded in that city shortly after 500 A.H. The Shâfi'ite Amîniya was founded 514, the Hanafite Tar-khâniya 520, another Hanafite madrasa al-Khâtûniya outside the town was founded 526, the Hanbalite Sharîfiya 536 and Al-'Umariya before 528². Some of them were founded by Turkish officers coming from the East, and when Nûr al-Dîn b. Zankî came to power in Syria 541/1146, he and his Emirs were not less keen on founding madâris than his eastern kinsmen, and his activity was continued by his successor Salâh al-Dîn (570-589).

It is only natural that we find still less traces of the Sunnite madâris in Egypt, the seat of the Fatimids, in the 5th and the first half of the 6th century. With exception of the above mentioned madrasa founded and again abolished by al-Hâkim, no Sunnite madrasa was established in that country before Salâh al-Dîn, before whose powerful ruling the Fatimid dynasty vanished. The first ones were the Malikite Rambîya, and the Shâfi'ite Nâsirîya founded by Salâh al-Dîn 566, and some few years later he founded the most splendid of them all, al-Salâhiya, that gave occasion for a most enthusiastic outburst of Ibn Jubayr, when he visited it some few years after its foundation. It is well known how splendidly the madrasa developed in Egypt during the next centuries, more than in any other country. At the end of the 6th century, after the fall of the Fatimids, the madrasa was introduced in Hijâz. In Tunis and the Maghrib it did not flourish before the 7th and 8th century; in Spain we do not find it before the 8th century when Yûsuf Abû'l-Hajjâj founded a madrasa in Granada in the year 750/1349. On the whole the madrasa was not of the same importance in the far West as in the eastern countries,

(1) *Journal Asiatique* Qsc'z Fome p. 266.

(2) *Ibid.* III 395, IV 254, 266, 467, 473.

A look at the history of the madrasa shows us a mighty development. Beginning as a private supplement to the mosque as a school, it grew to be the most important stronghold of Sunnite education. The interest of the rulers for it did not mean that it lost its original character and became a state institution, it only meant that it got better circumstances and a higher appreciation. With this great development the relation between mosque and madrasa became a different one. When the madrasa became bigger, it was not different from the mosque; like the latter it was a prayer-place as well as a school, and the qibla was indicated by a mihrâb. From the 5th century there even came a minbar (pulpit) in the big madrasas. In al-Nizâmîya in Nîsâbûr a sermon was delivered at its inauguration, and Ibn Jubayr attended a sermon delivered from the minbar of the Nizâmîya in Baghdâd¹. Friday-khutba was not given in Cairo in more than one mosque from 569/665 in accordance with the Shâfi'ite doctrine, but after that time every big madrasa got its minbar for the weekly Friday-service. And we know of many madâris in Cairo that they were used for this service and that a Khutba was delivered in them.

So there was no difference between madrasa and masjid and often the madrasa could be a jâmi'. In the 8th century Ibn al-Hâjj tries to make a distinction between masjid and madrasa, saying that the masjid is more holy (*K. al-Madkhal* II 3. 48); this was true in the earliest time of the history of the madrasa, but at the time of Ibn al-Hâjj the distinction was quite artificial. The splendid mosques built during the Mameluke time in Cairo were alike prominent as jawâmi and madâris, as for instance in the 8th century Jâmi' al-Hasan and in the 9th century Al-Jâmi' al-Mu'ayyadî. In the 9th century therefore the word masjid is used by Maqrîzî not only in a general sense of all the prayer-places as of old, but also in a special sense of only of quite insignificant small prayer-places.

The identification of madrasa and jâmi' was favoured by the fact that every important mosque still was a school. The development of the madrasa had not checked the interest for the learning in the old mosques, but rather promoted it. At the time of al-Maqrîzî there were 8 rooms for fiqh studies in the mosque of 'Amr in Cairo, and in the middle of the 8th century there were more

(1) *Rihla* 219 12.

than 40 *Halagat* in it¹. In the mosque of Ibn Tûlûn there was given instruction of fiqh according to the four madhâhib after its restoration by Lâjîn about 700 (cp. cit. 41). The same was the case in Al-Azhar, Al-Hâkimî, etc.², and as in the madâris there were stipends and dwellings for the students.

A madrasa might still be a small building in or near a big mosque, but when it was an independent institution, the only difference between the old great mosque or jâmi' and the madrasa was in the architecture. When the madrasa had finished its development and had become the same as the mosque, the special interest for it diminished. In Cairo most of the madâris decayed, and it was the Azhar *mosque* that once more became the central seat of learning. In other countries madrasa and mosque remained alike the focus of Muslim learning during the last centuries until new high-schools of a different type have come to existence in our days.

(1) Maqrîzî IV 20. 21.

(2) cp. cit. 52 57.

THE ANGLO-DUTCH RIVALRY IN BANTAM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

THE documents that come next in order are the Minutes of the meetings of the Court of Committees. (Nos. 8-31). They mainly deal with the visit of the Dutch Commissioners, and the presentation of English claims and demands before them. At last it was agreed upon, that a treaty should be signed regarding the trade in the East. The King would nominate four English Commissioners, who would sit with the Dutch for final considerations. (Nos. 12-31). A list of claims and final provisions for the treaty was drawn up, but everything was disturbed by the atrocities of the Dutch in Bantam.

Then follow the letters from the Sultan of Bantam to King Charles II of England. He informed Charles of the activities of the Dutch in the East. In a letter, dated 19 April 1681, he said that he had "resigned all authority to his son, and being free from the honourable captivity and glorious misery of a throne, did enjoy the pleasures of a retired life" (No. 33). He frequently complained of the atrocities of the Dutch in the neighbouring states and requested Charles to intercede for the sake of English trade. Another undated despatch from the same spoke of the two Ambassadors from Bantam who came to London in 1682. The Sultan always pleaded for the continuance of amicable relations between England and Bantam. (No. 36).

No. VII.

Letter from Sir George Downing to the East India Company, *begins* :—

Hague the 18th March 63 : O. Stile.

SIR,

Haveing beene [as I wrote in my last to his *Majties* (Majesty's) [Ministers] desired by Monsr. Dewitt "

.....

and ends

" and soc y^e (the) Conference ended, I am

Sir,

Your affectionate humble servant,

G. Downing

[Endorsed]

Coppie of Sir George Downings Letter to the East India Company Dated In the Hague 18th March 1663.

[*Note.*—The above letter has been carefully compared with Sir George Downing's letter to Sir Henry Bennett (S. P. For. Holland, 169, fol. 235), and, with the exception of the endorsement and opening words is an exact duplicate, a slight variation only being made occasionally in spelling.]

[Endorsed]

Copie of Mr. Parry's letter to the Governor of the East India Company at Bombay. (Missing).

No. VIII.

A COURT OF COMMITTEES holden the XXVIITH day of MARCH 1673 Afternoon.

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THE COURT now took into consideration the Articles formerly drawn up touching their demands from the Dutch, and for the more free and peaceable carrying on of the Companys trade in the Indies for the future ; And upon a full debate Resolved upon ten heads of Proposals as necessary to be humbly offered to his Majesty on the Companys behalf.

And it is referred to the Committees for writing letters to meet to morrow in the afternoon to perfect the same, and to draw up a petition to be therewith presented.

And the Governour and Deputy are desired to attend the right honble. the Lord Arlington¹ therewith ; and also to communicate the same to Sir Joseph Williamson and Sir Lionel Jenkins², to possess them fully with the state of the whole affair, as they shall have opportunity.

No. IX.

Court Book,
28, pp. 169-
169a.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the FOUR and TWENTIETH day of NOVEMBER 1673.

Dutch
papers and
books to be
perused out
of Prizes.

It is ordered that it be referred to Mr. Wynne Mr. Houblon and Mr. Lethulier¹ or any two of them to cause such of the books of accounts and papers that came out of the 4 Dutch prize Ships, as they shall think fit, to be delivered to Mr. Jacob Lucey, according to the desire of the Dutch East India Company, in pursuance of an order from the right honble. the Lords Comrs. of prizes, of the First of October last.

No. X.

Court, Book,
28, p. 172a.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the SECOND Day of DECEMBER 1673.

Governours
report that
his Maty.
will grant a
Pass-port.

The Governour reporting unto the Court, that upon a representation to his Majesty of what is offered by the Dutch East India Company, of their procuring a pass from the States Generall and his Highnes the Prince of Orange for an English Ship of 500 Tons to sail from hence to Bantam to fetch off the English that are Prisoners at Batavia, So as his Maty. will be pleased to grant a pass for a Ship of theirs of like burden, to sail from the Netherlands to Batavia and to return back for the Netherlands His Maty. hath been graciously pleased to grant the same ; It is ordered that a letter be drawn up in answer to what was received from the Directors of the said Company, pursuant to the present debate ; and that the New Ship the Eagle to be commanded by C. James Bonneel be inserted into the said Passport : And that in case the said Passport be obtained, that then the said Ship be entertained for a voyage to Bantam upon such terms as the Company shall think fit to allow.

Letter to be
sent to the
Dutch E. I.
Compa.

No. XI.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the FOURTEENTH day of JANUARY 1673 [1673/4].

Court Book,
28, p. 185a.

* * *

ON reading a letter from the Directors of the Dutch East India Company with a pass sent therewith from his Highness the Prince of Orange for the Ship Eagle to sail to Bantam and to return thence without interruption; It is ordered that an answer be drawn up according to the sense of the present debate.

Letter to the
Dutch
Directors.

* * *

No. XII.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the 17th day of July 1674 Afternoon.

Court Book,
29, pp. 17a-
18.

THE Court being made acquainted that 5 Gentn. from Holland commissioned by the East India Company there, were without, desiring to be admitted; the court intreated Sir Sam : Barnardiston¹ Sir Fra : Clarke Sir John Moore² C. Broeckhoven and to introduce them : And being come into the Court they acquainted the Governor and Comtees. that they were come from the Netherlands East India Compa. to endeavour a right understanding betwixt this Compa. and them; expressing a very hearty desire to see all matters of difference between the two Companies to be amicably composed : And having presented a letter recommendatory from their Compa., with a copie of their speech in latin to the same effect. The Governor in the name of the Compa. returned them an answer (by Capt. Broeckhoven) in Dutch, signifying the Compa. kind resentment and acceptance of their intended service, which he prayed God to give an happy issue unto; Assuring them that they should be ever ready to contribute their utmost endeavours and assistance therein.

Dutch
Comrs: visite
the Compa.
& deliver a
speech in
latin.

THE said Dutch Gentn. being departed, the Court desired Sir John Banks Sir Sam : Barnardiston Sir Francis Clarke Mr. Child and C. Broeckhoven (with Mr. Moses) on Monday next at 5 a clock in the afternoon, to return the like visit to the said Gentn., and to declare to them the Compa. real intention and hearty desire of a perfect and lasting closure with them in all things relating to the peace of both Nations, and a right understanding between the two Companies.

Comtees. to
return a
visit to the
Dutch
Comrs :

No. XIII.

Court Book,
29, pp. 18-
18a.

*A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the 22th day of
July 1674.*

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Report of
the visit
given to the
Dutch
Comrs:

Sir Sam : Barnardiston reported unto the Court, that according to their order of the 17th instant, himself with the other Comtees. then nominated, and Mr. Moses, had on Monday last attended the Comrs. from the Dutch East India Compa., and declared to them the readines of this Compa. to a right understanding with them, and a perfect compliance in every reasonable thing that might lie within their verge : leaving with them a copie of their speech in latin, which was pronounced by Mr. Moses.

Articles
Treaty
Marine, copies to be
made.

It is ordered, that two copies be made of the Articles to be insisted on by this Compa. at the Marine Treaty, the one to be presented to Mr. Secry. Coventry, and the other to Sir Wm. Thomson for the Comrs. :

No. XIV.

Court Book,
29, p. 26a.

*A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the VIIth day of
August 1674 ; Afternoon.*

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Comtees to
draw up
proofs of the
Compa. title
to Dam
Island.

THE Committees for the Dutch affairs are desired to draw up the proof of the Compa : title to Dam Island ; and also reasons enforcing each of the propositions that have been presented by the Compa : to the Comrs : for the Treaty ; and the care thereof is committed to Mr. Child.

No. XV.

Court Book,
29, p. 27.

*A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the Eleventh of
August 1674.*

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Comtees : to
meet with
his Matys :
Comrs : for
the Treaty.

UPON a Report made by Sir Wm. Thomson one of his Maties : Comrs : for the Marine Treaty, It is ordered that the right honble. George Lord Berkeley¹, Sir John Banks, Sir Sam : Barnardiston, Mr. Bathurst², Mr. Sheldon, and Mr. Child², or any three of them, be hereby authorized and desired, from time to time to meet with his Maties : said Comrs :, and to communicate to them what shalbe necessary to be insisted upon for a due regulation of Trade in the East Indies, for the honor, of his Maty :

and advancing the interest of this Compa.; Which said Committees are to keep private what shalbe at any time discoursed of between the said Comrs. and them, and not to make known the same to this Court or to any person, without leave and direction from his Maties. said Comrs. : And in such case, what shalbe so declared to this Court is to be under secresie. And the said Committees are desired to be with his Maties. Comrs. to morrow at 5 a clock at Fishmongers hall.

No. XVI.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the 23th day of Court Book,
September 1674. 29, p. 54b.

* * *

Sir Sam : Barnardiston reporting unto the Court a paper of Queries delivered the Committees by the right honble. his Mats. Comrs. for treating with the Dutch Deputies, upon the proposals given in by this Compa. touching a settlement of trade in the East Indies ; The Court entred on the consideration thereof ; and deferred the further debate till the afternoon.

Ditto : Afternoon.

* * *

The Court now proceeded to the consideration of the Querries delivered by the rt. honble. his Mats. Comrs. for treating with the Dutch Deputies and delivered their sense thereupon, which is to be communicated to the Comrs. by the Com[m]ittees.

Quere's from
the Comrs.
Treaty con-
sidered.

No. XVII.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the 23th day of Court Book,
October 1674. 29, p. 64b.

* * *

It is ordered that Sir Francis Clarke Mr. Child and C. Boeckhoven be desired to speak with the Bewinthewebbers of the Dutch East India Compa. touching the release of M. Sam. Baron now prisoner at Batavia, according to the sense of the present debate.

Dutch Bew-
inthewebbers
to be spoke
with about
Mr. Baron.

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No. XVIII.

Court Book,
29, p. 65.

*A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the 26th day of
October 1674.*

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Petition to
his Maty.
about Mr.
Baron.

Upon a report made by Mr. Child of what passed between the Bewinthebbers of the Dutch East India Compa. and the Committees, touching the proposal made to them for Mr. Baron's release (now prisoner at Batavia), It is ordered, that the said Committees be desired to draw up a petition to his Maty. touching that affairs, according to the sense of the present debate; and the care thereof is committed to Mr. Child.

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No. XIX.

Court Book,
29, p. 67.

*A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the 4th day of
November 1674.*

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Address to
his Maty.
touching
Mr. Baron.

The Court desired the Governor to present the address drawn up by the Committees touching Mr. Baron's release now prisoner in Batavia, which was now read, unto one of his Mats. Secretaries of State; which follows in hec verba.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies doe humbly represent to your Sacred Maty. that in the year 1671 one Samuel Barona native of the East Indies, being here in England and tending himself to the Compa. service, was entertained by them on a voiage to Japon, having formerly served the Duth East India Compa., but affirmed he was under no obligation by oath or otherwise to continue in their service, but at liberty to dispose of himself.

That before his departure from England, your Maty. was graciously pleased to make him a free Denizen. Yet so it is (may it please your Maty.) that we have lately received advices from Bantam with an humble petition from him to your Maty., by which it appears, that in te time of the late warr the said Sam. Baron was taken prisoner by the Dutch and carried to Batavia, where (notwithstanding others are set at liberty) he continues under hard restraint.

All which we thought it our duty humbly to represent to your Maty. (Not that we expect any service from him, but as he is become your Mats. subject and was in our employment) That your Maty. may be graciously pleased to give such directions therein as in your princely wisdom shall seem meet.

* * *

No. XX.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the 13th day of
November 1674.

Court Book,
29, p. 71b.

* * *

The Governor reporting unto the Court, that the Dutch Bewinthebbers had lately acqtd. him, that they had procured orders from the Chamber at Amsterdam for Mr Baron's release, which were to be sent on their Shipping to Batavia ; And that if the Court thought fit, they should have a Duplicate thereof sent for hither ; It is ordered, that the Secry. doe attend on the Bewinthebbers in the Compa. name and desire a copy of that order to be sent by the Compa. Shipping.

Secretarie to attend the Dutch Bewinthebbers.

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No. XXI.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the 23th day
of November 1674.

Court Book,
29, p. 74b.

* * *

It is ordered that the Comtees. appointed to attend the English Comrs. for the Dutch Treaty or any 3 of them have power from time to time to make such alterations in the Articles or proposals delivered in for regulating the East India trade as they shall see cause ; and Mr. Wynne Mr. Boone Mr. Moyer and Mr. Paige are added to the said Comtees., and are desired to be with the said Comrs. to morrow morning by 8 of the clock.

Comtees. for dutch affaires to make alterations in the Articles.

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No. XXII.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the 24th day of
February 1674 [1674/5].

Court Book,
29, pp. 98-98a.

* * *

Sir William Thomson and Mr. Jollife communicated unto the Court a paper delivered unto his Mats. Comrs. by the Dutch Deputies, which was now read : They also acquainted the Court with a proposition that is made,

Proposition from Comrs. for the Treaty.

viz. That in regard nothing is likely to be done as to the Treaty whether it would not be better to have a clause for settling of dammages by some way of Judicature to be agreed on, in case either Company should suffer wrong for the future : On consideration of both which it was resolved that the Governor and Committees now named doe attend his Mats. Comrs. on friday next, and acquaint their Honors that the Comtees. will return an answer to the Dutch paper as soon as conveniently they can : And as to the proposition, That the Court having found so little fruit of the treaty, are doubtful lest by such a judicature as is proposed, the Compa. should not be so immediately under his Mats. care and protection as now they are, and in that and other respects have been under great difficulties what answer to give hereunto : Nevertheless if the matter shalbe so stated in writing as to obtain the proposed end, this Court wilbe ready to consider thereof, and to offer their opinion therein.

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No. XXIII.

Court Book,
29, p. 99.

*A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the 26th day of
February 1674 [1674/5].*

* * *

Govers.
Report of
what passed
touching the
2 Propositions.

The Governor reported unto the Court that himselfe with several of the Comtees. had attended his Mats. Comrs. for the Treaty this morning and acqted. them with the receipt of the paper which they had been pleased to communicate to us, from the Dutch Comrs. whereunto for several reasons the Compa. thought themselves obliged to returne an answer as soon as with conveniency they could. And that as to the Proposition that their Honnors had made to the Compa. whether it would not be better to have a clause for settling of dammages in case of any wrongs that might be done them for the future. The Governor acqted. the said Comrs. That the Compa. were in doubt least thereby, they should not be soe immediately under his Mats. care and protection as now they are— Nevertheless if the clause were soe drawn up and stated as to obteyn their proposed end, The Compa. would give their opinion therein and not discourage the same.

The Governor also made report, that the said Comrs. acquainted the Comtees., that the Dutch Ambassador did encline to admit of an article agt. their making any

exclusive contracts in India for the future : and they desired to know, whether such an article (if it could be obtained) would be of advantage to the Compa., and to receive an answer thereunto tomorrow morning ; Whereupon it was ordered by the Court, that the said proposal be considered of in the afternoon.

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No. XXIV.

*A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the 26th day of
February 1674 [1674/5].*

Court Book,
29, p. 100.

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The Court now tooke into consideration the Proposal touching an Article whereby the Dutch East India Compa. should be obliged for making exclusive contracts for the future which was reported in the morning by the Governor and upon consideration and debate there of had, It was resolved that answer be returned to his Mats. Comrs. That the Compa. cannot in duty to his Maty. advise the procuring of such an Article apart, unles the 4 Articles formerly offered can be obteyned.

**Proposal of
an Article
agt. exclu-
sive Con-
tracts con-
sidered of.**

Resolved that the Governor and Committees be desired to attend his Mats. Comrs. to morrow morning with the said answer.

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No. XXV.

*A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the First day of
March 1674 [1674/5].*

**Court Book,
29, p. 100a:**

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Sir William Thomson reported unto the Court, that the Comrs. for the Treaty¹ attended the Lords comtees. for foreign affairs the last night ; his Maty. being present ; and that the Governor and Committees had summonsd to have been there also : And that his Maty. gave directions to the Comrs. for drawing up a clause to be agreed on, That both Compas. should trade peaceably without injuring each other ; and for prescribing a way for determining any differences that shall happen for the future ; And that the Comrs. had accordingly mett this morning and drawn up a paper to that effect ; which was now communicated and read ; On consideration whereof had, the Court approved thereof, and ordered that the same be

Proposition
from the
Lords
Comtees. for
foreign
affairs
reported
and answer
thereunto

presented back to the Comrs. by the Governor and Committees; and that the particulars following concerning the same be offered and submitted to their consideration, vizt.

That it may be expressed, that the 4 English Comrs. may be nominated by his Maty.

That the Comrs. doe nominate an Umpire within a month.

That the Umpire doe give in his umpirage in 3 months time.

That it be expressed whether any new complaints falling out within the 3 months of the sitting of the Comrs. shalbe heard and determined at that meeting.

No. XXVI.

Court Book,
29, p. 101.

*A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the Third day of
March 1674 [1674/5].*

* * *

Governors
Report,
Comrs. for
the Treaty.

The Governor reported unto the Court, that himself and the Comtees. (according to order) did yesterday attend his Mats. Comrs. for the Dutch Treaty, and presented to them the clause prescribing a method for hearing and determining such differences as shall arise between the two Compas. in India, with the proceedings of the Court thereupon and that the said Comrs. readily assented to the two first particulars for nomination of an Umpire in one months time, and for his Mats. nomination of the 4 English Comrs.

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No. XXVII.

Court Book,
29, pp. 101a-
102.

*A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the Third day of
March 1674 Afternoon.*

* * *

Answer to be
drawn to the
Dutch
papers.

On reading the heads of an answer prepared to be given to a paper lately delivered by the Dutch to his Mats. Comrs. for the treaty; It is ordered, that Mr. Moses doe peruse the same, and upon advise with Council touching the particulars now discoursed, and consideration of what is alledged in the Dutch papers, to draw up the Compa. answer thereunto, in such a method as he shall think fit; and present the same to the Court,

A COURT Of COMMITTEES holden the Twentieth day of March 1674 [1674/5]. Court Book
29, p. 111a.

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The Directors of the Dutch East India [Company] this day came into Court to take their leaves, and by Monsr. Van Dam, returned their thanks for the books and papers that were delivered to their order, taken by his Mats. Ships in the late warr; and assured this Company, that directions were given to their Officers, that all papers and books that had been taken by any of their Ships should be restored to the Compas. Factors in India. They likewise acknowledged the great civilities they had reced. from this Compa. during their being here; and assured the Court that not onely themselves in particular, but that their Compa. in general would on all occasions give demonstration of their cordial friendship towards this Compa., and endeavour to preserve the same between the two Compas., And have effectually written to their Ministers in India punctually to observe and keep the Articles of peace. They acknowledged also the favour of having recd. a paper touching the common Seamen taken prisoners in the last fight, which their Officers at Surrat refused to set at liberty; but excused it in that they did not know what had been practised in the like kind, here in Europe. They also acquainted the Court, that orders were sent for the discharge of Mr Baron Prisoner at Batavia. This being the substance of what was delivered in Dutch, the Governor desired the Deputy to return them an answer, which he did to this effect, That this Compa. doe assure them, that all endeavors shalbe used on our part to preserve a sincere friendship and good correspondency between the two Compas. And as the said Directors.

Dutch Directors their address.

No. XXIX.

A COURT of COMMITTEES holden the First day of September 1675. Court Book,
29, p. 150.

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The Committees appointed 16th June last to prepare an answer to the Dutch East India Compa. Comrs : papers are desired to meet together and to perfect the same, and present it unto the Court with their opinion whether it be now convenient to deliver in the same; and the care thereof is committed to Mr. Papillon.

Dutch Comrs. paper to be answered,

No. XXX.

Court Book
29, p. 216a.

*A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 16th February
1675 [1675/6].*

* * *

Dutch
Compa.s.
paper
answered.

Forasmuch as the Comrs. for the Dutch East India Compa. did in February 1674 [1674/5], deliver in a paper to his Mats. Comrs. for the Treaty, to which an answer was prepared by this Compa.; but before the same could be delivered in, the Treaty was concluded by a particular Article; It is ordered, that the said answer be transcribed in the book of transactions touching the Dutch affairs, with a Memorandum to the purport abovementioned.

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No. XXXI.

Court Book,
29, p. 228a.

*A COURT of COMMITTEES holden 3rd March
1675 [1675/6].*

* * *

Deputies re-
port of the
Lords
Comtees.
proceedings
on the
Compa. petn.

The Deputy Governor reported, That himself with the Comtees. attended the right honble. the Lords Comtees. for trade yesterday morning about the obstructions of the Compa. trade at Bombay by the Portugals and that after some debate had thereon, the further consideration was deferred till some papers are produced, which the principal Secretaries of State were desired to give directions about.

* * *

No. XXXII.

C. O. - 77
- 14
Fol. 33

To the most Renowned and Illustreous Prince Charles the 2^d by the Grace of God King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the Faith etc..

Sultan Abdull Fettahee, King of Bantam, wisheth all happiness, health and prosperity.

Your Majesties letter and kinde present of two hundred Barrells of Gunnpowder, sent by the Scipio Affricanus¹ Captain Edward Cooke² Commander, we have received, for which returne your Majestie our hearty thanks, we take this occasion to lett your Majestie understand, that as we had Formerly given the Government of Bantam over unto our Sonn Sultan Abdull Caharr Aboo Nassa³ Soe

his disobedience, and open rebellion against our Royall Person, calling the Dutch of Batavia to his assistance, and promising for requital his country, hath induced Us out of that princely care we owe both to our owne peoples and all Strangers resideing under our protection, to take the Government againe into our Owne hands Deputeing our 2^d. Sonn Pengran Vgia Governor of Bantam, to hinder the Landing of the Dutch who are already come to his assistance with a considerable Force, which threaten, if not prevented, the ruine of that trade, which your Majesties Loyall Subjects the Right Hon'ble East India Company hath for these many yeares Injoyed in our Country, we with all Sincerity desire the continuation of Friendship and crave your Majesties ayd and assistance, against the unjust proceedings of the Dutch assuring all kindenesses and assistance to your Majesties Subjects within our Teritories, committ you to the protection of the Omnipotent God.

Given at our Court of Terteassa the 13 day of the moone Rabuall awall in the Yeare of our Prophett one thousand and Ninety¹.

[Endorsed]

1680

Coppie of the King of Bantam's letter to his Majestie of Great Britaine by the Scipio African.

No. XXXIII.

To the Sacred Majesty of Charles, King of Great c. o. 77
 Brittain, France, and Ireland: Sultan Abdull Fettahee, 14
 Sultan of Bantem, wisheth a long life, an undisturbed Fol. 37
 reigne, faithfull Senators, obedient Subjects, victorious Armies, with all the other requisites to happines here, and all the preparations of infinite wisdome, and goodnes hereafter; and to himselfe he wisheth the honour, an advantage of a long continuance in your Majesties most Gracious Esteeme.

GREAT SIR,

If these our Letters shall bee soe happy as to arrive Your Majesties hands they will informe Your Majestie that (in imitation of my Glorious Predesessors) I have now resigned all my authority Regall in Banten to my Son, and being free from the Honourable captivity and Glorious misery of a Throne doe enjoy the pleasures of a retired

life. But because as I still retain the character, I must also remember the Duty of a father to my Country, and a friend to the English Nation, These are to acquaint Your Majestie that the Dutch, who have successfully invaded the territories of my neighbours¹, are now enter-taineing the same designs upon mine; for which my concerne is not very great further then that the progress of a Warre must needs bee highly prejudiciall to the interest of Your Majesties Subjects in these partes, for whose sake I could bee content, that our differences were reduced to any composition, that has but the least resemblance of honour to us, Or at least I hope your Majestie will permitt them soe farre to contribute to the Security of their own concernes, as to furnish mee with the usuall instruments of defence. For though I desire to dye in peace, yet I am resolved not to live a Slave, unless it be to Your Majestie, till some acknowledgments more proportionate to Your Royall favours, can bee made by

[Unsigned]

[Endorsed]

King of Bantham

to his Majestie

Received 19. April 81.

No. XXXIV.

C.O.	77	In obedience to your Majesties Order in Council the 11th of November whereby I am commanded to consider of the Petition of the East India Company and to report how the Law Stands and whether such a Proclamation may be granted as is desired I humbly conceive that by Law your Majesties Subjects ought not to trade or traffique with any Infidel Country not in Amity with your Majesty without your Licence. And that your Majesty may Signify your pleasure therein and requir your Subjects obedience thereunto by your Royal Proclamation. I am likewise of opinion that the Licence given to the Company to Trade into India with a prohibition to others is good in Law; And the penalties of forfeitures of goods may therein run upon any goods which shall be seized within the Limits of the Companys Charter as for breach of a Local Law made by Your Majesty which I conceive your Majesty may make in the fforreign Plantation and Colonies inhabited by your Majesties Subjects by your permission and I am of opinion
	14	
Fol.	39	

that your Majesty may issue Such Proclamation as is desired.

R. SAWYER¹

16th November 1681.

[Endorsed]

A copy of the Atturmy Generalls Report 16th November 81. Upon the Petition of the East India Company touching the affaires of BOMBAY.

No. XXXV

A Translation of his Majesties Letter to his Most Royall Majestic of England as taken from his owne mouth. C.O. $\frac{77}{14}$

This letter from the old Sultan to Charles the second of great Brittain. Your Letter by the Nathaniell have received for which returne my thanks, and as to what you write understand your desires, but cannot doe more then have already, haveing endeavoured to find out those evill murthurers ever since their death but all proves ineffectuall, and for your better satisfaction your owne people can better signifie my cordiallity herein. Fol. 41

Your Majestic is not unsensible of the Differences betweene the Dutch and my selfe which hath given occasion of withdrawing trade from this port, if your Majestic will bee a mediator between us your Subjects might have better encouragement then at present they find ffriday at Tertiassa the Twelke moone the Yeare Zee The yeare of Mahomet 1092.

[Endorsed]

1682 Two letters from the Old and *Young Kings of Bantam to his Majesty complaining of the Dutch Invasion upon their Kingdome.

1092

The above figures were made with the Kings owne hand.

No. XXXVI.

In the Name of him who is praised and exalted. C.O. $\frac{77}{14}$
This noble Letter and kinde epistle, is for a Token

* The letter from the young King in vernacular not copied. Fol. 55

of sincerity of intention and for a signe of Love and friendship between the Potent and Great Prince, the Just and most honoured King, who is the shaddow of God upon earth, whose length and breadth (*i.e.*, greatness) is famous in every place in the world and in all cities and countries: the most High God confirme him in the perfection of a true Faith in all ages and times: whose power is extended over the whole compass of the Kingdome of Sûrsûn¹, and who is by his power a Decider amongst the creatures between one another, by the help of the Lord of hosts, by good Argument and Demonstration, and furnished with Sufficient power by Land and by Sea, and who is a constant Decider to all men who submit their power unto him. And this is the Prince who is the Sun, [*i.e.*, Light] of Religion and Piety; Abu-Nasr Abdu'l Kakhâr Lord of Sûrsûn, which God preserve, and between Carolus (King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith) King of England, who is a Decider in the Authority of the Government of his Kingdome and his Dominion through out the whole compass of his Lands and Countries, who is famous for the Government of Affaires and the getting of wealth and riches by the greatness of his understanding and the Ampleness of the conduct of his Wisdome, who is a valiant Governour both by Land and by Sea in the transmission of his Authority over all his Subjects, with Majesty in his behaviour and in the ordering the affaires of his Kingdome: who is famous in all countries both in the East and in the West for his Fortitude and Valour in the conquering of Forts: who is constant in all his Affaires, more especially in the Non-breach of Promise and Agreement: so that famous and manifest is his Kindness to all his Allyes and Friends both small and great: and in this chiefly he is like his ally and Friend the King and Lord of the Kingdome of Sûrsûn: the most High God perpetuate his Reigne and prosper him in it.

And now after all, the King of Sûrsûn sendeth his happy Letter as a token of wishing=long=life and a friendly memoriall, and of a sincere honest and fair dealing intention, with his Ally and Friend the King of England: God prolong his life and permanency as long as the Sun endureth and the Moon riseth and the Stars do set. And by the will of Almighty God, let not our Ally and Friend change his Promise in any Affaires; and in all ^{or necessities} ~~are~~ ^{businesses} of the King of England which ^{or shall be} ~~are~~ in the Country of Sûrsûn we likewise will looke to them for the

or getting performance of all such ^{or necessities businesses} by the permission of Almighty God : and so as for all ^{or necessities businesses} of the King of Sûrsûn which ^{or shall be are} in England, we hope the King of England will looke to them for the ^{or getting performance} of all such ^{or necessities businesses}. And so on perpetually untill the day of Resurrection, by the permission of God Almighty. And we pray you do not ^{or cease from forbear} sending Letters and Epistles and an Ambassador to us : and we will do likewise, by the permission of God Almighty, without any change of minde or of Love and Friendship between us and you : and let this [*i.e.*, the same minde] be in the King of England.

And now we have sent unto you two men who are of our Nobles and Vice=Roys. The name of one of them is Ghiyâhi Nghabiyâh Nay Viparay¹; and the Name of the other is Ghiyiyâhi Nghabiyah Gjây=Sadân² : and therefore you may impart your minde to them, for they do convey our secrets to the King of England, that so this may be for a manifestation of Love and Friendship, and of Non=breach of Promise between us and you. Now ^{that which remains is the main thing is} that by the writing of this Letter and sending of this Epistle, we make known our wants from the King of England. But as for Captain Moor who is Governour of the Port of Sûrsûn, he is a mad-man and is not fit to be a Governour of men and all the inhabitants of the Port of Sûrsûn, and all businesses ^{are almost will be} spoiled by him and of this we desire you to take notice. Now that which we also ^{request desire} of you, is, that you would command the Company, that in every ship which come from England to Sûrsûn, they ^{would may} bring five peices of Cannon of such a bigness that the weight of the Bullet may be nine pound, [*i.e.*, that may carry a Bullet of 9 pound weight] And so let the ships bring Muskets, Match=locks three thousand, with their Matches and Bandolieres, and Firelocks one thousand : and so then the whole summe will be 4000 Muskets. And we do desire that an hundred of the Fire=locks with all their Bandolieres may be gilded with Gold. Also we desire to buy an hundred small Cannons, the Pattern whereof how big or how little, our Ambassador to you hath with him. Also we desire to buy of you in every ship which comes to the Port of Sûrsûn 5000 Cannon=bullets all of one size and bigness, neither bigger nor lesser than the Pattern brought by him who is the Bearer of this Letter : and let some of them be

cross = shot, and some chained. And all these things which we desire of the King of England, we desire to have at the usuall price of such things. We also desire of the King of England, that he would send unto us one who understands the Casting of Cannons, and also one who understands the ^{flying}~~going~~ of a Bullet to fall at a lesser or a greater distance, [*i.e.*, Connoneer]. We also desire of the King of England (without any disagreement about the price*,) some Great Dogs [*i.e.*, Mastives] of the biggest that can be found in England. And if by Gods permission you send them unto us, let them be the ^{or number}~~quantity~~ of ten head of Dogs, male and female. And by no meanes you must not ^{reject}~~refuse~~ our extream desire of them. And let this all be delivered to our Embassador who cometh to you : and this will shew sincerity of Love and affection, and of Allyance and friendship between us and you. And let not anything of all this be ^{changed}~~varied~~ neither from ^{the inside of the Heart nor the outside of the Body} ^{within the Heart nor without the Body} [*i.e.*, neither outwardly nor inwardly, but with inward as well as outward sincerity] And of this we pray you to be mindfull.

And now there comes from the King of Sûrsûn to the King of England some Diamond Stones only, and none others. And the number of ^{large}~~great~~ stones, is 112 peices : and the number of the weight is 244 Carrats. Those of a middling size, are 478 peices : and the weight is 462 carrats. And the small Diamonds are in number 1167 peices, and the weight 382 carrats. And the whole number of Diamonds is, 1757 peices, and the whole weight is 1088 carrats. And I pray you take notice of all this, and do not blame it, seing it is upon the account of a Present, and for the confirming of Allyance and Friendship between us and you. And Peace be upon those who follow Gods Direction.

[Endorsed]

The Bantam Credentialls

translated by Dr. Hyde.

NOTES TO DOCUMENTS.

No. VIII.

(1) *Lord Arlington*, twice Secretary of State of King Charles II, formed a member of the Cabal Ministry. His despatches regarding East Indian affairs are to be found in the Public Records Office. He served first from 1662 to 1665 and then from 1670 to 1674.—*Sources* (Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan). pp. 122-124.

* *i.e.*, We will give any price you shall set.

(2) *Sir Leoline Jenkins* (1623-85), civilian and diplomatist. In 1665, at the outbreak of the Dutch War, Jenkins was selected by the Commissioners of Prizes to serve on a committee entrusted with the framing of rules for decision of prize-cases. In 1673 Sunderland, Jenkins and Sir Joseph Williamson were appointed to represent England at the abortive Congress, which, by the suggestion of Sweden, was summoned at Cologne to mediate between Holland on the one part and France and England on the other. Jenkins and Williamson returned in May 1674, to London, where a separate peace had already been concluded between England and Holland.

The Congress of Cologne was followed in 1676 by that of Nymwegen, at which Jenkins again represented his sovereign. His colleagues were Lord Berkeley and Sir William Temple, but the burden of the negotiations fell upon him. In 1679, a new Commission made him the sole representative of his sovereign—*Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. XXIX. pp. 302-305.

No. IX.

(1) *Mr. Lethulier* "was a member of the Court of Committees"—*The Diary of Streyndsham Master* (Edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple). in two volumes. Vol. I p. 216.

"Was a member of the Court of Committees"—*Master's Diary Ibid.* Vol. I p. 216.

In 1668, he, with other members of the Committee was examined regarding a petition relating to the Skinner-case. He was found guilty, fined and reprimanded—*Sources* (Dr. Shafaat Ahmad Khan). pp. 53-54.

No. XII.

(1) and (2) was a member of the Court of Committee. —*Master's Diary*. Vol. I p. 216.

No. XV.

(1) *Lord Berkeley* (1628-1698) had a distinguished career. In 1660, he was nominated one of the Commissioners to proceed to the Hague and invite Charles to return to England. In 1661, he was placed on the Council on Foreign Plantations. In 1663, he became one of the members of the Royal African Company on its formation (January 10), acquiring thus a share for the term of 1,000 years in the whole of the vast territory lying between the port of Sallee in South Barbary and the Cape of Good Hope. . . . In 1679 he was made a member of the Board of Trade and Plantations established in 1668, and in the preceeding year a privy Councillor. In 1680 he was elected to the Governorship of the Levant Company, a position which he seems to have held for the greater part of his life. After 1680, he was a member of the East India Company.—*Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. IV. pp. 346-347.

(2) and (3). Both were members of the Court of Committees of the East India Company.—*Master's Diary*. Vol. I, p. 216.

No. XXV.

(1) In 1673, Lord Sunderland, Sir Leoline Jenkins and Sir Joseph Williamson were appointed to represent England at the abortive Congress, which, by the suggestion of Sweden, was summoned at Cologne to mediate between Holland on the one part and France and England on the other.—*Notes on Sir Leoline Jenkins above*.

No. XXXII.

(1) *Scipio Africanus*, a ship belonging to the English East India Company, used to ply between England and Bantam.—*The Diary of William Hedges*. (*Hakluyt Society Publications*). (Edited by Barlow and Yule) in three volumes. Vol. ii. p. 325.

(2) *Ed. Cooke* Commanded the *Scipio Africanus*.

(3) *Sultan Abdull Caharr*. About 1670, the administration of the Kingdom of Bantam was shared between two personages, father and son, designated by the English factors, the Old and Young Sultan respectively. The former whose name was *Abul Fath*, after reigning for many years, determined about 1671 to associate one of his sons with him in the government and gradually to relinquish his power to him. The process, however, proved a slow one—the father apparently finding it difficult to reconcile himself to parting with privileges—it was not until 1678 that the young Sultan, *Abu Kaharr Abul Nasr*, became in reality an equal partner. Once established, he seems to have taken the lead with vigour. It was he who determined to send a mission to London—a decision of which the English factors advised their employees in a letter of July 23, 1681, adding that they had done their best to dissuade the Sultan from adopting this course. Their reasons for this opposition are not stated; but presumably they thought that the interests of the Company would not be furthered by the embassy, while it would undoubtedly entail expenses.—*John Company* (Sir William Foster). pp. 99–100.

No XXXIII.

(1) *Dutch invasion*. In 1650 the ruler of *Ternate*, in the Moluccas, was compelled to make a treaty with the Dutch, which was disastrous to his dynasty. Much the same thing happened to the rulers of *Macassar* in 1667, and 1669. *Mataran* was the name of a Javanese family of rulers that rose to supremacy over the whole of Java, except Bantam, in the course of the sixteenth century and established their capital at Mataran in 1575. In 1675, the Emperor of the time was greatly harassed by the people of Macassar and called in the aid of Admiral Speelman from Batavia. In return for their help, treaties and agreements—which opened all the ports to the Dutch and gave them powers and privileges placing the Emperors at their mercy—were concluded in 1675 to 1678.—*Master's Diary*. Vol. II. p. 141, footnote.

No. XXXIV.

(1) *Sir Robert Sawyer* (1633–1692) was a distinguished counsel as early as 1666, when Pepys claims to have heard his name. On February 14, 1681, he was sworn as Attorney-General. Thence forward he led a strenuous life and conducted the prosecution of many people in the later stages of Charles II's reign. He remained in office even in James II's reign, much against his will for he was more attached to the Church than to his King.

He was a member of Parliament in 1690 and took part in various debates. He died on 30 July 1692.—*Dictionary of National Biography*. Vol. I. pp. 381–384.

(1) 'The Sultan of Bantam preferred to call himself the Sultan of 'Surosaon' (Sûrsûn ?).—*John Company* (Foster). p. 98.

(2) *Ghiyahi Nghabiyah G'jay-Sadan*. The factors at Bantam wrote that the Sultan at first intended to employ a vessel of his own for the purpose of sending his Ambassadors to London, but had failed to secure European mariners to man her; it would be necessary, therefore, to accomodate the envoys and their suite in the *New London*, which was one of the Company's trading-vessels. This ship sailed towards the end of the following October (1680). The old King of Bantam was living a retired life and no longer meddled with the administration. The young king had, however, built a large fort, and the factors feared that once he found himself in a strong position, his friendly attitude towards the English would undergo a change. He had declared that his only object was to obtain ordnance from England. The Ambassadors had been provided with letters to the King and Company to that effect and were bringing the former a present of rough diamonds. To the latter, they were to give 700 baharrs of pepper; while they carried 300 more for sale in England.

The two Ambassadors from the Sultan of Bantam were *Keay Nebbe We-pria* and *Keay Nebbe Gia Sedanna*, with eight more of the King's servants besides twenty more of their attendants (from a letter from Charles Bertia to the Countess of Rutland). [Mr. C. O. Blagden informed Sir William Foster that *Keay Nebbe* represents *Kiahi Ngabehi*, which are titles commonly used in Java and that the personal names of the Ambassadors were apparently *Nayawipraya* and *Jayasedana* respectively.] Though their English hosts were slow in comprehending the fact that they were on an equal footing, the reason of sending a pair of envoys being a fear on the part of the Sultan that one might die during the mission. Jayasedana, according to Dutch records spoke English well.

The Ambassadors did not impress the English well, as will be seen in the following lines of John Dryden—

"Thus, in a stupid military state,
The pen and pencil find an equal fate.
Flat faces, such as would disgrace a screen,
Such as in Bantam's embassy were seen,
Unraised, unrounded, were the rude delight
Of brutal nations only born to fight."

—*John Company* (Foster). pp. 101-120.

Under the date, June 19, 1682, John Evelyn, the diarist, gives a good description of these Ambassadors—"The Bantam or East India Ambassadors, being invited to dine at Lord George Berkeley's (now Earl), I went to the entertainment to contemplate the exotic guests. They were both very hardfavoured, and much resembling in countenance some sort of monkeys. We ate at two tables, the Ambassadors and Interpreters by themselves. Their garments were rich Indian silks, flowered with gold, a close waistcoat to their knees, drawers, naked legs, and on their heads, caps made like fruit-baskets. They were poisoned daggers at their bosoms, the hafts carved with some ugly serpent's or devil's heads, exceeding keen, and of Damascus metal.

They wore no sword. The second Ambassador (sent, it seems to succeed in case the first should die by the way in so tedious a journey), having been at Mecca, wore a Turkish or an Arab sash, a little part of the linen hanging down behind his neck, with some other difference of habit, and was half a negro, bare-legged and naked-footed, and deemed a very holy man. They sat cross-legged like Turks, and sometimes in the posture of apes and monkeys; their nails and teeth as black as jet, and shining, which being the effect, as to their teeth, of perpetually chewing betel to preserve them from the tooth-ache, much raging in their country, is esteemed beautiful.

“The first Ambassador was of an olive hue, a flat face, narrow eyes, squat nose, and Moorish lips, no hair appeared; they wore several rings of silver, gold and copper on their fingers, which was a token of knighthood or nobility. They were of Java major, whose princes had turned Muhammadans not above fifty years since; the inhabitants are still pagans and idolaters. They seemed of a dull and heavy constitution, not wondering at everything they saw; but exceedingly astonished how our law gave us propriety in our estates, and so thinking we were all kings, for they could not be made to comprehend how subjects could possess anything but at the pleasure of their Prince, they being all slaves; they were pleased with the notion and admired our happiness. They were very sober, and I believe, subtle in their way. Their meat was cooked, carried up and they attended by several fat slaves, who had no covering save drawers, which appeared very uncouth and loathsome. They ate their pilau, and other spoon-meat, without spoons, taking up their pottage in the hollow of their fingers, and very dexterously flung it into their mouths without spilling a drop”—*Evelyn's Diary (Globe Edition)*. p. 341.

SHAFĀ'AT AHMAD KHAN.

(To be continued.)

THE BOOK OF STRIFE *

The great canonical books on Tradition, like that of Al-Bukhârî and his successors, have been the chief cause for the disappearance of almost all earlier works which dealt with the same subjects ; and manuscripts of the latter have become extremely scarce and, when discovered, are as a rule of great age. The cause for this is that later generations were more occupied with copying and commenting, or making extracts from, the great collections, often very idle work which never produced any valuable results.

We certainly possess in print the large Musnad of Ibn Hanbal and the Musnad of Abû Dâ'ûd at-Tayâlisî¹. Though the former, perhaps, contains most of the Ḥadîth which has found its way into the canonical books, there existed a large quantity of works which were not fully utilised ; and it is always interesting, nay important, to know the contents of such earlier books whenever they become accessible. I believe that we can get much nearer to a knowledge of the intellectual activity of the first two centuries of Islâm if we know a little more concerning the works written at that time. It was a period full of activity in all branches of learning. Such books have always attracted my attention and I have always been on the look-out for manuscripts of this kind.

The free and democratic spirit of Islâm under the dynasty of the Banû Omayyah had been crushed, never to be revived, by the advent of the 'Abbasid rule. The

* i. e., the *Kitab al-Fitan* of Nu'aim ibn Hammâd al-Marwazî.

(1) The Musnads of Abû Hanîfa and Ash-Shafî'î which exist do not come under this category, because they are really later than Bukhârî. The former was collected by zealous Hanafis from other collections from which they extracted every item in which Abu Hanîfa figured in the Isnâd ; while the Musnad of Shafî'î was in similar manner extracted from his legal works by Isma'îl b. Yahyâ al-Muzani and might even have disappeared if not for the great Hanafî Tahawî published towards the end of his life.

ancient despotism of the Sassanid Persian kings became the doctrine of the new dynasty which, in its lengthy career of over five hundred years, did not produce one single ruler equal to the talent of a Mu'âwiya, 'Abdul-Malik or Al-Walid. The danger to the State and Religion from the fanatical Khârijis had passed away, but the Shî'ah, whose claims had been mainly political in the first century, now became a far greater peril as its work was carried on more secretly. The 'Abbasids had been greeted by the 'Alids as associates in trouble in times past and the latter hoped that they now could share with them the ruling of the destinies of the Muslim world. They were soon cheated and, when they protested, persecuted even more than under the Ommayyads. With the 'Abbâsids, also, two other phenomena are discerned for the first time, namely the outcrop of philosophical sectarians, the predecessors of the Sûfis, with the invention of persons of earlier ages who had never existed, like Uwais al-Qarani etc.; and the search for heretics (Zindîqs). The times, in spite of the glamour of the Court, and the vast sums which could be spent upon slave girls and singers, were looked upon with dismay by the pious of the old school. Though the rulers indulged in wine-drinking and all kinds of excesses, unfit as they were, they considered it their religious duty to punish other people who were accused, rightly or wrongly, for deviating from the right faith. This was surely the time for writing apocalypses, and pious people began to look for the promised Mahdî to appear and bring justice again into the wicked world.

Such a book is the "Book of Strife" of Nu'aim ibn Hammâd, of which an excellent manuscript has been preserved. Nu'aim was one of the Shaikhs of Al-Bukhârî, Muslim and Abû Dâ'ûd'. After collecting materials in various parts of the Muslim world he settled in Egypt. When the edict of the "Creation of the Qur'ân" was promulgated he was one of the foremost in refusing to accept the official doctrine and was carried to Baghdad by order of the Caliph Al-Mu'tasim. As he persisted in his refusal he was cast into prison and died there on Sunday the 13th of Jumâda I. 228 A. H.

Opinions as regards his trustworthiness as a traditionist differ according to the standards laid down by various critics; but it is generally asserted that he was a fierce antagonist of the Shî'ah—a statement borne out by the following tradition taken from the *Kitab al-Fitan* (MS. fol.

23 v.)¹ on the final authority of Saffinah, a Maulâ of the Prophet (whom God bless): "When the Prophet, whom God bless, built the mosque at Al-Madînah, Abû Bakr came and placed a stone, then came 'Omar and placed a stone, then came 'Othmân and placed a stone. Then the Prophet, whom God bless, said: "These are they who after me will carry on the succession (al-Khilâfah)." No mention whatever is made of 'Alî. The author does not say that he will *not* carry on the succession, but simply passes him with silence, I am sure, intentionally.

In another passage, strangely on the final authority of 'Alî, from whom it was transmitted by Juwairiya daughter of Shammâr, we get another political limit. (MS. fol. 192 v.)²: "The realm of the people of Muhammad, upon whom be blessing, after his death will last one hundred and sixty-seven years and thirty-one days; after that God will cause weakness to rule over them."

As the author was able to prophesy retrospectively it would be interesting to find out what event is likely to be the one to which he desires the prophecy to refer. The Prophet, whom God bless, died on the 13th of Rabi' I in the year 11 and the required date consequently is the 14th of Rabi' II of the year 178 A. H. I believe this can only be brought into connection with a very brief statement made by Tabarî (III. 631): "In this year (178) Ar-Rashîd entrusted the whole of the affairs of State to Yahyâ the son of Khâlid al Barmakî." Tabarî does not give any more precise date, nor does Ibn 'Abdûs al-Jah-shiyârî in his History of the Wazîrs. The Barmakids are claimed, and probably rightly, by the Shî'ah as their own, and this may have been Nu'aim's reason for fixing such a date. Nevertheless Nu'aim, as if by intuition, was not far away from the truth because, from this time with sporadical interruptions due to the moods of the Caliphs, not on account of any political acumen on their part, the management of State-affairs got more and more into the hands of officials, most of whom were concerned

حد ثنا ابن مبارک اخبرنا خورج بن نباته عن سعيد بن جهمان عن سفينة (1)
مولی رسول الله صلعم قال لما بنی رسول الله مسجد المدینة جاءه ابو بكر
بهجر فوضعه ثم جاء عمر بهجر فوضعه ثم جاء عثمان بهجر فوضعه فقال رسول الله
صلعم هو لا یلون الا خلافة بعدی

قال ابن لهيعة واخبرنی رجل عن الهجنع عن غالب بن الهذیل عن جويرته (2)
بنت شمر عن علی قال سلطان امه محمد صلعم بعد وفاته مائة سنة وسبع
وستون سنة واحد وثلثین یوما حتی یسلط الله علیهم الوهن

principally with their personal greed, which was checked only by the intrigues of their adversaries.

The 'Abbâsids had brought with them from Persia not only the luxury of the Persian Sassanid courts, which they emulated and imitated, but also the habitual dishonesty of their officials; and the contrary was rather the exception than the rule. Nearly all high officers stole wholesale, though thieves for small amounts were still punished severely according to the Shari'ah—nay, very often far in excess of the legal punishment.

The time was certainly ripe for the appearance of the Mahdî and the author no doubt had this in mind: to prepare his hearers to make themselves ready for the longed-for appearance of the Saviour. This is principally reflected by the later chapters of the book; but another eleven centuries have rolled passed and the Mahdî has not appeared.

Al-Bukhârî and his successors have special sections in their works dealing with the same subject, but nowhere is it dealt with so exhaustively nor so methodically, and for this reason I think it appropriate to give an index of the chapters at least. They are

(1) What the Prophet, whom God bless, and his Companions foretold about the strife to come.

(2) How the people will lose their common-sense in the strife.

(3) Who gave licence to wish for death when trials and strife break out.

(4) The remorse of the Companions and others concerning the strife.

(5) How people wish they had few children and little property in the time of strife.

(6) Concerning the successors (*khulafa*) after the Prophet, whom God bless.

(7) How to differentiate between kings and successors (caliphs).

(8) Names of those who will rule after the Prophet, whom God bless.

(9) Concerning the rule of the Banû Omayya and their names after 'Omar.

(10) Another chapter about the Omayyads.

(11) Immunity from strife and what is laudable in refraining from taking part in the strife.

(12) Signs concerning the end of the rule of the Omayyads.

(13) The rising of the 'Abbâsids.

(14) The first sign of the termination of their realm and the rising of the Turks.

(15) Signs in the heavens portending the end of the rule of the 'Abbâsids.

(16) Beginning of the strife in Syria.

(17) How mean and weak folk will gain the upper hand.

(18) The place of refuge in the strife.

(19) The first sign will be the rising of the Berbers and people of the Maghrib.

(20) Events which will happen before the rising of the Berbers.

(21) Concerning the evil deeds of the Berbers and their fighting in Syria.

(22) The description of the Sufyânî, his name and genealogy.

(23) First rising of the Sufyânî.

(24) What will happen between the Sufyânî, the people of Syria and the realm of the 'Abbâsids near Raqqa.

(25) Concerning the acts of the Sufyânî in the heart of Baghdad and the devastation of the 'Irâq.

(26) The entrance of the Sufyânî and his followers into the city of Al-Kûfah.

(27) The black standards of the Mahdî after the black standards of the 'Abbâsids.

(28) End of the rule of the Sufyânî and appearance of the Hâshimi in Khorâsân with black standards, and the battles between them till the cavalry of the Sufyânî reaches the (Farthest) East.

(29) Armies sent to Al-Madînah and the slaughter there.

(30) Discomfiture of the army which the Sufyânî sends against the Mahdî.

(31) Signs foreboding the appearance of the Mahdî.

(32) Further signs.

(33) Assembly of the people at Mecca to pay homage to the Mahdî.

- (34) Rising of the Mahdî.
- (35) The Mahdî leaves Mecca and marches to the Bait al-Maqdis.
- (36) Description of the Mahdî and his gracious deeds.
- (37) The extent of the Mahdî's dominion.
- (38) What will happen after the Mahdî.
- (39) The far-distant regions and the conquest of Constantinople.
- (40) Concerning Alexandria, Misr and the frontiers towards the Rûm.
- (41) What will happen to the people when the Dajjâl appears.
- (42) Where the Dajjâl will rise.
- (43) The rising of the Dajjâl and his evil deeds.
- (44) How long the Dajjâl will rule.
- (45) Place of refuge from the Dajjâl.
- (46) The duration of the rule of 'Isâ ibn Maryam after his coming down from heaven.
- (47) The rising of Yâjûj and Mâjûj.
- (48) Eclipses, earth-quakes, trembling and transmutations.
- (49) The fire which will flare up in Syria.
- (50) The forebodings of the last hour.
- (51) Signs about the last hour when the sun rises in the West.
- (52) Rising of the sun in the West.
- (53) Appearance of the Beast.
- (54) The rising of the Habasha (Abyssinians).
- (55) The Turks.

This is the last and longest chapter and with remarkable clear-sightedness, amounting almost to prophecy, the author foresaw the danger to Islâm from the quarter of the Turks (and Mongols), though he does not know the latter, because all nations towards the North-east of the Muslim dominions were included in the name Turk, except China and the far-distant Yâjûj and Mâjûj, about whom no very clear idea appears to have prevailed.

We have, as will be seen from the titles of the chapters in this work, a very systematic apocalypse in which every statement is traced back by a proper chain of authorities

to its original source. While for the proper Sunnah these should go back to the Prophet himself we find here, as is also the case in the *Muwatta* of Mâlik, that frequently the author contents himself by citing only a statement of one of the Companions. As I have pointed out earlier, the author does not refrain from letting his own tendencies influence the choice of the traditions which he records. The Hadîth on the Caliphs already cited, if genuine, would certainly have included 'Alî also; and on this account I will examine his Isnâd or chain of authorities. This runs : Ibn al-Mubârak after Khazraj b. Nubâta, after Sa'îd b. Jahmân, after Safîna, Maulâ of the Prophet whom God bless.

(1) Ibn al-Mubârak is 'Abd Allah b. al-Mubârak al-Marwazî who died in 181 A.H. at the age of 63. He is generally acknowledged as trustworthy.

(2) Khazraj b. Nubâta is not mentioned in the biographies of traditionists, unless it is an error for Khazraj b. 'Othmân al-Basrî. The latter was *not* held in high estimation.

(3) Sa'îd b. Jahmân al-Aslamî al-Basrî is known to have handed down traditions which were recorded only by him. The date of his death is not known.

(4) Safîna Mualâ of the Prophet, whose proper name is supposed to have been Mahrân, was probably a Persian by birth as indicated by his supposed name. He handed tradition to Sa'îd b. Jahmân in other books of Hadith.

This tradition is weak on account of the mention of Khazraj ibn Nubâta. Ibn Mubârak is one of the chief Shaikhs of Nu'aim.

The second tradition is even more suspicious. The authorities are : Ibn Lahî'ah, after an unnamed person, after Hajanna, after Ghâlib b. Hudhail, after Juwairiya bint Shammar, after 'Alî.

(1) Ibn Lahî'a is a well-known Egyptian traditionist. He is 'Abd Allah b. Lahî'a al-Hadramî and died in 174 A. H. at the age of over 80 years.

(2) Al-Hajanna b. Qais al-Kufî. Daraquṭnî attached no value to him and stated that only two traditions were recorded on his authority ; while Ibn Hibbân, who is as a rule more lenient, declared him trustworthy and said that he transmitted often after Ibrâhîm an-Nakha'î.

(3 and 4) Both Ghâlib ibn Hudhail and Juwairiya appear to be unknown as carriers of Hadîth.

Though the names may not be traceable in the works at our disposition it does not mean that such persons have not existed.

The only manuscript of the work known to me is a recent acquisition of the Library of the British Museum Or. 9449 consisting of 201 leaves in quarto. The work is, after the method of ancient works, divided into Ajzâ'. The manuscript consists of ten such fascicula beginning respectively on fol. 1r, 25r, 45r, 66, 87, 119, 143, 157, 171 and 185; and the scribe tells us at the end that he completed his task on the slope of Qâsiyûn (Damascus) on the day of the 'Id al-Adhâ 760 A. H. He calls himself Muhammad b. Muhammad b. 'Alî as-Sairafî al-Ansârî; he is not mentioned in the *Durar al-Kamîna* as one of the scholars of Damascus.

A publication of this ancient work on tradition is highly desirable as it contributes considerably towards our knowledge of the mentality of Muslims at the time of a crisis in the history of Islam.

F. KRENKOW.

THE RENAISSANCE OF ISLAM

9. THE COURT.

BLACK and white were the colours of the Caliphs in the 4th/10th century. When in the year 320/932 the Caliph Muqtadir took his last ride¹, fully aware of its serious significance, he dressed himself in the most solemn attire. He wore a silvery *qafatan* and a black turban, and bore the mantle of the Prophet on his shoulder and carried a staff in his hand². In front of him rode the Crown-prince, like the Caliph, dressed, in *Qafatan* and white turban. In the 4th/10th century the Abbâsid rulers usually wore the high-pointed cap (*Qalansuwah*) and the Persian cloak (*Qaba*)—not unlike those worn by his distinguished subjects—in colour raven-black³.

Black too was the purse in which the Caliph daily put in alms at the morning-prayer⁴. Black likewise was the banner of the Caliphate (*'alam al-Khilafat*) bearing in white the inscription 'Mohamed is the messenger of God' (*M. rasul Allah*)⁵.

(1) (Misk, IV, 265 Tr.) (2) *Arib*, 177; Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 486. Staff and mantle were the distinguishing tokens of the Caliph; *Diwan of Rida*, 813. The mantle was believed to be the mantle of the Prophet, Ibid, p. 548. Ikhshid, the viceroy of Egypt, used a silvery *qafatan* like that of the Caliph and forbade its use to others (Tallquist, 80). (3) Mas'ûdî, VIII, 169, 377. The Mamlûk Sultans wanted closely to imitate the dress of the old Caliphs, which was as follows: (1) a black turban, the point of which fell between the shoulders; (2) a coat, (Jubbah) of black silk with fairly wide-sleeves and without embroidery; (3) a Beduin sword carried according to Beduin fashion on the left side and suspended by a belt passing over the right shoulder. This sword is said to have been the sword of 'Omar I (Qatrèmère, *Mameloucs*, 1, 188). (4) It was 200 dirhams and was distributed among the poor women residing near the Palace (Wuz, 19). Abûl Mahâsin states that Ibn Tulûn spent 1000 dinars daily in alms. Many of these Tulunide figures are purely imaginary. (5) Misk, V, 294. The 'Abbâsid crown-prince, at the end of the 4/10th century—so also the Amirs of the Empire—carried two banners, one black and another white. Abûl Mahâsin, II, 34; *Arib*, 177; Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 48b, 112b.

The Fatimid Caliphs at Cairo adopted the 'Alid colour, which was white. Their banners were white or blood-red and a poet likens them to anemones (Abû'l Mahâsin, II, 460; Sabusti, the *Book of Cloisters*, Berlin, fol. 128 b.). The coronation of the Caliph took place thus: he attached his banner to a pole and received the signet of office. It was marked by absolute Arab simplicity (Misk, V, 454). But in the case of Amîrs the coronation was a real one, according to the old heathen fashion: a diadem, set with precious stones, was put on their head and a neck-chain and two gold arm-buckles also set with precious stones, were put upon their person¹. In the 3rd/9th century the usual court livery was red. For a special state occasion the Caliph directed that every one should be supplied with a new and different coloured dress in addition to the red jacket and the pointed cap². At solemn audiences in the 4th/10th century the attendants stood before the Caliph, attired partly in black and partly in white³. Over the Abbâsids, as over the Fatimids, hovered the state-umbrella (*Shamshat al-Khalifah*; in Egypt, *Mizallah*). Of this they saw or heard very little at Baghdad. In 332/943 this state-umbrella was even carried in front of the Amîr as a signal mark of honour⁴. In the African Cairo it was reckoned as a symbol of majesty and matched the dress of the Caliph⁵. And, indeed, the highest token

(1) The (*Taj*) crown was set with precious stones, such as was Saif-ud-Dawlah's (Prince of Aleppo) at the reception of the Greek ambassador in 353/964 (Yahyâ b. Sa'îd, fol. 84a). The gold neck-chains were even in ancient Egypt a distinguishing token of a warrior (ZDMG, 41, 211). They were conferred as a mark of honour, about 300/912, on victorious generals (*Arib*, 35). The conqueror of the Karmathians got two gold arm-buckles in addition to the neck-chain (*Arib*, 3). Ikshid, the ruler of Egypt, seems to be the first prince who, as such, was invested with a neck-chain and two arm-buckles. In 324/935 the Caliph sent them through his Wazîr. The bazars and the streets of old Cairo were decorated with trappings and curtains and carpets; the doors of the chief mosque were covered with gold-embroidered brocade. Thus with his insignia rode Ikshid to prayer, his Wazîr by his side. Tallquist, 17 f. His predecessor Khumarwaihî had received only the crown but no chains (Kindi, 240). Neck-chains and arm-buckles continued even under the Fatimids as marks of honour for generals, and this in spite of the canonists of Islam, who severely forbade the use of gold ornaments. (Khuda Bukhsh, *Politics in Islam*, p. 220 and the note. Tr.) (2) Sabusti, Berlin, fol. 68b. (3) *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, 236.

(4) *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, fol. 225b. (5) Maqrizî *Khitat*, II, 280 according to Musabbihi (d. 420/1029); Abû'l Mahâsin, 285 ff. Wüstenfeld, *Qalqashandi*, 173. To the barbarous practices of the Fatimids belongs also the superstitious carrying of the coffin of their ancestors on campaigns (Ibn Taghribardy, 10).

of the supremacy of the Caliph of Baghdad was the announcement by drum, timbal and trumpet of the five daily prayers by the guards of his palace. Only at Court-mourning did this announcing-music stop for a few days¹. Desperately did the Caliph defend this supreme prerogative against the Amîrs, but in vain. From 368/976 'Adad-ud-Dawlah caused the drum to be beaten at the gate of his residence at three prayer-times; from 418/1027 Jalâl-ud-Dawlah extended it to four prayer-times; and finally, in the year 396/1044, like the Caliphs, the Amîr had the drum beaten at all the five prayer-times¹. Like his costume, unostentatious was the title of the Caliph: the simple "Prince of the Faithful"². But since the second 'Abbâsid—according to what precedent we know not—the Caliph received a special pious name immediately after the homage was done to him³. In 322/933 the Caliph asked his friend As-Sûlî, the savant and famous chess-player, to draw up a list of titles with a view to enabling him to select one out of them. Sûlî—we have it from him—submitted to the Caliph thirty titles with a recommendation in favour of Al-Murtadha billah ('Pleasing unto God')⁴. He was, indeed so very sure of the acceptance of his recommendation that he actually composed a long poem with the rhyme 'Murtadha.' But the Caliph rejected the recommendation on the ground that an unfortunate pretender had once borne that title, and he selected the title of 'Ar-Râdhî for himself. The poem was flung into water but Sûlî made use of it in his history and thus saved it for posterity. Later he composed a poem with the rhyme Râdhî but, unfortunately, it is lost.

The Secretary of the Caliph Qâdir (381-422/991-1031) for the first time introduced the circumscription 'His most holy, prophetic presence' for the Caliph—a circumscription which became the general fashion. Even the extraordinary practice of referring to the ruler as "Service" goes back to this Secretary. Says Hilâl: I have seen in the hand-writing of the Qâdhî ibn Abî's-sawrib: 'the servant of the high "Service" of such and such'⁴.

(1) Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 114 a, 175b, 197 b; Ibn-al-Athîr, IX, IX, 215. (2) The adoption of the appellation of Imâm-al-Huq by al-Mustakfi, in 334/945 (along with the title of 'Prince of the Faithful.') was but a challenge to the claims of the Shi'ite and the Fatimid Imâms. Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 73 b; Abûl-Mahâsin, II, 308. (3) The Samanid rulers, while living bore a different name from that which they bore after death. *Muk.* 337. (4) Hilâl (d. 447/1055), *Wuz*, 148 ff.

In full strength was the rage for titles among the Amîrs, the highest dignitaries, and the official circles. All were distinguished as friends, helpers, supporters of the "dynasty¹." Al-Bîrûnî (d. 447/1055) says: When the 'Abbâsids had decorated their assistants, friends, enemies indiscriminately with vain titles compounded with the word 'Dawlah', their empire perished².

In the second half of the 4th/10th century they took to double titles. 'Adad-ud-Dawlah (supporter of the dynasty)³ was also adorned with the title of 'Tâju'l Millah' (Crown of Religion). And finally to three titles. Bahâ-ud-Dawlah (Beauty of Religion) was called 'Diya al Millah' (Light of Religion) and 'Ghyâth al-Ummah' (Help of the community). Everywhere these Dawlah-titles flourished: among the Samanids, among the rulers of the North and the East, as also among the Fatimids. In 382/992 the Turkish Bogra Khân assumed the title of Shihâb-ud-Dawlah (Flame of the dynasty). Even entirely un-Islamic, nay quite blasphemous, designations, came into fashion. The Buwayyids were the first to confer on their Wazîrs titles which really belonged to God: the only one (Auhad); the most excellent of the excellent (Kâfi'l Kufât); the unique among the excellent (auhad al-Kufât). Other princes called them even 'Prince of the World' (Amîr al-'Alam) and 'Lord of the Princes' (Sayyid al Umarâ). And it is precisely this which calls for Bîrûnî's censure: May God inflict ignominy on them in this world and show them and to others their weakness⁴.

Finally the Caliph Qâdir (381-422/991-1030) is said to have conferred on Mahmûd of Ghazni, for the first time, the most fateful of all titles—the title of Sultân⁵. But when in 423/1031 the Amîr of Baghdad sought the title of 'As-Sultan al-Mu'azzam Malik al-Umam' (the Powerful ruler, King of the nations), Mawardî, the plenipotentiary of the Caliph, refused it on the ground that the 'Sultan al-Mu'azzam' was none other than the Caliph himself. The second portion was modified into 'Malik-ud-Dawlah'

(1) Walî-ud-Dawlah, the oldest of these Dawlah titles, was conferred upon the Wazîr Abû'l Qâsim (d. 291/903). Even in Egypt we come across such a title in 286/899 (Bîrûnî, 132 ff; Ibn Sa'îd fol. 118 b. (2) (Sachau, 129. Eng. tr. Tr.).

(3) d. 372/982. (4) Sachau, 131 Tr. (5) Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 92; 'Alî Dede, fol. 89 a., according to the *Tarikh al-Khulafa* of Suyûti. (Titles in the Roman Empire, Gibbon, II, 169, Bury's ed. Tr.)

(King of the Dynasty)¹. And when, in 429/1037, the Buwayyid ruler arrogated to himself the very ancient heathen title of 'Shahinshah al-A'zam, Malik al-mulûk' the people rebelled and pelted with stones the preacher who announced it at prayer².

Although the court-theologians sought to prove that 'King of the Kings of the Earth' was no divine title, yet the old traditional title of 'Chief Qâdhi', 'Judge of Judges' was strongly taken exception to by serious-minded people, and the well-known Mawardî, author and publicist, actually threw up the post of a judge on that account³. But this title survives even today. Hilâl as-Sabî did not approve even of the title of Al-Ghâlib (The Conqueror) which, in 391/1001, the Caliph conferred upon his successor. He supported his objection by a reference to the well-known inscription on Alhambra (There is no conqueror (*Ghalib*) save Allah)⁴.

The power of conferring titles was the exclusive prerogative of the Caliph. From him alone they derived their validity and for this prerogative he was amply paid. In fact towards the end of the 4th/10th century it constituted his main source of income. After much bargaining the Amîr of Baghdad had to pay in 423/1031 for the title of 'Malik-ud-Dowlah' 2000 dinars, 30,000 dirhams, 10 sus of floral silk, 100 pieces of valuable brocade and 100 pieces of ordinary brocade, 200 mann (weight) of aloes, 10 mann of camphor, 1,000 mithqâl (weight) of ambar, 100 mithqâl of musk and 500 Chinese dishes—besides other gifts to individual courtiers⁵.

In other directions, too, court etiquette had markedly developed. In fact it assumed the form which it has retained up to the present time. About 200/800 Mâ'mûn was addressed as 'Thou' like any one else⁶. About 300/900 Muqtadir too was mostly thus addressed⁷, although the practice of referring to the Caliph in the third person, such as 'Prince of the Faithful', etc., had already come into fashion. At the end of the century it was not

(1) Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 184 b. (2) Gibbon, Bury's ed. Vol. II., p. 282 Tr. (3) Ibn al-Jauzî, 193 a; Subkî, II, 305. He belonged to the table-companions of the newly-titled Amîr. According to this history he kept himself aloof from him. But the prince sent for him, and yet his relation with him did not change. His firmness redounded to his credit. (4) Sûlî finds fault with this *laqab* (surname) even for the Caliph as it is forbidden by Sûrah 49, V. 11. See Wuz, 420; *Auraq* Paris, Arabe, 4836, 3.

(5) Ibn al-Jauzî, 184b. (6) Ibn Taifûr, ed. Keller.

(7) For instance, Wuz, 229; *Arib*, 176.

considered good taste to address an educated man by such a familiar term as 'Thou'. At the beginning of the 4th/10th century a governor is for the first time addressed at the reception of the Caliph by a name (*ism*) which has a somewhat official ring about it, but which to express greater friendliness is changed into his *Kunyah* (father of so and so)¹. In the 5th/11th century even the Caliph himself is not supposed to address any of his friends in public except by name—the use of *Kunyah* (father of so and so) being reserved for private conversation². Al-Mâ'mûn shook hands with the patriarch Dionysius as he was wont to do with all whom he wished to honour³. When the Field Marshal Munis took leave of the Caliph at the beginning of the 4th/10th century he kissed the Caliph's hand⁴. As a special mark of honour they kissed the feet of those higher in rank; friends of equal status kissed the shoulder⁵. Thus did the servant-girls offer welcome to Telemachos, kissing his shoulder and the crown of his head⁶. On special ceremonial occasions the Amîr Bejkem kissed the Caliph Râdhî's hand and feet⁷.

The old Arab Muslims regarded kissing the ground in front of a man as an invasion of God's privilege. The Byzantine ambassadors standing before the Caliph Muqtadir in 305/917 would not do so, as the Muslims were excused this part of the court etiquette at Byzantium. In a story dating from the 4th/10th century a timid clerk is represented as wishing to kiss the ground before the chief of the police, who rebukes him thus: Don't do that. 'Tis a custom among tyrants⁸.

In the 30th year of the same century the Amîr of Egypt threw himself on the ground before the Caliph. When Ikhshid met the Caliph, the former had already dismounted and, like an attendant, had a sword, a belt and a quiver. Several times he kissed the ground, then he stepped forward and kissed the Caliph's hand⁹. Muhammad Khâqân called out to him: Mount the horse, Muhammad! then, again: Mount the horse, Abu Bakr! He is said to have done this under instructions from the Caliph. But Ikhshid remained standing before the Caliph, leaning on his

(1) Ibn Sa'îd, ed. Tallquist, 40. (2) Ibn Abi Usaibah, I, 216. (3) Mich. Syrus. 517. (4) Hamadânî, Paris, fol. 201 a. (5) Wuz 358. (6) Odyssey, XXI, 224. (7) as-Suli, 54, 423, the driver of the swine and cattle-herd does the same to Odysseus XXI, 234. (8) Al-Khatib, *Tarikh Baghdad*, ed. Salon, 56; Misk, V, 124 briefly states: 'they kissed the ground'. (9) Al-Faragh, 1, 54.

sword. But when, eventually, being induced to mount his horse he attended on the Caliph with a whip over his shoulder,— a thing he had never done before, Ikhshid boasted of this and the Caliph was delighted. Thereupon the Caliph spoke to Ikhshid : For thirty years I confer the province upon thee and with thee I associate Angur as thy governor. On this Ikhshid kissed the ground several times, and both on his son's behalf and his own for being addressed by his surname made a similar present to the Caliph as he had made before¹.

On the coronation of the Amîr 'Adad-ud-Dawlah in 369/979 the court-ceremonial was seen at its best. At the reception hall sat the Caliph armed with the Caliph's sword, before him lay the Qur'ân of 'Othmân, on his shoulder rested the mantle and in his hand lay the staff of the Prophet. On either side stood the nobility. The Turks and the Dailamites lined up unarmed and then followed their Prince. When it was told to 'Adad-ud-Dawlah that the eye of the Caliph was upon him he kissed the ground. Dismayed at this form of obeisance a General asked him in Persian : O King, Is he God ? 'Adad-ud-Dawlah then stepped forward and twice kissed the ground, and twice did the Caliph invite him to come nearer and yet nearer to him². Then he kissed the feet of the Caliph. The Caliph thereupon laid his hand upon him and thrice told him : Be seated ! —and yet he would not sit. Then said the Caliph : I have sworn that thou shalt sit down. Then he kissed the stool placed to the right of the Caliph and sat down. The Caliph thereupon solemnly made over to him the administration of all his lands. This was followed by his retirement into an adjoining room where he was invested with robes of honour ; the crown was placed on his head and the banner handed over to him. Three days after the Caliph sent him presents, among them a mantle of Egyptian cotton, a gold dish and a crystal flask. The drink in the flask³ was so stale and scanty that it seemed as if someone had drunk out of it, although it was tied with a silken string. In Fatimid Egypt veneration for the Caliph went still further. When in 366/976 the appointment-letter of the new Qâdhî was read out in the mosque of Al-Azhar 'the reader', whenever the name of Mu'izz or any one of his House was mentioned, made a sign to the audience to prostrate themselves on the

(1) Tallquist, 40. (2) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 116 a. (3) Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 116 a.

ground¹. Likewise on the same occasion in the year 398/1008, the Qâdhî kissed the ground each time the name of Al-Hâkim was mentioned². Indeed the people in the bazar prostrated themselves whenever this Caliph's name was mentioned (Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 150 b.). But when this very Caliph reverted to the old Islamic ideals he forbade kissing of the ground before him and the use of 'Maulâna' (our Lord) in reference to him. But under his successor Zâhir the older practices, such as they existed under his forebears, revived (Yahyâ ibn Sa'îd, fol. 132 b.).

Most of the people prostrated themselves even before Ibn Ammar, the administrator of the empire: the select few however kissed his stirrup, and those that were intimate his hand and knee³.

About this time a courtier of the ruler of Bukhâra is held up as the highest model of court-propriety. While talking to his ruler, a scorpion crept into his shoe and stung him several times but he remained unmoved. Only when he had done with him and was alone, did he pull off his shoe⁴. At the court of Ikhshid an elephant and a giraffe were exhibited. All, slaves, soldiers, servants, were taken up with them, but the eyes of Kâfûr never left those of his master for fear he might require him and find him perchance inattentive⁵. In 332/944 Mas'ûdî loves to dwell upon such court-etiquette. He speaks with praise of a Hudailite who, in conversation with the Caliph Saffâh, did not stir when a storm blew a tile into the middle of the hall⁶, and of a courtier of a Persian king who on a ride was so engrossed in listening to the story of the Prince that he and his horse fell into a stream. Ever since that incident, says the historian, he enjoyed the king's fullest confidence⁷.

In official correspondence, even among themselves, the Amîrs speak of the Commander of the Faithful in terms of highest respect, referring to him as 'Our Lord' (Maulâna). They even speak of themselves as his 'Freedmen' (Maulâ)⁸. Even in letters to a third person

(1) Supplement to Kindî, 598. (2) Prof. Margoliouth writes to me: The reference given by Mez to Al-Kindî is inaccurate (pp. 136; 138). His 'der' can only mean the Qadhî. (3) Maqrizî, *Khitat*, II, 36. (4) Ibn al-Ahtîr, VIII, 196; in *Muh. al-Udaba*, (I, 117) this story is related of 'Abdul Malik and Hajjâj. (5) Tallquist, 47. (6) *Muh. al-Udaba* relates this very story of a Samanid courtier. (7) Mas'ûdî, VI, 122 ff. (8) They no longer speak of themselves as slaves (Abd), as did Tekin of Egypt even about the year 300/912. (*Uyun al-Hadaiq*, IV, Berlin, fol. 125 b).

they always begin with the formula : Our Lord, the Prince of the Faithful is well,—God be praised or thanked for it¹. Indeed everything is represented as his command². In the distant Râi, in the vicinity of the modern Tehran, the Wazîr presents to his prince on New Year's day a huge gold medal bearing on one side the names of the Caliph, the Prince and the place of coinage, and on the other some verses³. In his personal intercourse with the Amîrs the Caliph had to experience the effects of his dwindling power. The Turk Bejkem never drank at home without seeing that his cupbearer drank first out of the vessel ; similarly when the Amîr dined with Al-Râdhî, the Caliph tasted all food and drink before the Amîr, and could not be induced to alter this practice even at Bejkem's earnest entreaty⁴.

The Caliph's dignity suffered most under Al-Mustakfi (333-334/944-946), who fell entirely into the clutches of an ambitious Persian woman. She ruled the Court and the staff, and the palace was thrown open to all indiscriminately, even to those personally unknown to the Caliph. The Caliph received them all. For the love of this woman he showered upon the Amîr Tuzun unheard of honours and prerogatives. Tuzun was permitted to ride in the palace-grounds where not even a Caliph had ridden before. Even the state-umbrella of the Caliph was borne before him⁵.

Unfortunately for the Caliph the Dailamites were Shî'ites and as such had no respect for him. Hitherto the palace revolutionaries had merely deposed and killed Caliphs but now, for the first time, he was subjected to public indignities. In 334/945 when he sat in solemn session surrounded by his people according to their respective rank, Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah came up to him, kissed the ground before him and then the hand of the Caliph, lo ! two of his Dailamite soldiers rushed in, loudly uttering something in Persian. The Caliph, presuming that they wished to kiss his hand, stretched it out to them. And instantly they seized him, brought him down to the ground, tied his neck with his turban and dragged him out into the hall. Muizz-ud-Dawlah sprang to his feet. Wild was

(1) E. G. *Rasâ'il* of Sabî, Leiden, fol. 76 b. (2) Ibid, fol. 124 b ; we have put the matter up before the ' Prince of the Faithful ' and he has thus issued his orders, etc. Ibid, fol. 202 Muiz-ud-Dawla to the Yamanites : the ' Prince of the Faithful,'—may God strengthen him!—signifies his intention to us and urges us on to such and such things. (3) Ibn al-Ahtîr, IX, 41. (4) as-Sûlî, *Auraq*, Paris, 54. (5) *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, 222 ff.

the confusion and shrill the trumpet-sound¹. The Caliph was taken to the Sultân's palace and then blinded². But the clever and circumspect 'Adad-ud-Dawlah showed honour to the Caliph once again, a thing which had completely gone out of fashion³. And yet even he, when he proceeded to Baghdad in 370/980, desired the Caliph to meet him at the Bridge of An-Nahrawân. "This was the first time that a Caliph went out to meet an Amîr⁴."

At the time of Al-Mutadid (279-289/892-901) the court-establishment consisted of :—

1. *The Princes of the Caliph's house.*

2. *The Palace-Staff.* About 1000 dinârs was the daily expenditure. Of this sum 700 was meant for the whites, to whom all the actual porters (*Bawwab*) belonged, and 300 for the blacks, mostly the Caliph's slaves⁵. As the latter received only a small wage they were provided with bread.

3. *Freedmen*—These were mostly the former white slaves of the Caliph's father (*Mamalik*). From among them were recruited 25 chamberlains (*Hujjab*), and their deputies (*Khulafa al-Hujjab*) 500 in number⁶. At the last battle in which al-Muqtadir took part one of these threw himself upon his master to protect him and was killed⁷. In 329/940 the title of chief Hâjib (*Hajib al-Hujjab*) was for the first time conferred⁸.

4. *The Guards.* In the Baghdad garrison the regiments, under different commanders, consisting partly of their armed slaves, formed definite units,—e.g., the regiment of the Greek Johannes Janis (*Janiseyyah*), the regiment of the eunuch Muflih (*Muflihîyah*). The other units consisted mostly of the royal slaves, or were chosen from among the expert horsemen and archers of the royal army (*'Askar al-Khassah*). Out of these a regiment of body-guards, *Mukhtarin* (the selected), was chosen. The body-guard of Khumarwaihî in Egypt was

(1) Misk (Eng. tr.) Vol. V., pp. 89–90 Tr.

(2) Yahyâ ibn Sa'îd, fol. 86 b; Misk, V, 124.

(3) Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 339.

(4) Ibn al-Jauzî, 117 a.

(5) According to an authority not always very reliable in its computations these blacks numbered 4,000 strong (*Tarikh Baghdad*, ed. Salmon, 51).

(6) Cf. Misk, V, 541; *T. Baghdad*, ed. Salmon, 49, 51.

(7) Misk, V, 379.

(8) Abû'l-Mahâsin, II, 295.

also called "the selected¹." They did military service at audiences and acted as escorts of the Caliph.

5. The rest of the court-staff were the private secretaries, Quran-readers, Muazzins, astronomers, officers-in-charge of clocks, story-tellers, jesters, couriers, standard-bearers, drummers, trumpeters, water-carriers, workmen from goldsmiths to carpenters and saddlers; the five marshals under an equerry, the fifth being in charge of camels; hunters, menagerie-keepers, valets-de-chambre, cooks, physicians-in-ordinary, crew of the court-boat, lamp-lighters, etc.

6. *Ladies*: for their daily expenses 100 dînârs were assigned². We have no correct information as to their exact number. Khawarezmî asserts that in Muta-wakkil's harem there were 12,000 ladies³, but the much older Mas'ûdi fixes the number at 4,000, and one MS. reads only 400⁴. About the year 300/912 the harems were under the control of two stewardesses, one the Caliph's, the other his mother's. Prisoners of State of high rank were committed to the custody of the former for mild incarceration; as was the case with the Wazîr Ibn al-Furât in the year 300/912⁵, and with the Hamadânid Prince and the Wazîr 'Alî ibn 'Isa in the year 303/915⁶.

The Caliphs' consorts were mostly Greek or Turkish slave-girls; their origin made no difference; and this produced kaleidoscopic uncertainty in the offices connected with the court and the higher administrative posts. Every one of these ladies sought to confer as brilliant a distinction as possible on her relations and kinsmen. Already the father of Rashîd had introduced at court his brother-in-law, first a slave and later a freedman; subsequently he appointed him Governor of Yaman⁷. The maternal uncle of Muqtadir, a Greek, bearing the slave-name *Gharib* (the rare one), exercised great influence at court and was addressed as 'Amîr'⁸. The chief court-stewardess of the Caliph's mother, a Hâshimite, succeeded in securing the position of "Marshal of the nobility (*Nagîb*) of the 'Abbasids and the 'Alids" for her brother. But the entire nobility opposed this appointment with the result

(1) Abû'-Mahâsin, II, 65.

(2) Wuz, 11 ff. (3) Khwarezmî, *Rasa'il*, 137. (4) Masudi, VII, 276.

(5) *Arib*, 109, Wuz. 105. (6) *'Uyun el-Hada'iq*, Berlin, fol. 182a. (See Bowen, *'Alî ibn 'Isa*, p. 159 Tr.) (7) Ya'qûbî, II, 481. (8) *Arib*, 49.

that he had to surrender his office, the most distinguished one at court, in favour of the son of the former incumbent¹. The experience of the Caliph's mother, as the pivot of court-intrigues and wire-pulling, was so bitter that the choice of the next Caliph was determined by the fact that he had no mother living at the time of his accession².

About the year 300/912, 11,000 eunuchs are said to have been at Court³; according to another account 7,000 and 700 chamberlains⁴. Whereas an authentic old report fixes at 700 the total number of eunuchs and court-attendants⁵.

As at the Old Persian court⁶ the sovereigns of the late Roman Empire gathered together at meals and at carousing banquets companions whom they called 'Friends of the Cæsar'. About 200/800 the Caliph Mâ'mûn, on his return to Baghdad, also had a list prepared of men whom he wished to entertain at his table (*Nudama*)⁸. According to the wish of the Caliph the list included literati, savants, courtiers, military men. From this list of the *Nudama* of the Caliphs Mu'izz-ud-Dawlah only selected the physician Sinan ibn Thâbit. The table-talks of the Caliph Mu'tamid (256-279/869-892) have been collected and preserved⁹. The Table-Companions drew a salary¹⁰.

As-Sûlî describes the first gathering of the Table-companions of Ar-Râdhî (322-326/933-940). They sat in strict order. To the right sat first the old Prince Ishâq ibn al-Mu'tamid; then As-Sûlî, the savant and chess-player; then a philologer, private-tutor of a Prince, and Ibn Hamdûn, scion of an old court nobility. To the left sat three literary courtiers of the family of Munajjim and two Berîdîs of high official descent. The proceedings began with the recitation of laudatory poems. This was followed by a complaint from Ar-Râdhî regarding the heaviness of the burden his new dignity had imposed upon him

(1) *Arib*, 47. (2) *Arib*, 181; *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, 181 b. She had died immediately after the birth of Al-Qâdir. *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, 66 b.

(8) Abû'l-Mahâsin, II, 482; *Tarikh Baghdad*, 49. According to the Qadhî et-Tanûkhî (d. 447/1055).

(4) *Tarikh Baghdad*, 51 (5) Sabustî, *Book of Cloisters*, fol. 68b. (6) [Says Gibbon (Bury's Ed. Vol. II, p. 283; also see note 57 Tr.): Antonius, a Roman subject of Syria, who had fled from the oppression and was admitted into the council of Sapor, and even to the Royal table, where, according to the custom of the Persians, the most important business was frequently discussed. Tr.]. (7) *Fihrist*, 61. (8) Sabustî, Berlin, fol. 21a. (9) Mas'ûdî, VIII, 102. Mâ'mûn once enjoyed himself with his companions by suggesting that each should cook a special dish (Sabustî, Berlin, 80 a). (10) *Fihrist*, 61.

in those troubled times. But the complaint was forthwith softened by the comforting assertion that he had not selfishly sought the throne, and the optimistic belief that God would help him in the fulfilment of his duty. This led on to talk about the constant fear he was in of his predecessor. He did not behave, said the Caliph, like an uncle towards his nephew. Sûlî consoled him by reference to the example of the Prophet, who too had to suffer much at the hands of his uncle, Abu Lahab, regarding whom the Almighty actually revealed a *surah* in the Quran. "On that night we sat for three hours drinking wine. Râdhî having given up wine, did not, however, join us¹." The table-companions sitting on the opening night, to the right and the left, formed two shifts for alternate evenings².

Sûlî particularly praises Ar-Râdhî for constantly inviting later several companions at a time to his drinking-parties, whereas the earlier Caliphs had drinks provided only for two at a time, one for himself and one for a companion³. Large drinking-bowls full of wine and cups with water were placed before the guests to enable them to take as much as they pleased; whereas in earlier times cup-bearers handed round the cup. Even Sûlî tells us of drinking-competitions at which the winner showed his empty bumper to the Caliph. This practice however became in the end too nauseating for him and he likened them to the urine-flasks shown to the physician⁴.

Particular rulers are said to have had special signs of their own for indicating the dissolution of these convivial gatherings. Yazdajerd said: "The night is advancing." Shapur: "'Tis enough, O men." 'Omar: "'Tis time to pray." 'Abdul Malik: "If you please." Rashîd: "Subhan Allâh"; and Wâthiq passed his hand over his temples⁵.

The court-establishment consumed large sums. For the kitchen and bakery 10,000 dînârs (100,000 marks) were allotted per month. Merely for musk a monthly sum of 300 dînârs was paid into the kitchen, though the Caliph did not care much for it in his food, and at the most had but a little in his biscuits⁶. In addition to these sums, the following payments are shown per month: 120 dînârs

(1) As-Sûlî, *Auraq*, Paris, 4836, 11 ff. (2) *Ibid.*, 143 ff. (3) For instance Al-Wâthiq (227-233/841-847) had a day in the week for each companion. (4) As-Sûlî, *Auraq*, Paris, 4836, 71. (5) *Muh. al-Udaba*, 1,121. (6) Wuz, 851,

for water-carriers, 200 dînârs for candles and oil, 30 dînârs for medicine, 3,000 dînârs for incense, baths, liveries, arms, saddles and carpets¹.

In the *Harem* of Khumarwaihî food was said to be so plentiful that the cooks sold it in the streets. "He who had a guest, went to the gate of the *Harem*, and found expensive food for sale at a small price—food such as could not be found elsewhere²."

When the Caliph Qâhir wanted seriously to economise he sanctioned only one dînâr for fruit for his table,—formerly the amount spent was 30 dînârs a day. As for courses at meals they were limited to twelve, and instead of 30 sweet-dishes the Caliph ordered only so much as was enough for him³. The evil day had already come. In 325/937 the number of chamberlains was reduced from 500 to 60⁴. In 334/945 Muizz-ud-Dawlah took the control of the finances completely away from the Caliph and only allowed him 2,000 dirhams for his daily expenses⁵, less than half the amount he spent before⁶. Two years later, instead of the pension, he assigned to him lands chiefly at Basrah, which, along with his private means, made up a total of about 200,000 dînârs a year. In course of time, however, the Caliph's income dwindled to 50,000, about half a million marks per year⁷. Moreover since 334/945, at the death or deposition of a Caliph, the practice of plundering the palace until nothing was left came into vogue⁸. In 381/991, on the deposition of Tai, the populace for the first time plundered the palace in the fullest sense of the term and took away marble, lead, teak-wood and lattices⁹. On the death of a Pope the Roman people proceeded likewise. We notice at this time, a remarkable similarity between the Pope and the Caliph inasmuch as the Caliph now assumes more and more the rôle of a Pope,—namely, the premiership of the entire Muslim church. The disappearance of the last traces of the Babylonian Church-state uncommonly fortified his spiritual character.

When in 423/1032 the Sultân with three courtiers rowed in a boat in the garden of the Caliph's palace and

(1) Wuz, 16-18. (2) Maqrizî, *Khitat*, 1,316. (3) *Arib*, 183. (4) Misk, V, 541. (5) Misk, V, 125; Ibn al-Jâuzi, 78 b. (6) Both in 280/898 and 380/941 the court-expenses were reckoned at 5,000 dirhams per day. (7) Ibn al-Jauzi, 78 b. (8) Yahyâ 86 a; Misk V, 124. Already at the death of Râdhî the Sultân took away the carpets and utensils that pleased him (Ibn al-Athîr, VIII, 276). At the deposition of the Wazîrs in 299/911 and 318/930 their houses were plundered (Wuz, 29; Ibn al-Jauzi, fol. 40 a). (9) Ibn al Jauzi, fol. 130 b; Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 56.

amused himself under a tree with music and wine, the Caliph on hearing of it sent two Qâdhîs and two chamberlains to urge upon him the impropriety of such conduct at that place, whereupon the Sultan apologised¹.

Even in these later times the rôle of the Caliph is very simple and unecclesiastical as compared with that of the Byzantine Emperor, who is greeted in the circus as a second David, and a second St. Paul, and revered as High Priest, and whose day, as is shown by the Book *De Cerimoniis*, was spent between churches, altars, and pictures of saints.

10. THE NOBILITY.

The Arabs said : ' Ashrâf un-nasab ', i.e., nobility lies in blood. Above everything else the aristocrat should be brave and generous². Too calculating a nature was deemed unaristocratic ; the aristocrat should be prudent, but must feign improvidence³. Unlike that of a clerk which is small⁴, his head should be big⁵. He should have a thick growth of hair on the forehead, a high nose, a broad-cornered mouth⁶. He should have a broad breast and shoulders, a long forearm and long fingers⁷, but not a round face. Unaristocratic was affectation in dress or in gait. They said : A Sayyid may make up his turban as he pleases⁸. Under the 'Abbasids mankind was divided by a courtier into four classes :—

- (1) The ruler, whom merit has placed in the foremost rank ;
- (2) The Wazîr, distinguished by wisdom and discrimination ;
- (3) The high-placed ones, whom wealth has raised aloft ;

(1) Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 185 a/b. (In this story the Caliph takes upon himself the task of reproving the Sultân for debauchery in the Caliph's garden. This implies that his garden was sacred, and that the Caliph had the right to reprove the Sultân for immorality. Prof. Margoliouth. Tr.).

(2) In this connection, see Goldziher's *Muruwwa und Din* in his *Muh. Studien*, Tr. (3) Ibn Qutaiba, *Uyun el-Akhbar*, 271, ed. Brockelmann. (4) *Ibid.*, 270. (5) Qalqashandi, *Subh-el-'Asha*, 43. (6) The latter also is the chief characteristic of a noble horse. (7) The chief of the Jews was so aristocratic that when he was standing erect, his fingers touched the knee. Those of the Mehdi of the African Senusiyyah even touched the earth in such a posture. (Hartmann, AFR. 1, 266.) (8) *Kit. anba nugha el-abna* of Zafar al-Makki (565/1170) Ms. Berlin, fol. 16b, f.

(4) The middle class (*ausat*) who were attached to the other three classes by their culture.

The rest of mankind were described as mere scum, a marshy brook and lower animals who knew of nothing save food and sleep¹.

Thus the aristocrat made money and achieved political successes—two very common things then. The disregard of blood, particularly on the mother's side, went so far that all the Caliphs, since the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries, were sons of Turkish or Greek slave-girls; nay at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century even the son of a black slave-girl nearly succeeded to the Caliphate². And yet Islām established an aristocracy of blood which survives even today. At the head of this aristocracy stood the kinsmen of the Prophet, the 'Banû Hâshim', 'members of the House of the Prophet' or 'People of the House.' As kinsmen of the Prophet they drew a salary from the Government, and with their entire suite were exempt from the Poor-tax (*Sadaqah*)³. Nay, they had their own Court⁴. The Naqîb (marshal), appointed by the Caliph, was their judge. Not only at Baghdad, but in every large town, such an one was appointed. At Wâsit, Kûfah, Basrah and Ahwaz he was called 'marshal of the 'Alids'⁵. About 351/961 Ibn 'Tabataba was the marshal of the Egyptian 'Alids⁶. Even under the Fatimids the marshal of the 'Alids was a notable dignitary of the Court⁷. The letter of appointment of the Baghdadian marshal of the Talibids (354/965) has come down to us. It is apparent from it that even complaints of ordinary Muslims against a Talibid were heard by this officer⁸.

Until the 4th/10th century the two opposing branches of the Prophet's family—the Abbasids who succeeded to power and the Talibids who suffered—were under one and the same Naqîb (marshal)⁹. But at the end of the century each had his own chief, and that indeed because the 'Abbasids had declined, while the other had risen in power and would no longer endure tutelage. The

(1) Ibn al-Faqîh, *Bibl. Geog.* V. 1. (2) Ibrâhîm, son of Al-Mahdi, by a black slave-girl, was absolutely black, corpulent and coarse. He, on that account, was called the 'dragon' (*Gurulî matalî el-budur* 1. 13). (3) Jâhîz, *Opus*, 7. (4) Mawardi, ed. Enger, 165. (5) Ibn al-Jauzi, 115 a. (6) Ibn Sa'id, ed. Tallquist, 49. (7) Musabbihi, *apud* Becker, *Beitrage*, 1, 83. (8) *Rissa'il* of Sabî, Ba'abda, 153. (9) *Arib*, 47.

conditions thus called into being were a fore-shadowing of the present state of things.

Both the 'Alids and the 'Abbasids were addressed as Sharîf¹. It appears from *Arib*² that the 'Alids had no special distinguishing signs of their own. The green turban appears as their mark quite late in order of time,—not indeed till the 8th/14th century³.

To the descendants of the Prophet residing at Baghdad, but nowhere else, one dînâr a month was doled out under Mu'tamid (256-279/870-892)⁴, but under his successor it was cut down to $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a dînâr per month. 4,000 such pensioners are said to have been at Baghdad at that time, and this fits in with the item in the Budget, *viz.*, 1,000 dînârs per month under this head⁵. In 209/824 they assert the number of the 'Abbasids to be 33,000⁶. Jâhîz writing about the same time, fixes the 'Alid strength at 2,300⁷.

The chiefs of the Hâshimids (Mashâikh) drew special pay, which is shown in the Budget along with the pay of the preachers at Baghdad: 600 dînârs in all⁸. Even the 'Abbasid princes (*Aulad al-Khulafa*) received a special, but not a very handsome, pension. Al-Mu'tadid (279-289/892-902) allowed to the children of his grandfather—princes and princesses—a special increment of 1,000 dînârs between them; to his own brothers and sisters 500 dînârs a month between them; whereas to the rest of the relatives only 500 dînârs per month between them⁹. Basrah, the only non-Shî'ite court of importance next to Baghdad, was the centre of this discontented band. In the eighties of this century three persons, one of them being a descendant of the Caliph Mahdî, another of Mâ'mûn and another of Wâthiq, found themselves there¹⁰.

The Wâthiqî had been a preacher at Nisibis, but being involved in an intrigue, was dismissed from his post. On dismissal he came to Baghdad. Thence he proceeded to Khorasan where he tried in vain for an appointment as post-master or secular judge. Disappointed, he went over to the Turks, gave himself out as the crown-prince of Baghdad, succeeded in bringing about the expulsion of the Samanids and the establishment of his own rule at

(1) For the 'Alids, At-Tanûkhî; Al-Faraj, II, 43; Yaqut, *Irshad*, I, 256, for the Hâshimids. (2) p. 49. (3) The green colour as the 'Alid colour was fixed for the first time by the Egyptian Sultân Shâ'bân-Ibn Hussain (d. 778/1376). (4) That is to say about 10 marks. (5) Wuz, 20. (6) Tabarî, III, 969; *Kit. al-'Uyun* 351. (7) *Fusul*, London, fol. 207a. (8) Wuz, 20. (9) Wuz, 20. (10) *Yatimah*, IV, 37, 112.

Bukhâra. The Caliph in consequence sent a public letter on his account to the north¹. After the failure of his plan there he secretly resided again at Baghdad, but to escape the designs of the Caliph he once more went over to the Turks. He roamed all over the East and was eventually stranded at the court of Mahmûd of Ghaznî², who incarcerated him in a castle, where he died. The Mâ'mûnî, on the other hand, a poet, wanted to conquer Baghdad with the help of the Samanid troops and set himself up as Caliph. He died soon, however, before he was forty³. With the help of the ever-effective belief in the Mahdî, a son of Al-Mustakfi (deposed 334/945) tried in his fiftieth year to secure the empire for himself. His emissaries preached to those who "supported justice and resisted injustice" to fight the enemies of the Faith and to restore it to its original purity. In those troublous days they found a large following even in the highest circles of Baghdad. They assured the Sunnites that the expected Mahdî was an 'Abbasid, and the Shî'ites that he was an 'Alid. Even the general Sebuktagin went over to his side but when he, a Shî'ite, heard that it was an affair of the 'Abbasids he forsook the cause and suppressed the movement. The matter ended by the Caliph cutting off the nose of the pretender and his brother⁴.

Apart from their pension the Hâshimids were given posts out of which money was made with an easy conscience. The office of the leader of prayers in towns was mostly held by them⁵. The Imâm of the first mosque of Baghdad, who died in 350/961, was a Hâshimid, and so also at this time was the Imâm of the Amr mosque at old Cairo⁶. And Hâshimids also were the two chief judges appointed in 363/974 and 394/1004⁷.

At the end of the century an 'Abbasid prince acted as a preacher at Nisibis⁸. The very lucrative position of the leadership of the annual pilgrim-caravan was always held by a Hâshimid. For the first time since the rise of Islâm a Tâlibid was given that post of honour in 204/849

(1) The public letter, says Prof. Margoliouth, was a refutation of the man's claim, as appears from Hilâl, 421. Tr.

(2) Wuz, 421 ff; *Yatimah*, IV, 112 ff; Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 117 f.

(3) *Yatimah*, IV, 94; Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 71.

(4) Misk, VI, 815 ff.

(5) Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 90 b.

(6) Supplement to Kindî, ed. Guest, 575.

(7) Ibn al-Jauzî, 105 b, 141 b.

(8) Wuz, 421.

and that because Mâ'mûn wanted to use the 'Alids against his brother. For three years he held that post, when it once more reverted to the Hâshimids, who retained it till 336/947¹. It then passed into the hands of the 'Alids, who appointed 'Alids as their representatives and deputies². In all pious gifts the kinsmen of the Prophet came in first for their share. At the time of Ahmad ibn Tulûn, the Egyptian Ibn ad-Dajâh gave 2,000 dinârs to a Talibid; other magnates displayed similar munificence³. The Wazîr 'Alî Ibn 'Isa, early in the 4th/10th century, made an annual grant of 40,000 dinârs for the benefit of the 'Alids, 'Abbasids, descendants of the Ansâr and 'Muhâjerûn, and the two holy towns⁴. In one single day the mother of the Caliph Al-M'ûti gave to the 'Abbasids and the 'Alids over 30,000 dinârs⁵. In one of his letters Abû'l A'ala apologises for having sent so little to an 'Alid⁶. Proverbial was the 'Alid who "takes but does not give".

How small a pittance was the monthly dole of $\frac{1}{4}$ dinâr may be inferred from the fact that both the 'Alids and the 'Abbasids lived in grovelling poverty!

We even come across a Hâshimid as a petty spy. In the great famine of 334/945 Hâshimids were sentenced to death for eating their children⁸. At the residence of the Wâzîr As-Sâhib in North Persia an 'Alid presented himself as an itinerant story-teller⁹. The poet Ibn al-Hajj (d. 391/1001) speaks of an ill-famed Hâshimid female singer¹⁰. While the Egyptian viceroy Kâfûr was out riding, a member of his staff violently pushed back a beggar-woman. For this the Governor wanted to cut the delinquent's hands off but the woman interceded on his behalf. This kindly office greatly amazed Kâfûr who asked for her name, taking her to be a woman of noble descent. She professed to be an 'Alid. Kâfûr was disconcerted and observed: "The Devil maketh us forget these people". After that he sanctioned a great deal of alms for 'Alid women¹¹. The "uncles of the Prophet" belonged to the quarrelsome strata of the metropolitan populace¹².

(1) Mas'ûdi, IX, 69. (2) Ibn al-Jauzi, Berlin, fol. 129b; Ibn al-Athir, IX, 54. The leadership of the Egyptian pilgrimage continued in the hands of the Hâshimids. Supplement to Kindî, 475. (3) Yâqût, *Irshad*, II, 159. (4) Wuz, 322. (5) Ibn al-Jauzi, 74 a. (6) *Rasa'il*, ed. Margo liouth 85. (7) *Kit. al-faragh*. (8) Yahyâ ibn Sa'id, fol. 87 a. (9) *Muh. al-udaba*, II, 295. (10) Tallquist, 48. (11) Wuz, 381. (12) The immediately preceding anecdote deals with a brawl between members of the two Imperial families.

When in 306/918 there was a delay in the payment of their salary, a Hâshimid crowd fell upon the Wazîr, while he was coming out of his office, abused him, tore off his clothes and dragged him from his horse. The Caliph ordered some of these offenders to be whipped, transporting the entire lot in chains to Basrah. There, in that condition, they were led through the town on donkeys. After this was done they were lodged in a house close to the prison. The Governor treated them well, and in secret even gave money to them. Moreover after 10 days arrived the order for their release¹.

With the growing strength of the Shî'ites in Baghdad the 'Abbâsids, specially those residing at Basrah-Gate, became more and more restive². The energetic Wazîr Al-Muhallabi (*circa* 350/961) was constrained to keep a number of the 'Abbâsid leaders in custody in the small towns of Babylon, whence they were only released after the Wazîr's death³. To end the eternal dispute between the Shî'ites and the Sunnites at Baghdad, in which the fiery spirits on either side incited their adherents to take up arms, the general sent there to restore and maintain order had 'Alids and 'Abbâsids tied together in pairs and drowned in the Tigris⁴.

The time, longlooked for by the 'Alids, had at last come. Everywhere their power waxed, while that of the 'Abbâsids waned. In Khorasan for instance Mukaddasi finds many rich 'Alids, but not a single resident 'Abbâsid there⁵. The 4th/10th century reveals conditions which obtain there today. The House of Muhammad is exclusively represented there by the 'Alids. All promoted and subserved their cause—the Karmathians and the Fatimids. In the Persian mountains they founded an 'Alid Empire. After the middle of the century they conquered Mekka and, instead of Medîna, made Mekka the capital of the Holy Lands, and cunningly managed to turn the fierce rivalry of Baghdad and Cairo to the advantage of the newly-established centre of the Shî'ite power.

Shî'ites were the new rulers in the East and the West, *viz.*, the Hamadânids and the Buwayyids. The increasing veneration of the Prophet even encircled his descendants with heightened splendour. When Kâfûr once was riding, the whip fell out of his hand; a Sharîf picked it up and handed it over to him. Verily, said Kâfûr, willingly

(1) *Arib*, 75. (2) Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 110. (3) Wuz, 331. (4) Wuz, 464; Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 147. (5) Muq, 328.

would I die now ! What other ambition can I have after a son of the Prophet hands my whip to me. Shortly after this incident he died¹. At the beginning of the 4th/10th century not only in the Shī'ite Tiberias could nothing be done without the help of the 'Alid chief there², but even the very impartial Ikhshid, ruler of Egypt, had constantly about him two of these gentlemen : the Hasanid 'Abdullah b. Tabataba and the Hussainid Al-Hasan ibn Tâhir, " who never left his side but who were mutually hostile to each other ³." The latter negotiated and effected a peace with Saif-ud-Dawlah for him⁴ and in 327/939, by his diplomacy, averted a Babylonian invasion⁵. The same year another 'Alid, by his influence with the Kar-mathians, secured a free and safe passage for the pilgrims which had been closed for 10 years⁶. In the Shī'ite houses of the Buwayyids and the Hamadânids they were the approved mediators in family disputes. Considering how lucrative this attitude of intermediaries was, it was inconvenient for them when they were ultimately compelled by the Baghdad Government to follow suit⁷ as against the Fatimids, and repudiate these as no true Scions of 'Alid stock.

In the year 403/1012 an order of the Baghdadian Amīr went forth to the officers which warmly recommended the claims of the 'Alids to them— a thing which had never happened before⁸. But simultaneously with this order the black-official dress of the 'Abbâsids was prescribed for the marshal of their nobility (Naqīb), which no 'Alid had worn before. With this measure the earlier, stronger 'Abbâsid cousin declared himself defeated⁹.

The descendants of the first three Caliphs now play no distinguished part. When a body of Quran-readers complained against Al-Omari, the Qādhi of Egypt, to the Caliph

(1) Tallquist, 47. (2) Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, I, 56 sqq. (3) Tallquist, 18. (4) Tallquist, 42. (5) Tallquist, 25. (6) Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 60a. (7) 'Follow suit' means here taking the definite line which the Government had adopted. Prof. Margoliouth. Tr.

(8) *Diwân* of Ridâ, 210 [" This is based on an error. The heading of the poem in the *Diwân* of Râdî (as his name should be spelt) merely states that Râdî was made overseer of the 'Alawids throughout the empire : previously there had been local *Nuqaba*. Moreover it is not true that this was the first occasion on which an 'Alawid wore " the black robe " : according to Râdî's *Diwân* (p. 541) he appeared in such a robe at the Caliph's court in 382. Wearing black meant acknowledging the Caliph's authority, and in the order of 382 Râdî states emphatically that only the 'Abbasids have the right of succession to the Prophet." I am indebted to Prof. Margoliouth for this note. Tr.]. (9) Ibn al-Jauzî, fol. 158b ; Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 170.

Hârûn, the latter enquired whether there was still a descendant of 'Omar I employed in the *Diwan*. But when they found none, he sent the complainants away¹. His successor Bakrî, appointed by Amîn, came so poor to Egypt and had such bad luck with his land that he could not pay the land-tax. The officer who dealt with his case cried out: Is the son of the companion of our Prophet and his successors to be so harassed on this account? His debt is my debt,—I shall pay it year by year². In modern Egypt, on the other hand, along with the descendants of the Prophet those of Abû Bakr and 'Omar constitute the Muslim aristocracy.

Ever since the beginning of the XIXth century the Bakrîs or the Siddîqîs especially have been in possession of lucrative clerical offices there³.

An 'Othmânî, a descendant of the Caliph 'Othmân, went about begging in all the streets of Nisibis about the year 400/1009 to the great discredit of his pious ancestor. Even he, such as he was, was called Sharîf⁴. Such is the main outline of the ecclesiastical aristocracy⁵ of Islâm.

The Pre-Islamite nobility had maintained themselves most tenaciously in the stronghold of feudalism, to wit, in the forests, mountains and castles of Fars. There the old families were honoured. There they inherited Government offices from sire to son from the earliest to the present time⁶. Chivalrous conduct was held in high esteem among them. Purity from foul talk, abstinence from intercourse with loose women, striving after the highest attainable elegance at home, in dress, and at table⁷ was their dominant note. Of the Omayyad nobility only the Mahâlibah, descendants of Muhallab ibn Abî Safrâ, knew how to maintain their position and prestige. Basrah was their seat where they lived in lordly mansions⁸. In the great slave insurrection of the 3rd/9th century one of these played a conspicuous rôle in the hope that the

(1) Kindî 415. In 388/998 died the savant Al-Khattâbî, a descendant of Zaid ibn Al-Khattâb brother of 'Omar I (Yâqût, *Irshad*, II, 81).

(2) Kindî, 416.

(3) Hartmann, MSOS, 1909, 81.

(4) *Yatimah*, IV, 293 f.

(5) To these also belonged the descendants of the first 'Helpers' of the Prophet. They too had a marshal (Naqîb) at Baghdad and were provided with gifts from the pious. Ibn al-Jauzî, 112a; *Kit. al-faragh*, II, 2.

(6) Ibn Haukal, 207.

(7) Thalibi, *Kit al-Mirwah*, 129b.

(8) *Kit. al-Uyun*, IV, 6 b.

'Abbasid rule might end¹; another, about the middle of the 4th/10th century, became the Wazîr of 'Adad-ud-Dawlah.

Even the Qâdhî family of the Banû Abilswarib (?) pretended to be related to the Omayyads, and therefore to the rulers of Cordova and those of Multân².

The free 'Abbâsîd armed nobility (the *abna-ud-Dawlah*), who had come with the 'Abbâsîds from Khorasan, were still in power in the 3rd/9th century and were distinguished by their splendid horses and equipment. In the 4th/10th century they were supplanted by slaves or emancipated knights, by Turks and Persians.

Even the last descendants of the Tâhirids—who in the 3rd/9th century ranked next to the reigning dynasty—maintained at the close of the 4th/10th century a miserable existence at the Court of Bokhâra.

But they did not lack imagination³. In the entire north, right up to the country of the Turks, they were called by the Roman-Byzantine appellation of 'Patri-cians' (Batâriqa)⁴.

Of the great families of his time Ibn Rosteh (end of the 3rd/9th century) has some interesting tales to tell. The family of Ibn Ashath is said to have descended from a Persian shoe-maker. They owed their wealth to a childless Jew whom the shoe-maker's aunt had wedded. The Mahallibids sprang from a Persian weaver. The House of Khâlîd ibn Safwân went back to a peasant woman of Hira, who while pregnant fell into Arab hands. The family of Al-Jahm originated from a run-away slave who falsely claimed Qoraishite nobility, and that of the opulent and princely Abu Dulaf from the Christian bankers of Hira. The Court-marshal Al-Rabî', founder of an influential line of officials, is said to have been a worthless, illegitimate son of an unchaste slave-girl⁵.

(1) Mas'ûdî, I, 377.

(2) See the poems on them in *Kit. al-'Uyun*, IV, 70a; Jâhîz, *Opuscula*, 15.

(3) *Yatimah*, IV, 7 ff. 11.

(4) They are so addressed by a poet of Turkistan, *Yatimah*, IV, 81.

(5) Ibn Rosteh, 207 f.

S. KHUDA BUKHSH,

(To be continued.)

THE ARAB CONQUEST OF SINDH*

THE BRAHMANABAD SETTLEMENT.

BEFORE the investment of Brahmanabad, Sisakar, the Minister of Rai Dahir had sued for protection¹, and Muhammad Qâsim, always gracious to his Sindhi allies of talent and standing, immediately conferred upon him 'the office of *Wazir*.' Sisakar now became the counsellor of the Mussalmans. Muhammad Qâsim told him all his secrets, always took his advice, and consulted him in all the civil affairs of the government, on his political measures and the means of prolonging his success. Sisakar used to say that "the regulations and ordinances which the *just Amir* (Muhammad Qâsim) had introduced would confirm his authority in all the countries of Hind. They would enable him to punish and overcome all his enemies, for he comforted the subjects and *malguzars*², took the revenue according to the old laws and regulations, never burdened any one with new and additional exactions, and instructed all his functionaries and officers." The fall of Brahmanabad had brought the whole of southern Sind into his hands, but victory had not turned his head and he knew well enough that his great enterprise, which was no less than the conquest of the whole of Hindustan, could not succeed by force alone—even if force were to be on his side—and that the goodwill, or at least the neutrality, of the people was an indispensable condition of success. Good government, a government in which every possible regard was paid to the religious ideas, institutions and customs of the people, had to go hand in hand with military conquest. While rigorously putting to death all enemy soldiers found in arms in order to prevent the enlistment of recruits by his opponents, he scrupulously refrained from everything likely to wound the religious susceptibilities of the people; and this tolerant policy, from which he never deviated, had driven a wedge between the government of Dahir and the mass of the people, who

*The first article of this series appeared in our issue of January 1929. Ed.—"I. C."

(1) He is also said to have brought with him the Arab women who had been captured by the pirates of Dewal.

(2) Meaning, apparently, the wealthier tax-payers,

gradually veered round to his side. Against such a statesman it was difficult to excite the racial or religious patriotism of the public, while the Brahmans and Buddhist priests, the keepers of the public conscience, were surprised to find that one of the first acts of the conqueror was to regrant their time-honoured privileges and public offices. An efficient government of the country was impossible without the help of the most talented and experienced men; and Muhammad Qâsim, who was free from the sterile fanaticism of the later Ghaznavide and Ghorian Turks, freely appointed Hindus to the highest offices. He never lost sight of the fact that his administrative measures, if just and fair, would contribute materially to the success of his arms, and as the country came into his hands bit by bit, he made careful arrangements for its efficient government. The settlement of Brahmanabad after its conquest has been described by the *Chach Namah* in greater detail than the laws and the regulations promulgated elsewhere, and may well be taken as a specimen of Muhammad Qâsim's political attitude and method. It will be best to let the historian speak in his own words.

The city of Brahmanabad was placed in charge of four prefects, each of whom was responsible for one of the gates. "Muhammad Qâsim also gave them as tokens of his satisfaction saddled horses and ornaments for their hands and feet, according to the custom of the Kings of Hind. And he assigned to each of them a seat in the great public assemblies¹."

The Jazia.

"He fixed a tax upon all the subjects according to the Law of the Prophet. Those who embraced the Muhammadan faith were exempted from slavery, the tribute and the poll-tax; and from those who did not change their creed a tax was exacted according to three grades². The first grade was of great men and each of these was to pay silver equal to forty-eight *dirhams* in weight, the second

(1) The 'prefects' here mentioned seem to have had the same duties as the *Kotwals* of later days, *i.e.* maintenance of order, control of the markets, etc. They must have been Hindus or Buddhists. There was no reason why Muhammad Qâsim should go out of his way to bestow 'ornaments for hands and feet according to the custom of the Kings of Hind' on his own Arabs. By 'the great public assemblies' is probably meant the public *durbars* held by the Arab general, the *bar-i-'am* of later medieval historians.

(2) Three impositions are here mentioned—slavery, tribute and poll-tax or *jazia*; and it is claimed that Muhammad Qâsim adhered to 'the Law of the Prophet.'

grade twenty four *dirhams* and the lowest grade twelve *dirhams*. It was ordered that all who became Mussalmans at once should be exempted from the payment, but those who were desirous of adhering to their old persuasion must pay the tribute and the poll-tax. Some showed an

(a) Now 'the Law of the Prophet' only permits slavery in one case—soldiers captured on the field of battle should not be killed but reduced to slavery. So far as Brahmanabad was concerned, the only persons who came under the law were the soldiers who had been 'pardoned' after the seizure of the town.

(b) There remained the tribute and the poll-tax (*jazia*). Three grades of the latter are given—48, 24 and 12 *dirhams* weight of silver per year. It is difficult to find out the real value of a *dirham* weight of silver at that time. The *dirham* or *drachma* was a Roman coin adopted by the Arabs. The lower and poorer classes must have been exempted for the simple reason that they had nothing, and nothing could be taken from them. It was the only 'the merchants, agriculturists and artisans' who counted. A poll-tax of the type naturally pressed hardest on the poorer tax-payers, a rich merchant could pay 48 silver *dirhams* without feeling it, while a well-to-do artisan, whose income did not amount to a hundredth part of the merchant's profits, may have had to sell all his belongings to provide the 12 *dirhams* demanded by the tax-collector. The point requires some elucidation.

Muslim advocates of *jazia* base their arguments on a text of the Quran—"till they (the infidels) pay the *jazia* with their hands and they are subdued." The words, 'with their hands,' have been interpreted by later legists to mean a poll-tax, a tax on a person and not on his property. The Apostle and the Second Caliph had asked non-Muslim communities, who came within the territories governed by them, to pay to the central power a tribute or tax roughly calculated on the basis of the population of those communities. This was not an unfair method of calculation in a country not characterised by flagrant inequalities of wealth; the collection of the tax, moreover, was left to the communities themselves; and so long as they provided the fixed amount, they could distribute the tax between their members as they pleased. These communities were divided into three grades, according to their wealth, and were required to pay an amount which, if divided among their well-to-do members, would have come on a very rough calculation to Rs. 3 per head for the poorest and Rs. 6 per head for the middle and Rs. 12 for the richest community. Now in later ages a tax, not unfair when originally imposed, was exacted by methods radically different by politicians who argued from the etymological meanings of words and their syllogistic conclusions in utter disregard of the economic conditions of the country. The *jazia*, as levied by Aurangzêb, is not, in my opinion, sanctioned by the principles of Islam. But admitting, for the sake of argument, that Islam sanctioned a poll-tax for the economic degradation of non-Muslims, such a tax should have been wisely planned to secure its object; it should have taxed the richest Hindus to the hilt and brought their wealth to the public treasury. This, however, is just what it failed to do. The proportion of 3, 6 and 12 may indicate the comparative wealth of communities but certainly not of individuals, and a tax distributed on this basis practically left the richest classes and the greatest amount of wealth untouched, while it pressed heavily

on the classes least able to pay and most likely to resent. A retrogressive tax is an economic absurdity and naturally led to unpopularity without profit. But nothing else can happen when administrative and political problems are decided on the basis of *manqulat*, i.e., logical deductions from authorities wrongly understood, and in utter disregard of time and circumstances.

If Muhammad Qâsim wanted to be just and fair, he should have either imposed the *jazia* in conformity with the tradition of the Prophet and asked for nothing more, or continued the old taxes of Dahir without adding the *jazia* to them. The imposition of the *jazia along with and in addition to* the previous taxes seems to be a clear departure from the example of the Prophet. But Muhammad Qâsim was free from the fatuity of later-day fanatics, who have adhered to the monetary standards adopted by the Prophet in Arabia without any regard to the constantly changing value of silver, and have tried to enforce them in all countries without paying any attention to the wealth or the poverty of the people. The retrogressive effect of Muhammad Qâsim's *jazia* was modified by the important principles 'that the distribution was to be made with equity and the revenue fixed according to the ability to pay.' How did this work in practice? We are told that 'all the people, the merchant, artisans and agriculturists were counted' and amounted to ten thousand in number. We have seen before that Brahmanabad was defended by 40,000 soldiers and at least 6,000 were put to death when the town was captured; the figure 10,000, therefore, does not include the total, but only the taxable citizens, who in the eye of the revenue officer are all the people that count. There could not, moreover, have been many farms or cultivated fields within the walls of Brahmanabad, and the inclusion of 'the agriculturists' in the *jazia-roll* coupled with the statement that Muhammad Qâsim appointed collectors of the tax from among 'the villagers' proves that the list gave the name of the *jazia-payers* in the whole territory under the jurisdiction of Brahmanabad, and not merely from the town. The *jazia-roll* was divided into three classes and gave the total revenue to be collected from the territory under that head. Now the *jazia* was not collected by a separate set of officers; the Brahman revenue collectors of Dahir were re-appointed and asked to collect both the old taxes and the *jazia*. The duty of assessing the individual tax payer was left to the Brahmans; so long as they collected the required amount and the tax-payers did not seriously complain, Muhammad Qâsim saw no reason to interfere; his direction to tax people 'according to ability to pay' meant that the Brahmans were to make up for the retrogressive effect of the *jazia* when apportioning the other taxes.

That Muhammad Qâsim's *jazia* was a substantial tax and told heavily on the people, we can hardly doubt. It was, nevertheless, accepted by the conquered population with a sense of relief. They had expected the destruction of their temples and the ruin of their civilisation and were surprised to find that the Arab conquest meant only one tax more. Nor was the religious aspect of the tax so objectionable in the eighth century as to-day we might be inclined to think; if it was a tax on non-Muslims for remaining non-Muslims, it was also (as interpreted by the Second Caliph and Muhammad Qâsim) a means for conferring on the non-Muslims the legal and political status of the Muslims.

(c) Lastly, as to the tribute, the '*ushr* or one-tenth of the produce is the tax which, according to the general belief of the Mussalmans

inclination to change¹ their creed, and some having resolved upon paying tribute, held fast by the faith of their forefathers, but their lands and property were not taken from them."

"All the people, the merchants, artisans and agriculturists, were divided into their respective classes, and ten thousand men, high and low, were counted. Muhammad Qâsim then ordered twelve *dirhams* weight of silver to be assigned to each man, because all their property had been plundered². *He appointed people from among the villagers and the chief citizens to collect the fixed taxes from the cities and villages, that there might be a feeling of strength and protection.* When the Brahmans saw this, they represented their case and the nobles and principal inhabitants of the city gave evidence as to *the superiority of Brahmans*³. Muhammad Qâsim maintained their dignity and passed orders confirming their pre-eminence. They were protected against opposition and violence.

has the sanction of the Apostle. It is obvious that while the Apostle and his successors could have the income of the Mussalmans assessed by their own officer, a different system had to be devised for the non-Muslim communities who collected their own taxes. It is much easier to estimate the population of a community than its wealth or income, and so the *jazia* was calculated on the basis of population.

We are often told that Muhammad Qâsim kept to the old system and demanded no more than the people had been accustomed to pay. But that may have been heavy enough. I shall refer later on to a letter of Hajjâj in which he directs that 'only a tenth part of the produce of their land or wealth was to be exacted from those who became Mussalmans, while those who adhered to their old faith were to pay 'the usual sums according to the established custom of the country.' The previous tax must, therefore, have been more than a tenth of the produce of land or capital. A Mussalman, thus, escaped by paying a tenth while a Hindu or Buddhist had to pay the *jazia* on the top of the customary taxes. Muhammad Qâsim, however, tried to compensate for this undeniable injustice by his fairness in apportioning the taxes, by entrusting the collection to the Brahmans, and by his measures of religious tolerance. The people naturally judged his government, not by any particular regulation, but the general effect and purport of its policy.

(1) The text says 'abide by,' an obvious mistake.

(2) Plundered by whom? The conqueror. we have been told, had ordered the property of the merchants, agriculturists and artisans to be spared. But Brahmanabad had stood a siege for six months in which all classes must have suffered heavily. The subsidy was obviously meant to help the resumption of peaceful occupations, but it is difficult to say why the amount given was equal to one year's *jazia* for the lowest grade.

(3) Brahman here seems to mean the priestly or the highest class of Hindus as well as Buddhists.

Each of them was entrusted with an office, for Muhammad Qâsim was confident that they would not be inclined to dishonesty. *Like Rai Chach, he also appointed each one to a duty.* He ordered all Brahmins¹ to be brought before him, and reminded them that they had held great offices in the time of Dahir, and that they must be well acquainted with the city and the suburbs. If they knew any excellent character worthy of his consideration and kindness they should bring him to notice, that favours and rewards might be bestowed on him. *As he had entire confidence in their honesty and virtue, he had entrusted them with these offices, and all the affairs of the country would be placed under their charge. These offices were granted to them and their descendants and would never be resumed or transferred*².

“ Then the Brahmins and the government officers went into the districts and said, ‘ O Chiefs and leaders of the people ! You know for certain that Dahir is slain, and that the power of the infidels is at an end. In all parts of Sind and Hind the rule of the Arabs is firmly established, and all the people of this country, great and small, have become as equals, both in town and country. The great Sultan (Caliph) has shown favour to us humble

(1) There are, as we all know, Brahmins and Brahmins, to wit, two sorts of Brahmins : those who are Brahmins by birth but devote themselves to civil occupations, and those who are Brahmins by occupation as well as birth and spend their time in prayer, mendicancy, etc. It was Brahmins of the first class only who had to be considered for appointments to revenue offices. The ‘ religious Brahmins ’ were a different problem and the measures respecting them are given in a succeeding paragraph.

(2) I am thus inclined to interpret the somewhat disconnected narrative. First Muhammad Qâsim, in order to create a feeling of confidence in the government, decided to appoint revenue collectors from among the people. Some of the persons selected were ‘ new men,’ whereupon the ‘ civil Brahmins ’—if we may so call them to distinguish them from their ‘ religious ’ brethren, represented that they had a prior claim, and the principal inhabitants, naturally afraid of adventures in the revenue department, gave evidence to support their claims. Muhammad Qâsim accepted the suggestion, and (a) appointed the claimants to their previous posts, (b) so that the whole system from top to bottom came into the hands of the Brahmins ; (c) their posts, moreover, were granted to them and their descendants in perpetuity as custom demanded, (d) while ‘ new men ’ could also be accommodated owing to the many vacancies that had occurred. (e) Lastly, like a true Arab, who misses no chance of displaying his eloquence, he expressed ‘ his entire confidence in their honesty and virtue ’ and hinted that it was now for them to perform their part of the business by pacifying the people and preventing rebellions against his government.

individuals, and you are to know that he has sent us to you to hold out great inducements. If we do not obey the Arabs, we shall neither have property nor means of living. But we have made our submission in hope that the favour and kindness of our masters may be increased to us. At present we are not driven from our houses ; but if you cannot endure this tribute, which is fixed on you, nor submit to the heavy burden, then let us retire at a suitable opportunity to some other place in Hind or Sind, with all your families and children where you may find your life secure. Life is the greatest of all blessings. But if we can escape from this dreadful whirlpool and can save our lives from the power of this army, our property and children will be safe.' Then all the inhabitants of the city attended and agreed to pay the taxes. They ascertained the amount from Muhammad Qâsim¹ and to the Brahmans, whom he had appointed revenue managers over them, he said, '*Deal honestly between the people and the Sultan, and if distribution is required, make it with equity, and fix the revenue according to the ability to pay.* Be in concord among yourselves, and oppose not each other so that the country may not be distressed.' Muhammad Qâsim admonished every man separately and said, 'Be happy in every respect and have no anxiety, for you will not be blamed for anything. I do not take any agreement or bond from you. Whatever sum is fixed and we have settled you must pay². Moreover, care and leniency shall be shown you and whatever may be your requests, they should be represented to me so that they may be heard, a proper reply be given and the wishes of each man be satisfied."

Muhammad Qâsim had, hitherto, freely confirmed the Hindu and Buddhist priests in the enjoyment of their advantages as the religious teachers of the people. A deputation of Brahmanabad Brahmans³ represented to him that 'from fear of the army, the alms and bread were not regularly given to them, while the attendants

(1) Hajjāj in his letters congratulates Muhammad Qâsim on the accuracy and clearness of his reports. The young general, who seldom missed an opportunity of delivering the Friday sermon to his soldiers, was also an eloquent orator, as ready to speak as to fight.

(2) i.e. though complaints against the apportionment of taxes would be heard, the final decision lay with the government.

(8) i.e. 'the religious Brahmans,' who lived on alms, the offerings at the temple and private charity. They must have been hard hit by the war, when their followers were starving and could give them little or nothing.

of the temples were likewise in distress.' The Hindus supported the claims of their priests : " The Brahmans are our sages and physicians, and our nuptial and funeral ceremonies are performed by them. *We have agreed to pay the taxes in the expectation that every one would be left to follow his own persuasion.* This our temple of Budh¹ is ruined, and we cannot worship our idols. If our just lord will permit us, we will repair it and worship our gods. Our Brahmans will then receive the means of living from us." Muhammad Qâsim referred the question to Hajjâj for a definite and permanent settlement. " It appears," the latter wrote in reply, " that the chief inhabitants of Brahmanabad have petitioned to be allowed to repair the temple of Bud and pursue their religion. *As they have made submission, and have agreed to pay taxes to the Khalifah nothing more can be properly required from them.* They have been taken under our protection, and we cannot in any way stretch out our hands upon their lives or property. *Permission is given them to worship their gods. Nobody must be forbidden or prevented from following his religion. They may live in their houses in whatever manner they like.*" " Thereupon Muhammad Qâsim directed the nobles, the principal inhabitants and the Brahmans to build their temple, traffic with the Mohammadans, live without any fear, and strive to better themselves. *He also enjoined them to maintain the indigent Brahmans with kindness and consideration, observe the rites and customs of their ancestors, and give oblations and arms to the Brahmans according to former practice.* They were to allot three *dirhams* out of every hundred *dirhams* capital, and to give them (the Brahmans) as much of this as should be necessary—the remainder was to be paid into the treasury and accounted for ; it would be safe in the keeping of the government². They were also to settle allowances upon the officers and the nobles. They fully agreed to these conditions before Tamîm bin Zaidî-l Qaisi and Hukm

(1) This may mean a temple of Gautama Buddha. Sir Henry Elliot thinks that the Persian word ' but ' has been derived from Budh or Buddha, the founder of Buddhism.

(2) The following would be a more accurate rendering of the Persian sentence, which Elliot quotes in a foot-note :—"Three *dirhams* out of every hundred *dirhams* of the total revenue received were to be given to them (the religious Brahmans) as is customary ; the rest of the collection belonged to the treasury and must be kept safe and accounted for.' Dahir and his predecessor had probably allotted 8 per cent. of their revenue to religious Brahmans as charity, and Muhammad Qâsim directed the continuation of the customary payment. The charity was to be given to the same recipients as before.

bin 'Awana Kalbi. It was ordained that the Brahmans should, like beggars, take a copper basin in their hands, go to the doors of the houses, and take whatever grain or other things might be offered to them, so that they might not remain unprovided for. This practice has got a peculiar name among the infidels¹. He then dismissed them and gave to their headmen the appellation of Rana."

The Indian advisers of the Arab general must have had a prominent influence in the legislative and administrative measures promulgated by him. In another perplexing problem, the rules for keeping the troublesome Jats of Lohana in check, he entirely acted according to their advice and continued the measures of Rai Chach. "Sisakar, the minister, declared in the presence of Moka Bisaya : ' In the reign of Rai Chach, the Lohanas, *viz.*, Lokha and Samma, were not allowed to wear soft clothes or cover their hands with velvet ; but they used to wear a black blanket beneath and throw a sheet of coarse cloth over their shoulders. They kept their heads and feet naked. Whenever they put on soft clothes, they were fined. They used to take their dogs with them when they went out of doors, so that they might by this means be recognised. Wherever guides were required by the Kings, they had to perform the duty ; it was their business to supply escorts and conduct parties from one tribe to another. If any of their chiefs or *ranas* rode upon a horse, he had no saddle or bridle, but threw a blanket on its back and then mounted. If an injury befell a person on a road, these tribes had to answer for it, and if any person of their tribe committed a theft, it was the duty of their headman to burn him and his family and children. The caravans used to travel day and night under their guidance. There is no distinction between them of great and small. They have the disposition of savages and have always rebelled against their sovereign. They plunder on the roads, and within the territory of Dewal all join them in their highway robberies. It is their duty to send fire-wood for the kitchen of Kings, and to serve them as menials and guards.' On hearing this, Muhammad Qâsim said, ' What disgusting people ! They are just like the savages of Persia and the mountains.' Muhammad Qâsim maintained the same rules regarding

(1) This was not a degradation imposed by the conqueror. By Brahmans is here meant the Buddhist monks, who by the rules of their order are required to beg for their livelihood in the manner described. Muhammad Qâsim simply allowed the continuation of an old practice.

them. As the Commander of the Faithful; 'Umar son of Al-Khattâb, had ordered respecting the people of Sham, so did Muhammad Qâsim also make a rule that every guest should be entertained for one day and night, but if he feels sick then for three days and nights'".

IV. Northern Sind.

Hajjâj congratulated Muhammad Qâsim on the wisdom and prudence of his political measures and directed him to march on Alor and Multan 'so that he may subdue the country of Hind to the boundary of China.' The general made careful arrangements for the preservation of peace and order in the territory he had subdued. The small Muslim force he had brought from Persia would not have sufficed for garrisoning a third part of southern Sind, but he had from the first been liberal in enlisting the warlike local tribes and it was with a mixed force, in which the Arabs must have been a minority, that he advanced towards Alor. All the tribes and towns on his line of march offered their submission and he kept halting at various stages to organise the government of the country. At Manhal, in the vicinity of Sawandi, 'all the merchants and chiefs were Samanis, while the agriculturists were Jats.' Muhammad Qâsim fixed the annual revenue they were required to pay and appointed a man from each tribe as the head of the tribe. 'Emphatic orders' from Hajjâj were also received about this time: 'The artisans and merchants were not to be heavily taxed. Whosoever took great pains in his work or cultivation was to be encouraged and supported. From those who espoused the dignity of Islam, only a tenth part of their wealth and the produce of the land was to be required; but those who followed their own religion were to pay from the produce of their manual industry, or from the land, the usual sums, according to the established custom of the country, and bring it to the government collectors.' At Sihta the chiefs and peasants appeared

(1) Sir Henry Elliot says that Muhammad Qâsim won over the Jats to his side in his campaign against Dahir, but suppressed them after they had fought in his army and led him to victory. This is incorrect. There is no reason to suppose that the Jats like other races, the Turks or Tartars for instance, did not differ in culture and civilisation from place to place. These regulations applied only to the 'Jats of Lohana, viz., Lokha and Samma,' who seem to have been the most backward, and savage section of the race. It is difficult to say who the Lohana Jats were, but it is clear that the time-honoured stern regulations did not apply to the whole race.

barefooted and bareheaded before him. He granted them protection, fixed the taxes they were to pay, took hostages from their chiefs and asked them to guide his army to Alor.

Alor (or Aror), the greatest city of Sind, had been left by Dahir in charge of his son, Fufi. Fufi resolutely refused to believe in the news of his father's death and clung to the hope that he had gone to bring an army from Hindustan. The citizens were inclined to share his illusion. Muhammad Qâsim asked Ladi¹, a widow of Rai Dahir, to inform them of the truth. Ladi rode up to the fortifications on the black camel of the late Rai, and after uncovering her face, told them about Dahir's defeat and death; 'she then shrieked out, wept bitterly and sang a funeral song.' But the besieged cursed her and said that she had joined the '*Chandals* and cow-eaters.' More reliance, however, was placed on the report of a sorceress, who assured them, that during the three watches of a day², she had flown all round the world from Qaf to Qaf without finding Dahir anywhere in Hind or Sind. The civil population began to waver, and knowing how faithful Muhammad Qâsim was in the observance of his promises, decided to submit. Fufi fled away on discovering that he had lost all support, and the citizens opened the gates on the usual terms—death for soldiers who refused to submit, protection for the civil population and the maintenance of the old taxes. 'Your temples,' Muhammad Qâsim assured them, 'shall be unto us as the churches of the Christians, the fire-temples of the Magians and the synagogues of the Jews.'

Muhammad Qâsim placed Alor in charge of a governor and a *qazi* and then advanced to Habîbah, a fort to which Kaksa son of Chandar had fled after the battle of Rawar. Muhammad Qâsim, who wanted a counsellor of standing, well acquainted with the condition of northern Sind as Sisakar was with the south, received Kaksa's messenger very cordially, declared that "the princes of Dahir's family were all wise, learned, trustworthy and honest," and promised to make Kaksa his counsellor in all affairs with the office of *Wizarat*. The offer was naturally accepted. "The minister Kaksa was a learned man and a philosopher of Hind. When he came to transact business, Muhammad Qâsim used to make him sit before

(1) She had been captured, according to the *Chach Namah*, at Brahmanabad, along with two daughters of Dahir by another wife.

(2) i.e., twelve hours.

the throne and then consulted him, and Kaksa took precedence in the army before all the nobles and commanders. He collected the revenue of the country and the treasure was placed under his seal. He assisted Muhammad Qâsim in all his undertakings, and was called by the title of '*Mubarak Mushir*' (prosperous counsellor)." Kaksa proceeded to justify the confidence of his master by helping him to conquer the forts still held by the princes of Dahir's family. The advance guard of the invading army, led by him, defeated the garrison of Askalanda and pressed the siege so vigorously that the chiefs fled to Sikka while 'all the people, the artisans and merchants' sued for peace.

The old fort of Sikka stood opposite to Multân on the southern bank of the Ravi, which then flowed between the two forts¹. It was held by Bajhra², who fiercely defended it for seventeen days, during which the besiegers lost heavily, and then withdrew to Multân, which was commanded by Gursiya son of Chandar. Muhammad Qâsim demolished the fort of Sikka and then crossed the Ravi. The garrison of Multân came out to fight and the battle raged from morning to sunset. But neither side gained a decisive victory and the garrison withdrew behind their walls. After the city had been besieged for two months, a Multânî, who had asked for quarter, showed the invaders a spot where the wall could be mined, and after two or three days of stiff fighting, they broke into the city. 'Six thousand warriors were put to death, and all their relations and dependents were taken as slaves, but protection was given to the merchants, artisans and agriculturists.' Muhammad Qâsim, for the first time relaxed the rigour with which he had, since the fall of Dewal, sent a fifth part of the spoils to the Caliph³, and allowed his army to have the whole of it. 'Then all the great and principal inhabitants of the city assembled together, and silver to the weight of sixty thousands *dirhams* was distributed, and every horseman got a share of four

(1) Traces of the old river-bed, it is said, are still discernible.

(2) Elliot calls him Bajhra Taki, 'grandson of Bajhra,' but his manuscript is clearly incorrect at this place, and a little alteration would make it read: 'Bajhra who was there determined to fight.' I am inclined to think that he is the same Bajhra, whom we have met at Siwistan before.

(3) A fifth part of the spoils, according to the Quran belong to 'God and His Prophet'—i.e., to the state. Muhammad Qâsim had strictly adhered to this precept. A fifth part was sent to the Caliph's exchequer, which had paid the expenses of the expedition, and the remainder was distributed among the soldiers.

hundred *dirhams* weight¹. Muhammad Qâsim had nothing left to send to the Caliph but a Brahman solved his difficulty by leading him to a hidden treasure buried by an old king beneath an idol of gold with eyes of ruby. Two hundred and thirty *mans* of gold were obtained and forty jars filled with gold dust. They were weighed and the sum of thirteen thousand two hundred *mans*² weight of gold was taken out. This is the only instance in which Muhammad Qâsim found his way to one of those accumulated hoards of gold and precious stones which we meet so often in Sultân Mahmûd's invasions. On the same day a letter from Hajjâj showed that—apart from the Multân treasure—the Sind expedition, as a business venture, had yielded 100 per cent. profit to the Caliph's exchequer: "I had agreed and pledged myself at the time you marched with the army to repay the whole expense, incurred by the public treasury in fitting out the expedition, to the Khalfah Wâlid bin Abdul Malik and it is incumbent on me to do so. Now the accounts of the money due have been examined and checked and it is found that sixty thousand *dirhams* in pure silver have been expended for Muhammad Qâsim, and up to this date there has been received in cash, goods and stuffs altogether one hundred and twenty thousands *dirhams* weight."

(1) This would only be possible if there were no more than 150 horsemen.

(2) As will be seen from the following extract from the *Chach Namah*, the figures given in different sentences do not quite agree: "Suddenly a Brahman came forward and said, 'I have heard from the elders of Multân that in ancient times there was a chief in this city, whose name was Jibawan, and who was a descendant of the Rai of Kashmir. He was a Brahman and a monk; he strictly followed the rules of his religion and always spent his time in worshipping his idols. When his treasure exceeded all limit and computation, he made a reservoir on the eastern side of Multân, which was a hundred yards square. In the middle of it he built a temple fifty yards square, and he made there a chamber in which he concealed forty copper jars each of which was filled with African gold-dust. A treasure of three hundred and thirty *mans* of gold was buried there. Over it there is a temple in which there is an idol made of red gold, and trees are planted round the reservoir. . . . Muhammad Qâsim ordered the idol to be taken up. Two hundred and thirty *mans* of gold were obtained and forty jars filled with gold dust. They were weighed and the sum of thirteen thousand and two hundred *mans* of gold was taken out.'" Thus we have, first, a reservoir or probably a lake; in the centre of it a temple; within the temple an idol of gold; and buried under the idol, 40 jars of gold dust. I am inclined to believe that the 230 *mans* of gold here referred to is the gold contained in the jars: and the 13,200 *mans*, I would prefer to read as 13,200 *dirham-weights*, which will make the account more consistent.

Muhammad Qâsim sent the treasure to Dewal, to be despatched to Hajjâj, and, after appointing officers over the territory of Multan, proceeded further north. He probably reached the foot of the Kashmîr hills, where the Jhelam enters the plain and where Rai Chach had planted a poplar and a fir tree to mark the boundary between his kingdom and Kashmîr. Muhammad Qâsim renewed the mark of the boundary, but he had decided to advance eastwards, and sent a message through Abû Hâkim Shaibânî, accompanied by ten thousand horsemen to Rai Har Chandar (son of Rai Jahtal) of Kannauj inviting him to Islâm and submission. Kannauj was then the largest and strongest kingdom in India, but Muhammad Qâsim felt quite confident of success. In the course of three years he had advanced from Dewal to the Himalayas. Could not another three years take him to the border of China? He had carefully studied the religion and the customs of the country and understood to perfection the policy that divided his enemies and increased his friends. His army, far from being weary of its work, longed for more victories. Moreover, it was the Hindus who had helped him to his greatest victories of peace and war, and so long as he adhered to his policy of toleration, there was every reason to expect their support as soon as his superior generalship had made the military issue clear. He was just twenty-one, in the bloom of health and youth, and in a mood to embark on an extensive, almost superhuman enterprise.

Rai Har Chandar gave Muhammad Qâsim's messenger the reply that was to be expected: "This country for about sixteen hundred years has been under our rule and governance. During our sovereignty no enemy has ever dared to encroach on our kingdom.... What fear have I of you that you should revolve such propositions and absurdities in your mind? Go back to your master and tell him that we must fight." Muhammad Qâsim consulted his officers. They advised him to declare war on Rai Har Chandar, and he had commenced his preparations for the proposed campaign when a dromedary rider arrived with a *firman* from the new Caliph, Sulaiman bin 'Abdul Malik, ordering him to be deposed, arrested and sent to Sâlih bin 'Abdur'-Rahmân, the new governor of 'Irâq. Muhammad Qâsim's plans of conquest in India entirely depended for their success on the support of the home government. The death of Hajjâj bin Yûsuf in the summer of 714 A.D., had made him pause, but the

great Walid still lived and so long as he was on the throne, Muhammad Qâsim felt quite safe. But Al-Walid died unexpectedly in January, 715, and the government of Damascus underwent a complete change. The Caliph Al-Walid, who well knew the character of his brother and heir-apparent, Sulaiman, had sought to disinherit him in favour of his own son, and his design had been supported by Hajjâj, the power behind the throne. But Al-Walid died before he could complete his plan and Sulaiman ascended the throne with the determination to satisfy his grudge against the party of Hajjâj. While all the smaller fry, whom the dead lion had humbled and punished, collected together for an orgy of revenge.

It is impossible to guess the feelings of Muhammad Qâsim when he saw the promised cup dashed from his lips. All authorities agree in stating that he submitted to the order of arrest with a soldier's sense of duty. But was there an alternative? Fly, but whither? Would any Indian ruler care to offer *him* an asylum? Rebel and defy? The first ten soldiers whom he met would hand him over to the Caliph's messenger, so well had he taught them the duty of obeying higher orders. Officers, who had sought to rivet the chains of the Caliphate on the civilised world, had no chance of escape when it strangled their own necks. He knew the venomous hatred of the new rulers at Damascus for the party of Hajjâj and could have had no doubt about his own ultimate fate. But without a protest or a groan—for his mind was too strong for unseemly tears—he passed silently through the prolonged tortures that awaited him to the region of eternal rest. "The people of Hind," says the laconic historian¹, "wept for Muhammad Qâsim and preserved his likeness at Kiraj. He was imprisoned by Sâlih at Wâsit. Sâlih put him to torture, together with other persons of the family of Abû 'Aqil, until they expired²; for Hajjâj had

(1) Al-Biladmuri: *Futuhu'l-Buldan*.

(2) The popular story of Muhammad Qâsim's death has been copied by one Persian historian from another and, with negligible differences, they all give the same account. I translate the following as a specimen, from Ferishta, who probably got it from Mîr Ma'sûm. "Raja Dahir's daughters, who had been sent by Hajjâj to the capital of the Caliphate, remained for a long time in Al-Walid's *harem*. It was not till 96 A.H. that he thought of them and ordered them to be brought to his presence. He asked their names. The elder sister said she was Suriya Devi and the younger that she was Parmal Devi. Al-Walid was captivated by the elder sister and lost his self-control. But Suriya Devi would not accede to his wishes. 'I am not fit for the Caliph's bed,' she protested 'for Imaduddin Muhammad Qâsim kept

put to death Adam, Sâlih's brother, who professed the creed of the Khâri'is. Hamzah, the son of Baiz Hanafi, says :—

*' Verily, courage and generosity and liberality
Belonged to Muhammad son of Qasim son of Muhammad,
He led armies at the age of seventeen years,
He seemed destined for command from the day of his birth.'*

us for an unlawful purpose at his house for three days. May be, it is a custom among the Mussalmans for the servants to stretch their dishonest hands before sending captives to their master.' Al-Walid flew into a rage and immediately wrote a *firman* with his own hands ' Muhammad Qâsim, wherever he may be, was to be sewn up in a cow-hide and sent to the capital.' The poor man placed himself in a raw cow-hide on the receipt of the *firman* and ordered it to be despatched to the Caliph in a coffin. ' This is how I punish the dishonest,' Al-Walid told Suriya Devi when the coffin arrived. ' The Caliph,' she replied, 'should not pass orders on the unconfirmed representation of his enemies or his friends without subjecting them to a critical examination. His action shows him to be wanting in judgment ; it is only through good fortune that he sits on the throne. Muhammad Qâsim was like a brother to us and we were like sisters to him. He never touched us. But he had put our father, brothers, kindred and people to death and had reduced us from royalty to slavery. We naturally wished to destroy him and have achieved our object by the invention of our story.' Al-Walid felt ashamed of what he had done. But the hero had been put to death and nothing could bring him to life again."

The interesting but tragic story involves insuperable difficulties. It is certain that Al-Walid died before Muhammad Qâsim, who was deposed and arrested by the order of Al-Walid's brother, Sulaimân. To admit a change of Caliph deprives the story of all sense and meaning. There is no reason to disbelieve the account of the Arab historian, which is perfectly consistent with all we know of the period—Sulaimân's resentment against the party of Hajjâj and its fall after Sulaimân's accession, the bitterness with which the new Caliph's adherents persecuted the relations of Hajjâj and the intolerance of Omayyad politicians towards their fallen foes. The manner in which Muhammad Qâsim was really put to death was probably no less painful, and even more humiliating, than the story would have us believe. But the rest is a myth, though an early one. We first meet it in the Persian translation of the *Chach Namah* but it seems to have been manufactured soon after Muhammad Qâsim's death, and was added by the translator to the original Arabic work. The almost morbid deification of chastity, Al-Walid's resentment against Muhammad Qâsim as well as the latter's real self-restraint are essentially Indian. The people of Sind knew and understood little of the revolution in Damascus politics which preceded Muhammad Qâsim's fate ; but they had seen the princesses of their royal family sent to Damascus to be married to the Caliph and his relations ; and later on, without any obvious reason, they saw the all but omnipotent general whirled away from their midst. In a hypothesis, probably borrowed from one of their old folk tales, an explanation for all known facts was sought and found. Uncritical historians did the rest.

The young hero whose career was thus cut short is one of the most attractive figures in the history of the Muslim world. His appointment by his own cousin as the head of the invading army looks like one more instance of Omayyad nepotism and we are inclined to suspect that he was a mere figure-head, placed atop owing to his kinship with Hajjāj, while abler men, behind the scenes, acted in his name. But a careful examination of the records completely dispels the suspicion¹. Hajjāj no doubt kept the supreme control in his own hand and all important civil and military measures required his sanction. But 'the great distance was an obstacle,' and though the veteran was profuse in his enunciation of general principles, his decisions had to be based on the facts supplied to him by Muhammad Qâsim, and we do not come across any instance in which an important recommendation of the latter was overruled or ignored. The success of the enterprise, after all, depended on the ability of the man on the spot. Muhammad Qâsim placed implicit reliance in the talented Indians whom he appointed without hesitation to the highest offices and they never betrayed his trust; for confidence begets confidence just

(1) "Muhammad Qâsim was in the bloom of youth, being only seventeen years of age, when this important command was conferred upon him. It is probable that, although he is represented to have already administered the province of Fars with ability, he obtained his appointment less from personal merit than from family interest, for he was cousin and son-in-law of Hajjāj; but the result showed the wisdom of the selection. His successes like those of his contemporary, Târiq, in Spain, were as much attributable to his temper and policy as to his courage and strategy. There was, though by no means little (as Debal and Multan bear witness) yet much less, wanton sacrifice of life than was freely indulged in by most of the ruthless bigots who have propagated the same faith elsewhere. The conquest of Sind took place at the very time in which, at the opposite extremes of the known world, the Mohammadan arms were subjugating Spain, and pressing on the southern frontier of France, while they were adding Khwarazm to their already mighty empire. In Sind, as in Spain, where submission was preferred, quarter was readily given; the people of the country were permitted the exercise of their own creeds and laws; and natives were sometimes placed in responsible situations of the government. Much of the unwonted toleration may, in both instances, have arisen from the small number of the invading force, as well as from ignorance of civil institutions; but we must still allow the leaders credit for taking the best means of supplying these deficiencies and seeking assistance from the quarters most able to afford it." (*Sir Henry Elliot*). As I have already explained the massacre of Dewal priests was a mistake committed by Muhammad Qâsim through ignorance and never repeated afterwards. Sikka and Multan were captured after a very stiff fight in which both sides lost heavily, but there is no evidence of any wanton slaughter,

as suspicion begets suspicion. Early historians, unfortunately, seem to have left us no account of his personality. It must have been an odd sight to see the young general—his chin barely covered with a soft down and his calm authoritative voice strangely contrasting with the look of boyishness that still lingered on his face—riding at the head of his scarred and bushy-bearded veterans, or interviewing Indian chiefs with the help of interpreters, and by turns surprised, pleased and horrified by the institutions he was trying to study. But no one could afford to trifle with Muhammad Qâsim on account of his age, and we feel tempted to speculate what the future course of Indian history would have been if the criminal fatuity of Sulaimân had not cut short one of the most promising careers in history. By the time he was forty he might have conquered China. 'But the bud of his genius had not withered before it could blossom.' On the other hand, it must be remembered that precious genius is often doomed to an early decay, and the Saracenic armies might have been repelled from the Doab as they were from southern France. The promise of his youth was too great to be fulfilled.

Alone among the many Muslim invaders of India Muhammad Qâsim is a character of whom a conscientious Mussalman need not be ashamed. Though only the lieutenant of the governor of Persia, his work challenges comparison with the later exploits of Mahmûd and Shahâb-uddîn. Of the three, Muhammad Qasim alone had a conscience and—thanks to his patrician birth—the instincts and feelings of a gentleman. He never sought a short cut to success through fraud and guile like Shahâbu'ddîn Ghôrî, and his whole career was free from the conscienceless vandalism to which the pillage of peaceful non-Muslim population seems a service to Islâm. Muhammad Qâsim's painful advance up the Indus appears hollow in contrast with the brilliant adventures of Sultan Mahmûd, in northern India, but the Arab general, unlike the Ghaznavide, had to arrange for the administration of the conquered territory before he could proceed further. Shahâb-ud-dîn has been credited by some historians with an administrative capacity of which we find little evidence in his career. Muhammad Qâsim's political insight, on the other hand, was remarkable. He seems to have felt keenly that Islâm as a religion would be judged by the behaviour of the Arabs and he did all he could to obtain

(1) Abul Fazl's epitaph on 'Urîi.

the goodwill of the Indians for his government as well as his faith. He admitted them to the highest offices, allowed himself to be guided by their advice and never interfered with their religious freedom. And they trusted him as they never again trusted a Mussalman for eight hundred years. The civil population of one city after another opened its gates, because Muhammad Qâsim offered reasonable terms and they knew that he never broke his promise. We shall search in vain for an instance of similar confidence in the Ghorian or the Ghaznavide Turks. If statesmen are judged not by the magnitude of their winnings, but the method of their play, Akbar alone among the Muslim rulers of mediæval India deserves to be placed on the same pedestal as Muhammad son of Qâsim. There was, to be sure, a great difference between the two. Akbar believed that all religions were true provided they satisfied the moral aspirations of their followers. To Muhammad Qâsim Islam was the only true faith. But he looked at the problem as a Romanised Arab. A people accepting the suzerainty of the Caliph and paying the *jazia* obtained thereby an incontestable right to religious freedom and equality before the law. The *jazia*, conceived as a tax on a non-Muslim for remaining a non-Muslim, can be regarded as fair and just only by those who stand to gain by its imposition. But it must be confessed, that as interpreted by Muhammad Qâsim, it lost much of its invidiousness. It was in public law, equivalent to conversion, for nothing more could be reasonably demanded, and secured for the non-Muslim subjects of the Caliph the political rights and privileges of the Muslims. If it was wise of Fate to ordain that rulers professing the Muslim faith should conquer and govern India for six hundred years—a question on which opinion will be naturally divided—one cannot help wishing that the new faith had been established in northern India by armies of the Second Caliph or, failing that, by Muhammad Qâsim. The Omayyads had lost much that was noblest and finest in Islam, but something still remained. Being less priest-ridden, they were less fanatical; and the generous instincts of the Arab aristocracy, their love of fair play and their conception of duty as something different from self-interest would have thoroughly acclimatised the foreign faith and later centuries would have had a different, and a better, tale to tell.

Modern writers sometimes speak as if the Arab attempt to advance into India through Sind was a strategic blunder.

An invasion of the country through the north-western passes was not possible till Islam had been established in Afghânistân, but the Arabs had command of the sea and their boats brought men and material of war up the Indus to Alor and Multân. Muhammad Qâsim had shown that war, as a financial investment, yielded a handsome return ; and depending, as he did, on Indian hands for the success of his enterprise, he imposed no burdens on the resources of the Caliphate. But his death brought the progress of Arab arms to an end and the governors who succeeded him were unable to maintain his acquisitions north of Multân. The provincial history of Sind does not concern us here. For over a century governors appointed by the Omayyad and Abbasid Caliphs ruled over the province ; and then, like other outlying portions of the Caliphate, Sind also ceased to obey the mandates of Baghdad and we hear little of it in the Arab chronicles. By a process of which little is known, the Carmathians, driven from the rest of the Muslim world, succeeded in establishing themselves in the province, while the Hindus also regained part of the lost ground. Sultân Mahmûd found Multân in the hands of a Carmathian governor subordinate to the Raja of Lahore, and Uchh was governed by a Hindu Raja when Shahâb'ud-dîn attacked it in the last quarter of the twelfth century. It is difficult to say how the mass of the people were won over to Islam. Muhammad Qâsim never tried to accomplish by the sword what the sword can never accomplish, and the number of conversions during his conquest were negligible. There is no reason to disbelieve that, as in Persia, Mâwara'n-Nahr and Afghânistân, the conversion of the Sindhis to Islam was the slow result of centuries of missionary labour both before and after the establishment of the Empire of Delhi¹.

(1) Historians have unfortunately failed to study gradual changes and confined themselves to revolutions that arrest attention by their rapidity. The problem of conversion perplexes us in all countries conquered by the Second Caliph and the Omayyads, which are at present (with the exception of southern Spain) entirely Muslim. That the conquests were not followed by conversion seems incontestable, and we find solid masses of unconverted population so late as the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. See Sir Thomas Arnold, *Preachings of Islam*, and Prof. Edward Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, Vol. II.

MUHAMMAD HABIB.

(Concluded.)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LEXICOGRAPHY OF
THE SHAH NAMA

PREFACE.

A complete dictionary to the Shâh Nâma would require many years' close study of the work, and might perhaps best be achieved in commission; and the object of the following "Contributions" is simply to facilitate, so far as they may, the study of a work which is in many places much more difficult than it is often supposed to be.

The need of such a Supplement arises from the fact that the existing Persian dictionaries are not only extremely defective, but are derived to so large an extent from previous dictionaries, and not from authors. One representative dictionary by Dr. Steingass has also the defect of want of method. Its equivalents are jumbled together without any orderly sequence, and it very seldom gives the prepositions which should accompany intransitive verbs, and the knowledge of which is frequently the key to the sense of passages.

Vullers's Persian Latin-dictionary of pure Persian is an admirable work, and it gives numerous quotations from authors and from native dictionaries, which Steingass's does not; but it offers no translation of these passages, which are often difficult, mainly on account of their shortness and isolation, and it not unfrequently mistakes the sense of the native dictionaries.

The Baron des Maisons's *Dictionnaire Persan-Francais*, in 4 volumes, Rome, 1908 is of late date but early compilation. It sometimes quotes from native dictionaries, but does not give translations of these quotations themselves. Like Steingass's dictionary, it does not give the preposition or prepositions with the verbs. It has not, of course, such words as Steingass has taken from quite recent works, but it is often fuller in its definitions and much richer in its Arabic words. It is of value, too, for the proper names, especially the geographical.

The Glossary appended to the Fourth volume of Macan's *Shâh Nâma* (the edition I have used) is of some value, but most inadequate and unscientific, and it offers no reference to the text.

Altogether, Vullers's work is the only one which makes any approach to the scientific method of a full Latin or Greek dictionary, but we require a much nearer approach to it for the proper understanding of Authors.

So far as scientific method and fulness are concerned, Persian lexicography is still in its infancy, and it can be brought to a satisfactory condition only by the results of the close study and comparison of texts and contexts by competent scholars. This would be a very large work, and should include not only the definitions, but also, where required, quotations supporting them, translations of these quotations, and occasional notes.

In the meantime this attempt at elucidation on the lines set down, of a part of one author of such importance as *Firdausî* is offered to Persian scholars as a step, I hope, in the right direction.

It has not been a work engaged in of set purpose, but is the result of a long course of reading of the *Shâh Nâma*, to the sense of which I have devoted the closest attention and a most careful consideration, extending in many cases to several pages, of the context relating to every word and idiom which, owing to the defectiveness and frequent inaccuracy of existing dictionaries required, to my thinking, a definition or description approaching as closely as possible to the exact sense of the expression. The importance of this is a fact of my own experience, for I have always found that a close and accurate definition clears up many a difficult passage which a loose and inaccurate one leaves obscure.

At the same time the quotations are full enough to serve as a slight introduction to the *Shâh Nâma* and to initiate the student a little into the style of the work.

C. E. WILSON.

آب

آب بجوی شور گشتن For "troubles to arise." (lit., For "water to become troubled or muddy in the streams.") (Shâh Nâma I, 446).

بسا کشورا کان بپای ستور بکوبند و گردد بجوی آب شور
 "The animals will trample many a land, the water become turbid in the streams."

[Siyâvash is speaking to Pîrân of the evil fate which is to come on himself and Persia through the wars with Tûrân].

In the (آب بجوی شور گشتن Cf.) آب در جوی شور شدن the following quotation the expression is used metaphorically. (Sh. N., III., 1476).

بمذ رچنین گفت بهرام گور که اکنون که شد آب در جوی شور
 ازین تخم گرانام شاهنشاهی گسستم شود بگسلد فرهی
 "To Munzir thus spoke Bahrâm Gûr, 'Now that troubles have arisen—

If the royal name be cut off from this stock, the glory will be cut off (from the State)."

[Bahrâm Gûr, after the death of his father, is seeking the aid of Munzir, King of Hîra, against a usurper].

"To mix up the true and the false; to do mischief in a specious way." (lit., to bring water and blood into the streams). (Sh. N., IV, 2020).

بدانست خسرو که آن کز گوی همان آب و خون بجوی اندر آوردن
 "The King knew that the deceitful man was doing mischief in a specious way."

[Khusrau Parvîz has sent Zâd Farrukh with an admonitory message to his rebellious general Gurâz and the army under his command. Zâd Farrukh, after delivering the message, encourages them in their rebellion].

"Convenient," as fit for cultivation and building in. (Sh. N., I., 442).

بجائی رسیدند کاباد بود یکی خوب فرخنده بنیاد بود
 بیک سرش دریا و یکسوی کوه بیک سوی نخچیر دور از گروه
 هوا خوشگوار و زمین خوب رنگ زدیم زمینش چو پشت بلندگ

* * *

سیاوش بر پیران زبان برگشاد کم اینت پرو بوم فرخ لها د
 بسازم من ایدریکی خوب جای کم باشد بشادی مراد دل گشایی
 برآرم یکی شارسان فراخ بدواندرون باغ و ایوان و کاخ
 نشستن گهی بر فرازم بماه چنان چون بود در خورتاج و گاه

"They reached a place that was convenient, as being fit for cultivation and building, (a place) that had a good and happy site.

"On one side was a river, on another hills, and, far removed from people, hunting-grounds.

"The air was wholesome and the ground bright-hued, the ground was like the leopard's back brocaded.

"Siyâvash opened his lips and said to Pîrân, 'Here is a region most happily constituted.

"I will make of this a pleasant place that shall exhilarate and rejoice my heart.

"I will raise up a spacious city, in which shall be gardens, villas and palaces.

"A dwelling-place I will raise up to the moon, such as may become my crown and throne."

[Siyâvash, travelling to dominions conferred upon him by Afrâsiyâb, King of Tûrân, reaches a charming locality in which he determines to build a city and dwell].

آبگیر "A weaver's brush for sprinkling the warp in the loom."

[Steingass gives the word "yarn" for "warp" The Burhân-a Kâti in defining the word آبگیر reads تانم which means "warp"].

اخترگیتی افروز "A resplendent natal star." (Sh. N., II., 509).

بدوگفت فرخ پی وروز تو همان اختر گیتی افروز تو
تو تازادی از مادر بآفرین پراز آفرین شد سراسرزمین

"He said to him, 'Thine advent and thy fortune are felicitous; so is thy resplendent natal star.

"Since (the day) thou wast born of an estimable, mother, the whole world has been full of applause'."

آراستن

آراستن "To celebrate." (Sh. N., IV., 1791).

کنون تاج واورنگ هر مزد شاه بیارایم و بر نشا نم بگام

"Now will I celebrate the crown and throne of King Hurmuzd, and seat him on the throne." And later, on the same page :

چورنگت شود زرد بسنا یمت چود یمیم هر مز بیارایمت

"When your colour becomes yellow I will give you praise, I will celebrate you as the crown of Hurmuzd."

[An address to the colours and effects of autumn].

آراستم (with به) : "Pleased" (with), "set" (upon). (Sh. N.; I., 414).

شما را بد آن مرد در می خواستم بان گونه بر ذل شد آراستم

In such manner your hearts have been set upon those worthless riches.

[Kâ'ûs, the King of Persia, reproaches Rustam and the party of Siyâvash for taking presents from Afrâsiyâb, the Tûrânian King].

بر آراستن (with بر) : To prepare (for), (neuter). (Sh. N., IV., 1814).

بر آراست خراد برزین برآه بیامد بران سان که فرمود شاه

Kharrâd-e Barzîn prepared for the road, and went as the King had commanded.

[Kharrâd, a Persian hero, is sent by King Hurmuzd to the general-in-chief Bahrâm-e-Chûbîn, after seeing whom he is to reconnoitre and get information about the army of the enemy, King Sâva].

آرامیدن (از) : "To abstain, desist" (from) (Sh. N., III., 1461).

کسی کو بچوید ز ما راستی بیار آمد از کژی و کاستی

بهر جای جاه روی افزون کنم دل از کینم و آرز برون کنم

"He who studies uprightness with me, (and) abstains from crooked dealing and falseness—

"His grade will I advance in every place; ill-will and greed put from my heart away."

[Yazdagird II., on his accession, admonishes the officers and notables].

آرایش As "Muzâf" is equivalent to "Formal ceremonies, conventional". (Sh., N., IV., 1819).

ز ما این نه گفتار آرایش است مرا بر تو بر جای بخشایش است

"These are no formal words of mine; there is room for my showing you good-will and favour."

[King Sâva is sending another letter to Bahrâm-e-Chûbîn, King Yazdagird's general-in-chief, to try to gain him over to his side].

آرزو کردن (را of the person desiring) : "To be one's desire or wish." (Sh. N., IV., 1762).

جهان تنگ دیدیم بر تنگ خو مرا آرز و ز منی نکرد آرزو

We have found worldly possessions to be of narrow compass for the mean; covetousness and hard-dealing are no desire of mine.

آرزیدن (بیم sometimes without) : "To be worth."

چنین گفت کاخزون شود آگهی بدین نا جوان مرد بی فرهی
که موبد بزندان فرستاد چنین تن و جان برا و نیز د پیشبی

(The Mûbid) said (to himself), "Intelligence will reach this ignoble and inglorious (King)

That the Mûbid has sent something to the prison—body and life are (surely then) not worth a mite in his view ! "

[The Chief Priest is thinking of sending food to a vazîr imprisoned and starved by King Hurmuzd, but somewhat fears the risk].

از

"In comparison with", "before." (Sh. N., I., 331)

اگر خود شکیدیم یک چند نیز نکو شیم و دیگر نکو نئیم چیز
که این باره را نیست پایاب اوی د رنگی شود شیر ز اشتاب اوی

"If, indeed, we abstain (from movement) a little longer, let us strive no more, and have nothing further to say ;

"For this fortress has not power to resist him—the lion (itself) is slow in comparison with his impetuosity."

[Gazhdahm (Gazhdaham), the commandant of the Dizh-e Sapîd, is writing a letter to King Kai-Kâ'ûs to advise swift movement against Suhrâb, the son of Rustam, who is on the side of the Tûrânians].

—"On the score of"; "as regards". (Sh. N., I., 378 ; III., 1425).

I., 378 : به بیشه یکی خوب رخ یافتند پراز خنده لب هرد و بشتا فتند
بدیدار او در زما نه نبود زخو بی برو بر بها نه نبود

"They found a beautiful damsel in the wood with smiling lips ; and both of them hurried on.

"None in the world had so lovely a face : on the score of beauty naught could be alleged against her."

[Gîv and Tûs, two heroes of Kai-Kâ'ûs's army, while out hunting, enter a wood, and find there a beautiful damsel, whom they send to the King].

III., 1425 :

ز دهقان و از مرد خسرو پرست بگیتی سوی بد میا زید دست

As regards the cultivator and the loyal man, stretch not your hands towards evil action in the world.

[Bahrâm I., on his accession, is giving counsel to his nobles and generals].

Sometimes used passively. (with از زردن) "To be angered" (at) (Sh. N., IV., 1860).

چو آگاهی آمد بهر مهتری که بد مرزبان نیز سرکشوری
 کم خسرو بیا زرد از شهریار برقتست باخوار مایه سوار
 بهر شش بر فتند گردن کشان بجائی که بود از گرامی نشان

"When intelligence reached every lord that was governor of a province

"That Khusrau (Parvîz) was angered at the King, (his father), and had left with a small body of troops,

"Those exalted men went to visit the revered prince where they had some indication of his being."

[The ambitious general Bahrâm-e Chûbîn has excited King Hurmuzd against his son, and the latter, knowing that his father designs putting him to death, flees].

آزرم

آزرم (An illustration of the meaning) "Commiseration." (Sh. N., II., 527).

دل شاه بر پهلوان گرم دید رخانش پراز آب و آرم دید

"(Gîv) saw that the Prince's heart was kindly disposed towards the hero; saw the tears running down his face and his commiseration.

[Pîrân, the vazîr and general-in-chief of Afrâsiyâb, is taken captive by the Persian general Gîv, who has sworn to kill him. The Prince Kai-Khusrau and his mother Farangîs, before whom he is led by Gîv, intercede, and the latter is absolved from his oath by a device of Kai-Khusrau's].

آزرم جوی (with را) "Having just and good feeling" (for). (Sh. N., IV., 1845).

کسی کو ترا نیست آزر م جوی چه جوی چه خواهی از او آجوی

"From him who has no just and kind feeling for you why do you seek or wish for honour?"

آزرم جستن (with انت) "To have respect or regard" (for). (Sh. N., IV., 1865).

پس آنم چنین گفت گسته م گرد بلمشکو کم این خواوندوان شمرد
 کم گر گشت خوارید با مایکی معجزید آزر م شاه اندکی

"Then Gustahm, the champion, thus spoke to the troops, 'This must not be reckoned a trifling affair.

"If you really wish to join us, you must have no regard at all for the King'."

[Gustahm and Bandûy are plotting against King Hurmuzd who has become tyrannical, and whom they afterwards blind].

آزمون

آزمون را شدن "To be put to the test;" or, "to put oneself to the test." (Sh. N., IV., 1746).

بد و گفت شاه این نشاید بدن مگر آزمون را بیايد شدن

"The King said to him, 'This cannot be; but it should be put to the test'."

[The physician Barzûy speaks to King Nûshîrvan of a herb to be found in India which can restore the dead to life].

آزمون را گردیدن (with بر of the person against whom one may be put, or, put oneself, to the test). (Sh. N., I., 327).

به پیش سپاه اندر آمد چو گرد چور عدخرو شان یکی ز بیم کرد
 که گردان کد آمدن دوسا لار کیست ز رزم آوران جنگ رایا کیست
 که بر من یکی آزمون را بجنگ بگرد دلسان دلاور بلند

"Like flying dust she rode on to the front of the troops, and like the roaring thunder raised a cry:

"Which are the champions, and who is their leader? Who, of the warriors, is a friend to strife,

"And like the bold crocodile will test himself in battle against me?"

[Gurd-âfarîd, the daughter of Gazhdahm, the Persian commandant of the fortress Dizh-e Sapîd, is the person alluded to. She fights against Suhrâb, but has to flee].

آسانی "Peaceableness, mildness, gentleness," (Sh. N., IV., 1789).

ترا سر به پیچید دستور بد ز آسانی و رای و راه خرد

"(Gau said), 'A wicked vazîr has turned your head from peaceableness, good judgment, and the path of wisdom'."

The sense "peaceableness" or "mildness" is supported by a previous line,

بد و گفت رو بابر اد رنگوی که چندین درشتی و تندی مجوی

"(Gau) said to him (the envoy), 'Go, and say to my brother, 'Do not use such harshness and fierceness'."

[Talhand and his elder brother Gau are contending for the sovereignty of a kingdom in India.

They are not exactly brothers, but the relationship is shown in the context].

اسب

A "horse-tamer". (Sh. N., III., 463).

سواریم و گردیم و اسپ افکنیم کسے را کم دانا بود بشکنیم

"We are riders, champions, and horse-tamers; we look down upon him who is (merely) learned."

[The Arab King of Hîra is urging his claim to bringing up the infant Prince Bahrâm Gûr].

استوار

(with استوار بودن) : "To have reliance" (upon) (Sh. N., IV., 1702).

کلید شبستان بدو داد و گفت برو تا کرا بینی اندر نهفت
پرسند با وی بیامد چہا ر کم خاقان بدیشان بدی استوار

"(The Khâqân) gave him the key of the harem and said, 'Go and see whom you will see in those private rooms'."

"With (Mihrân Satâd) went four servants upon whom the Khâqân had reliance."

آستین بروی گرفتن "To veil one's face with one's sleeve." (Sh. N., IV., 1805).

مکرمان رت بر سراغ سرنداشت همان یار و طوق و زیورنداشت
نشستم سراغ کند بی گفتگوی ز شرم آستین را گرفت بروی

"But your mother had no crown upon her head; nor had she bracelets, necklace, or adornments.

"Seated, with head bent down, she spoke no word; in modesty she veiled her head with her sleeve."

[Mihrân Satâd, now a very old man, is telling King Hurmuzd about the latter's mother, the daughter of the Khâqân of Turkistan and his wife the Khâtûn. The Khâqân had promised one of his five daughters to Nûshîr vân, Hurmuzd's father, and Mihrân Satâd had chosen the one who was royal on both sides as being the only daughter of the Khâtûn. (Cf. Sh. N., IV., 1702).]

آسودن (with از of the person or thing, and از or, sometimes, بر of the thing) : "To have no more to do (with), to have done (with) to desist (from); [lit., "to rest" (from)]. (Sh. N., II., 505).

میاسای برکین از افراسیاب ز دل دور کن خورد و آرام خواب

"Do not desist from hostility with Afrâsiyâb; put from your heart (the thought of) food, rest, and sleep." (lit., Do not have done with Afrâsiyâb as regards hostility).

[Rustam is urging Farâmurz, the son of Kai-Kâ'ûs, to take revenge for his brother Siyâvash who had been killed by Afrâsiyâb].

افراز

برافراز used as برافراز in sense of "On". (Sh. N., II., 522).

به نیروی یزدان جان آفرین سوارى اما نم برافراز زین

"Through the might of God, the Creator of souls, I will not leave a single horseman on the saddle."

[Words of Giv, a Persian general, before a battle with Pîrân, the vazîr and general-in-chief of Afrâsiyâb].

آفرینش روا "The creator". (Sh. N., II., 527).

(cf. حکم روا).

بد و گفت کای شاه دل شاد دار روان را ازین کار آزاد دار

چو من صد هزاران فدای تو باد خرد ز آفرینش رواى تو باد

"(Giv) said to him, Keep your heart joyous, O King; keep your soul easy as to this affair.—

"A hundred thousand such as I be sacrificed for you! May you have wisdom from your Creator!"

[Giv, the Persian General, is speaking to Prince Kai-Khusrau when consenting to release Pîrân].

افزودن

(with بر) : "To be increased, added to";

"to increase," (neuter). (Sh. N., IV., 1859).

چو نا مه بزد یک هر مزر رسید رخس گشت از آن نامرچون شذبلید

پس آگاهى آمد ز میخ درم یکا یک بران غم برافزود بم

"When the letter reached Hurmuzd his face became through it like fenugreek.

"Then news came to him of the die for coining, and suddenly grief was added to grief."

[The letter is from the ambitious general Bahrâm-e Chûbîn who is trying to set King Hurmuzd against his son, Khusrau Parvîz, in whose name he has caused coin to be struck].

————(with از) : "To be exalted" (through, by means of). (Sh. N., IV., 2047).

بسم چیز با شد ز ناب را بهی کم با شند ز یدای تخف می

یکم آنکم با شرم و با خواستم که جفتش بد و خانه آراستم

دگر آنکم فرخ پسر ز ایدا و ز شوی خستد بیفزاید او

سد پگر کم با لا و رویش بود بهوشید گئی نیز خویش بود

"A woman has excellence in three things, the possession of which may fit her for the throne of greatness :

"First, she should have modesty and wealth, by which her husband may adorn his house.

"Secondly she should have a felicitous son, and thus be exalted by her blessed husband.

"Thirdly, she should be tall and handsome, and be also disposed to retirement."

[Shîrîn, the widow of Khusrau Parvîz, is enumerating the qualifications a woman should have to fit her to be the wife of a King].

افزون (with در) does not mean "to increase in" but simply "to increase", (neuter)," "to be increased." e.g., در آن افزود "That (thing) was increased ;" i.e., something was added to it.

افزون has often the sense of "to make abundant, great, in measure or quantity."

افزون شدن "To increase", (neuter), "to be increased ." (Sh. N., IV., 1853).

چو یزدان ترا فرمی داد و بخت همان لشکر و گنج و مردی و تن
از و گزیدیری با افزون شود دل از ناسپاسی پراز خون شود

(Yalân-Sîna said), "Since God has given you glory and good fortune, an army, treasure, valour, and the throne,—

"If you accept (all this) from Him (gratefully), it will be increased, (but) the heart through ingratitude becomes deeply afflicted."

[Bahrâm-e Chûbîn is consulting with the generals (of whom Yalân-Sîna is one) as to his usurping the sovereignty from Hurmuzd].

افزونی (افزونی) "Supereminence". (Sh. N., III., 1456).

بدان اے برادر که از شهر یار بجوید خرد مند هر گونه کار
یکی آنکه پیر و زگر باشد اوی زد شمن آقا بد گم جنگ روی
دگر آنکه لشکر بدارد بداند افزونی مرد نژاد
کسی کزد ریا د شاهی بود بخواد که مهتر سپاهی بود

"Know, my brother, that the wise man seeks many conditions in a King—,

"One, that he should be victorious, and in the time of battle not turn his face from the foe.

"Another, that he should maintain his army with justice, and that he should recognise the supereminence of the man of race (for it).

"The person who is fitted for sovereignty requires the soldier to be a man of good position."

[The dying King Shâpûr II., gives consuel to his brother Ardâshîr whom he is making regent during the minority of his own son Shâpûr.]

افسون بردن (with اندر for در) : "To assuage, to soothe," (Sh. N., I., 339).

بشد طوس و دست تهمتن گرفت بد و ما زده برخاش جو یان شکفت
که از پیش کاوس بیرون برد مگر اندر آن تیزی افسون برد

"Tûs went and seized the mighty hero's hand—the warriors (there) astounded at his act—

"To take him from the presence of Kai-Kâ'ûs, whose wrath he might perchance (so far) assuage."

[The hero is Rustam who with Gîv has incurred Kai Kâ'ûs's anger on account of their delay].

انگندن See اسپ افکن

بر انگندن "To tame, to break in, to control" (horses). (Sh. N., II., 465).

چو شد سالی آن نامور بر رسم شش دلاور گوی گشت خورشید فاش
بموبد نبودش بیخیزی نیا ز زفر هنک و چوگان وازیو زوبار
باور در گه بر عنان تا فتن بر انگندن اسپ و هم تا هتن

"When the illustrious Prince was eighteen years old, he became a bold champion, in aspect like the sun.

"He had no more need of the instructor for anything—for learning, polo-playing, hunting, or falconry,

"For manœuvring his horse on the battle-field, for controlling or for racing it."

[Under the King of Hîra's care Bahrâm Gûr's education is now completed].

A "carpet". (Sh. N., III., 1496).

بشد پاکدل تا بخان چهار دهم خانم دیبا و دینار بود
ز پوشیدنی هم ز انگدنی ز گستر دنی هم ز آگدنی

"The honourable man went to the Jew's house, and found the whole place full of brocade and gold coin."

"Dresses and also carpets, bed-furniture as well, and stored up treasure."

[Bahrâm Gûr has been treated inhospitably by a Jew who does not know him, and he afterwards bestows all the Jew's wealth upon a generous water-carrier who has treated him well].

انگند "Missiles", (such as arrows and javelins) (Sh. N., IV., 1741).

توگفتی هر آ تیغ بار د همی بضاک اندرون لاله گارد همی
زا نکند گیتی بران گونم گشت کم کر گس نیارست بر سر گذشت

"It was as though the air were raining swords; were planting in the ground anemones;

"The world became in such state through the missiles that overhead the vultures could not pass."

آگندن

انگدنی "Stored up treasure," (such as coin, jewels, etc.). For quotation see (under انگندن) (Sh. N., III., 1496).

آمدن

از آمدن (with بر) "To go back" (upon), "to alter," (as an opinion, a judgment). (Sh. N., IV., 1915).

ز هر گونم داستا نه از دیم بران رای پیشیم باز آمدیم
کدو ن رای و گفتار هاشد بین گشایم در گنجهای کهن

"We have discussed (the matter) in every wise; we have gone back upon our former judgment.

"Our judgment and words now have a definite issue; I will open the door of my old treasuries,"

[The Qaisar has decided to make friends with and help Khusrâu Parvîz, who is opposed by the ambitious general Bahrâm-e-Chûhîn].

برآمدن (with از) "(To) take an aversion" (to). (Sh. N., IV., 1864).

چو آگاهی آمد سوی شهر یار ز آئین گشسب آن گونا مدار
ز انده در بار دادن بدست ندیدش کسی نیز بامی بدست
برآمد ز آرام و از خور و خواب همی بود با دیدگان پر ز آب

"When information reached the King of (the fate of) Ayîn Gushasp, that renowned hero,

"In his affliction he closed the door of audience; no one saw him more with wine in hand.

"He took an aversion to rest, to food, and sleep, and there remained with tearful eyes.

[Ayîn Gueshasp has been sent by King Hurmuzd against the ambitious general Bahrâm-e Chûbîn. Before leaving, he induces the King to free a prisoner of very bad character, but a fellow-townsmen of his, who has pleaded to accompany him. Ultimately he is assassinated by this man].

نگون اندر آمدن "To fall headlong down." (Sh. N., IV., 1829). See under نگون

انچمن بودن "To be assembled together." (Steingass gives only انچمن شدن the difference being, of course, between "becoming" and "being.") (Sh. N., II., 506).

کنون انچمن گر پراگند ایم هم پیش تو یک بیک بند ایم

"Now, whether assembled together, or scattered, we are one and all slaves to you."

[After Rustam has devastated Tûrân, the chiefs come and protest their hatred of their King Afrâsiyâb and his tyranny].

انداز کردن "To calculate, deliberate." (Cf. انداختن or انداز کردن). (Sh. N. II., 503).

فراوان بگفتند و انداختند مرآن کار را چاره نشناختند

"They spoke at great length and much deliberated, but they could see no remedy for the matter."

[The young Prince Kai-Khusrau is consulting with his mother in Tûrân on measures to be taken against the plans of Afrâsiyâb].

اندیشم

اندیشم برگزیدن (with اندیشم): "To reflect" (upon). (Sh. N., I., 443).

کنون برگشایم در داستان سخنها و شایستد باستان

یکی داستان گویم بس شگفت که اندیشم از وی توان برگزیدم

ز گنگ سیاوش گویم سخن و زان شهر و آن داستان کن

"Now I will open the door of story (in) words worthy of the ancient times.

"I will tell you a most wondrous story, upon which one may well reflect.

"I will speak of the Gang—(Fortress) of Siyâvash, of his city, and the ancient legend (about them)."

آوردن

آوردن May have the sense of "to delay, to wait," with ساعتی "a moment." (Sh. N., IV., 1806).

سپاسم زیزه ان کزین مرد پیر بر آمد چنین گفتند تا گز پر
اگر ساعتی دیگر آورد می بمردی و بسیا رنم خورد می

“Thanks be to God that words so indispensable have been uttered by that old man ;

“For if I had delayed another moment he would have died, and I should have suffered much sorrow.”

آویختن

—“To contend.” (Sh. N., IV., 1908).

بسی رنج بردی و آویختی سرانجام از آن بده بگریختی

“You have suffered much trouble and have much contended ; you have at last fled from that slave.”

[The words are those of an old monk whom Khusrau Parvîz meets in the desert on his flight towards Rûm after his defeat by Bahrâm-e Chûbîn, the “slave” here alluded to].

—“Contention.” (Sh. N., IV., 1913).

که ما تا سکندر بر شد زین جهان از ایرانیا نیدم خستیم نهان
ز بس غارت و جنگ و آویختن همان بیگانه خیره خون ریختن

(“They said : ‘Since Alexander left the world we have been heart-sore through the Persians—

“Their constant raids, their wars and their contention, their shedding wantonly the blood of the guiltless.”

آویختم (with به) : “Held responsible” (for). (Sh. N. IV., 1744).

که رویش طلبند و او را بگوی که بیداد جنگ برادر مجوی
که هر خون که آید بکین ریخته تو باشی بد آن گیتی آویختم

“(Gau said) : “Go to Talhand and say, ‘Do not unjustly seek war with your brother ;

“For whatever blood is shed in hostility (to him), in the future world you will be held responsible for it’.”

آویزش “Responsibility.” (Sh. N., IV., 1758).

رکار آگاهان موبدی نیکخواه چنان بد که برداشت روزی بشاه
که گاه گنه بگذرا نی همی بید نام آن کس نخوا نی همی
همانرا دگر بازه آویزش است گنه گار اگر چند با پوزش است

“It happened that a faithful Mûbid, an experienced reporter, represented to the King one day :

“At one time you pass over an offence, you do not make ill mention of the author of it.

“(But) on another occasion a person is held responsible for it (by you), however much he, the offender, offer excuses.”

[Cf. the Arabic word تعلق].

آهنگ

کسی را آهنگ بودن (with به): For “a person to be fitted or prepared” (for). (Sh. N., III., 1464).

بدو گفت منذر که ای سرفراز
نفرهنگ نوزت نیا مد فیاز
چو هنگام فرهنگ باشد ترا
بدانائی آهنگ باشد ترا
بایوان نمانم که بازی کنی
بیازی همی سرفرازی کنی

“Munzir said to him, “Exalted Prince, you have not yet any need of learning.

“When the time of learning comes to you, (and) you are fitted for it,

“I will not leave you to play about in the palace, to distinguish yourself (simply) by play and sport.”

آیین

For “the usual practice or custom to be observed.” (Sh. N., I., 431).

گرایدون که فرمان دهد شهریار
بیارم از ایران بمیدان سوار
مرا یار باشند در رزخم گوی
بر آسان که آیین بود بر دوروی

“If, now, the King will give the order, I will bring to the polo-ground cavaliers of Persia

“That shall be my companions in striking the ball according to the usual practice observed for the two sides.”

ب

بزنی گرفتن (e.g., prep. به): “As.” (Sh. N., IV., 1979, rubric).

سرپیچیدن گسته‌م از خسرو و بزنی گرفتن او گردید مرا

Gustahm “turns from allegiance to Khusrau (Parvîz), and takes Gurdiya as wife.

[Gurdiya was the sister of Bahram-e Chûbîn].

—“Towards.” (Sh. N., IV., 1885).

برزمی که کردی چنین گش مشو
هز مند بودی منی فش مشو
بدل دیور ایا رگودی همی
بیزدان گنه گارگودی همی

“Do not be so elated at the battle you have waged ; you have been accomplished and clever, do not be presumptuous.

“In your heart you are becoming an associate of the demon ; you are becoming a sinner towards God.”

— Sometimes before past participles, adjectives, and adverbs used superflously. (Sh. N., II., 515).

بد و گفت گیوای جهاندار کی سرافراز و بید از و فرخنده پی
هم شاد و روشن بچهره تواند بنادیده یکسر بهر تواند

“Giv said to him,” O world-possessing King, exalted, vigilant, of auspicious advent,

“All men are glad and brightened by your face, all love you (even when) unseen (by them).”

[Cf. also the preposition بر].

باد

“Spirit and fire”; or their expression by “fiery words and excitement.” (Sh. N., II., 499).

چو ستم ز قلب سپه بنگرید و گرد دلیر گرانمایه دید
در آویخته بایکی شیر مرد بابرا ندر آورد از باد گرد
بدل گفت رستم که جز پیلسم ز ترکان ندر دکی بادم

“When Rustam looked out from the centre he saw two brave and noble champions

“Contending with a single lion-like man, with clamour raising dust unto the clouds.

“Of all the Turks, said Rustom to himself, no one save Pilsam has this spirit and fire.”

[باد in the second hemistich of the second verse, translated “clamour,” might signify the dust-raising “wind” caused by the rapid movements of the combatants].

“To be overthrown.” (برباد آمدن (i.e., (Sh. N., IV., 1790).

چو او بگذرد زین سرای پنج از و باز ماند بگفتار گنج
شود زو جهان قرن تا قرن شاد جزایوان شمعان برآید بباد

“When he (Muhammad) passes away from this transitory abode, a treasure of words will be left behind him.

“Through him the world from age to age will rejoice, except the King’s palace which will be overthrown.”

[The coming of Muhammad is predicted to Nûshirvân].

“To be ruined.” (برباد شدن (Sh. N., IV., 1790).

سواری رسد هم کنون باد واسپ که برباد شد کار آذر گشسپ
درین بود کامد سوار می چو گردد کم آذر گشسپ این زمان گشت سرد

“Even now,” (said Buzurjmihr), “will a horseman arrive with all speed (to announce) that the business of (the fire-temple) Azar Gushasp is ruined.”

"As he thus spoke a horseman swift as the wind came to announce that the fire of Azar Gushasp was just then out."

["With all speed." The expression is *با دوا سپ* "with two horses," but I venture to take it as equivalent to *دواسپه* Swift as the "wind;" lit., "dust"].

با و برگ (as *با و برگ*): "Fruit and leaves." (Sh. N., IV., 1791).

بخندد و دتمو ز بر سرخ سیدب همی کرد با بار و برگش آتیب
که آن د ستم گل بو وقت بهار بمستی همی داشتی در کنار

"July laughed at the red apple, and reproached its fruit and leaves :

"In time of spring, it said, in wanton love you held that bunch of flowers in your bosom."

با ریدن (often active): "To rain." (Sh. N., IV., 1741).

تو گفتی هوا تیغ با رده می بخاک اندرون لاله کارده می

"It was as though the air were raining swords; were planting in the ground anemones."

[Steingass gives *با ریدن* اشک but does not emphasize the fact that *با ریدن* is often active].

بازار
تیز بازار (as *بازار*): "High valuation set upon a thing." (Sh. N., IV., 1816).

چو بشنید بهرام گفتار اوی بخندد از آن تیز بازار اوی

"When Bahrâm (-e Chûbîn) heard his words, he laughed at his high valuation of himself."

بازی
"To make a move; to play a game." (Sh. N., IV., 1852).

چنین گفت پس گردیده با سپاه که ای نامداران جوینده راه

* * *

چه بینید یکسر بکار اندرون چه بازی نهید اندرین دشت خون

"Then Gurdiya spoke thus to the troops: O famous warriors, eager for the road,

"What are your views in general as to this? What game would you play upon this field of blood?"

[Gurdiya was the sister of Bahrâm-e Chûbîn, the ambitious general who was seeking the sovereignty of Persia].

فرستم یکی نامه نزد یک شاه مگر با شتی باز خواند سپاه (for آشتی) : "In peace." (Sh., N., I., 412).

"I will send a letter to the King, (so that), perchance, he may in peace recall the troops."

باور

"To be believed," (with dative or suffixed pronoun it is equivalent to "To believe"). (Sh. N., I., 349).

غمین گشت سهراب رادل بدان که جامی نیا مد ز رستم نشان
نشان داده بداد زید رمادرش همی دید و دیده نبد باورش

Suhrâb's heart grew sorrowful that nowhere any indications of Rustam appeared.

His mother had given him indication of his father, and he saw them, but he did not believe in what he saw.

Which must be." (Sh. N., IV., 1910).

ز تو نیز هرگز ندیدم بدی نیا بازی بکثری و نا بخردی
و لیکن ز کار سپهر بلند نیا شد شگفت ارشوی پرگزندی
چو بایستم کاری بود ایزدی بیک سورو دانش و بخردی

In you too I have never seen any evil : you do not aim at falseness or lack of wisdom ;

But through the action of the lofty spheres, 'twill be be no wonder if you suffer misfortune.

Since the divine action is that which must be, knowledge and wisdom must be left aside.

بت

"Idolater." (Sh. N., III., 1506).

بت آرای بیند چو ایشان بچین شکستم شود بر بتان آفرین
"If an idolater should see them in China, his praise of idols would be broken off."

تنها or بتنها is apparently equivalent to بتنها تن (Sh. N., IV., 1895).

بتنها تن او خود یکی لشکرست جهان گبر و بیدار و کند آورست

He, alone, indeed, is a whole army ; he is a world-conqueror, he is vigilant, and bold.

بخشايش

"To be indulgent, kind, or liberal" (to). Sh. N., IV., 1782).

چو من بگذرم زین پنجهی سرای جهان را ببایدی کی کدخدای
کم بخشایش آرد بد رویش بر به بیگانه و مردم خویش بر

"When I pass away from this transitory abode, a Ruler will be wanted for the world :

"One who would be indulgent to the poor, to strangers, and to his own people too."

"To divide, to distribute," (e.g., into categories). (Sh. N., IV., 1768). (Cf. بخش کردن).

بهر سید گفتار چند است و چیست که بهری همی زو بباید گریست
دگر بهر تاجست و گنجست و نام از آن مستمندی وزین شاد کام
چنین داد پاسخ که داناستن ببخشید و اندیشم افکند بن

"He asked, "How many are the forms of speech, and what are they, some of which one must bewail,

"Whilst others are crown, treasure, and name—from the former you are wretched, from the latter blessed?"

"He thus gave answer, The wise man has given thought (to the subject), and has divided speech (into several categories)."

"To be merciful" (بر بخشیدن with) (as بخشیدن (to) (Sh. N., IV., 1835).

چو خاقان چین زینهارى شود از آن برترى سوى خوارى شود
شهنشاه باید که بخشد بروی چو یکبار زودور شد رنگ و بوی

"Since the Ruler of Turkistan is now a refugee seeking protection, and in abasement after all his exaltitude,

"The King must be merciful to him, since his power has altogether left him."

"Wicked, of evil nature." (بد امیزا equivalent to) (Sh. N., IV., 1862).

بدوداد مرد بد امیز را چنان بد کنش دزد خون ریز را

"He gave the wicked man over to him, one so iniquitous, a thief, a murderer."

"Base, ignoble; base-born," (Sh. N., IV., 1883). (Cf. بی بن بد بن)

تو از بتان بودی و بد نشان نه از تخم ساسان رسیدی بنان

"You are of the base and wicked. Have you not derived your sustenance from the descendants of Sâsân ?

[Khusrau Parvîz is speaking to the ambitious general Bahrâm-e Chûbîn].

بد کام "Having evil designs." (Sh. N., IV., 2017).

بجوئید گفت این بلاجوی را بد اندیش و بد کام و بد روی را
"Search," said he, "this seeker of trouble, this malevolent man of evil designs and aspect."

بد منش "Nauseated, disgusted." (Sh. N., IV., 2002).

با یرا نیان گفت این خون کدست نهاد بدیش من از بهر چیست

بد و گفت مرید که خون بلید کزو بد منش گشت هر کس که دید

"He said to the Persians, "Whose blood is this, and why has it been placed before me ?"

"A Mûbid said to him, "It is foul blood, at which everyone who sees it is nauseated."

[Cf. منش زدن (گشتن or کردن) "To nauseate ; to have a disordered stomach." (Steingass)].

— (Cf. 100 منش). "Ignoble, trivial-minded, sordid." (Sh. N., IV., 2004).

ز کار زمانه غمی گشت سخت از آن بد منش کودکشور بخت

"He became sorely afflicted at the work of Fortune at that ill-fated, trivial-minded boy."

[A Mûbid finds Shîrûya (Siroes), the son of Khusrau Parvîz engaged in very trivial pursuits].

بر

بر "Before"; (as it were). "In appeal to." (Sh. N., IV., 1920).

بر آن سان کم بشنید نیرنگ ساز زنی ساخت با گیسوان دراز

هر آن کس که دیدی مراور از دور زنی یا فتی شیفتهم پوز نور

کم بگر یستی بر مسیحا بزا در رخ سرخو مژگان چو ابر بهار

"The magician, in the way he had been told, fashioned a woman with long ringlets.

"Whoever might see her from afar would find her a woman crazed with love and of brilliant beauty ;

"Who wept piteously before the Messiah—her two cheeks red, her eyelashes like a cloud of Spring."

[The Qaisar has had a talisman made to deceive the Persians. He pretends it is a (supposed) daughter of his, and that she is weeping for the loss of her husband but will not utter a word].

—"Beyond, in addition to." (Sh. N., IV., 1895).

چو پیداشود چاک روز سفید کنم دل ز کار جهان نا امید
بیا ئیم با تو بر او دراز بنزد یک بهرام گردن فراز
برین برکم گفتم نجویم زمان اگر یار ممدی کند آسمان

"When the streaks of white day appear, my heart shall give up hope of worldly interests ;

"I will accompany you on the long journey to the presence of the exalted Bahrâm.

"I will not seek any delay beyond what I have spoken of, if the Sky afford its favouring help."

[The words are supposed to be spoken by Khusrau Parvîz to his adherent Bandûy, to be repeated by him to Khusrau's brother Bahrâm, who has pursued him to a fortress-monastery. They are really those of Bandûy, who has enabled Khusrau to escape, and who now speaks as though under his dictation].

—"As to, as regards." (Sh. N., II, 505).

میان را بکین برادر ببند ز فتر اک مکشای هرگز کمند
میا سایی بر کین از افرا سیاب ز دل دور کن خور دو آرام و خواب

"Gird your waist to avenge your brother; never loosen your lasso from the saddle-strap.

"Do not desist from hostility with Afrâsiyâb; put from your heart (the thought of) food, rest, and sleep."

[Lit., "Do not have done with Afrâsiyâb as regards hostility"].

بر is sometimes, like ب (b), used redundantly before adjectives and adverbs. (Sh. N., I., 446).

فراوان برین نگذرد روزگار کم برد سه بیداردل شهر یار
شوم زار من کشتم بر بی گناه کسی دیگر آید برین تاج و گاه

"A long time will not elapse before I, at the hands of the watchful King,

"Shall, though innocent, be miserably slain, while another will come to this crown and throne."

بر (bar-e).

بر "With, *aupres de*." (Sh. N., IV., 1834).

درباره بگشای وزینهار خواہ بر شاه کشور موایا رخواہ

"Open the gate of the fortress, and seek protection; seek my friendly offices with the King of the country."

—“Near.” (Sh. N., IV., 1835).

چونامه بیا مد بنزد یک شاه بابرا ند ر آ و ر د فرخ کلاه
فرستاد و ایرانیان را بخواند برنامور تخت شاهى نشاند

“When the letter reached King (Hurmuzd) he greatly rejoiced.

“He sent and summoned the Persians, and seated them near the famous royal throne.”

A “Mandate”; i.e., here, a mandate or decree from God to die. (Sh. N. IV., 1745).

شدا از رنج و زبستگی شاه مات چنین یافت از چرخ گردان برات

“The King, distressed and encompassed, was reduced to the last extremity, and thus he died by the decree of the rolling Sphere.”

[It need scarcely be mentioned that the rolling Sphere or Fortune acts only under the command of God].

“To mean, intend, purpose.” (Sh. N., IV., 1902).

وگر خود بر آنی که گوئی همی بدل راه کژی نجوئی همی
زبنداین دویای من آزاد کن نخستین بخسرو برین یاد کن

“If you really mean what you say, and, in your heart, you seek not the path of falseness,

“Free these two legs of mine from fetters, and speak first of all to Khusrau of this matter.”

“Proud, impatient.” (Sh. N., III., 1414).

کسی کو بود نیز و برتر منش به پیچد ز پیغاره و سرزنش

مبادا که گیرد بنزد تو جایی چنین مردا اگر باشد ترهنمای

“The person who is impetuous and impatient, who turns from reprehension and reproof—

“Let not such a man find place near you or be your guide.

[Counsel of Ardashîr Bâbakân to his son Shâpûr].

“To represent.” (Sh. N., IV., 1758, and 1760). See داشتن

“To be excited.” (Sh. N., IV., 1817). See دیدن

—“To rush forth, to spur up” (neuter). (Sh. N., III., 1468). See دیدن

برزدن or زدن (with بر) ; برزدن (with ز) : "To oppose." (Sh. N., IV., 1731). See زدن

برگ و شاخ "Power, wealth, prosperity." (Sh. N., IV., 1762).

چنین د ا د پاسخ که دستفراخ همی نو کند مرد را برگ و شاخ
"He thus gave answer : The open hand renews a man's prosperity."

A "saddle-horse." (Sh. N., IV., 1800).

چنان بد که اسپه ز آخر بچست که بد شاه پر و یز را بر نشست
"It so happened that a horse, the saddle-horse of the Prince Parvîz, escaped from the stable."

بزار (as زار) Cf. under به بنده : "Lamentably." (Sh. N., II., 536).

بخوا هشگری رفتم ای شهر دار و گر نه سرش را بکندی بزار
"I used intercession, O King, otherwise he would have cut off his head lamentably."

بیچیدن (or بیچیدن) is composed of the particle به (ba for bi) and the verb بچیدن but it has generally taken the place of the simple verb.

بن

بن افگندن (with با of person, and accusative of thing) :
"To arrange, make an arrangement" (with). (Sh. N., I., 419).

پراگنده گردد بد هر این سخن که با شاه توران فگندیم بن
This matter which I have arranged with the King of Tûrân would be spread throughout the world.

[The Prince Siyâvash is deprecating the breaking of faith with the King of Tûrân, Afrâsiyâb, whose daughter he has married].

—"To conceive" (an idea). (Sh. N., IV., 1914).

از ایشان چو بشنید قیصر سخن یکی دیگر اندیشم افگند بن
"When the Qaisar heard their words he conceived a different idea."

[The advisers of the Qaisar have dissuaded him from helping Khusrau Parvîz].

—"To begin," (as a speech). (Sh. N., III., 1476).

ز بهرام بشنید مندر سخن بمردی یکی پاسخ افگند بن
"Munzir heard the words of Bahram, and began to speak in answer manfully."

مجهو نیدازین پس کس از من سخن کزین باره ام دانش آمدین
 "To reach (its or their) limits." (Sh. N., IV., 1852).

"Seek not, any one of you, further words from me, for, as regards this matter, my knowledge and views reach their limits (in the words I have spoken)."

بین شدن "To come to a definite issue." (Sh. N., IV., 1915).

ز هر گونه داستا نها زدیم بران رای پیشینم باز آمدیم
 کنون رای و گفتار هاشد بین گشایم در گنجهای کهن

"We have discussed the matter on every side; we have altered our former judgment.

"Our judgment and words have now come to a definite issue; I will open the door of my old treasures."

بین آوردن "To result in, to entail." (lit., "to bring at the end"). (Sh. N., I., 471).

(Cf. بن کا خوردن "To be anxious about the issue or consequences of a matter").

مفرمای اکنون رتیزی ممکن که نیزی پیشمانی آرد بین
 "Do not give such order now: be not precipitate; for precipitation results in repentance."

[Pilsam is trying to dissuade Afrâsiyâb from executing Siyâvash].

بند

ببند داشتن (با) : "To confine" (to). (Sh. N., IV. 1845).

سپهد سپه را همه داد بند همی داشت پابند لب را ببند
 "The general gave the army only counsel: he confined his tongue to giving counsel."

بنیاد "A site." (Sh. N., I., 442).

See quotation under آباد beginning,

بعائی رسیدند که با دبود یکی خوب تر خنده بنیاد بود

They reached a place that was convenient, as being fit for cultivation and building, (a place) that had a good and happy site.

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued.)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

I

HIGGINS' "APOLOGY"*.

"THE object of the following Essay is to abate the mischievous spirit of intolerance which has hitherto existed between the followers of Jesus and those of Mohammed by shewing that the religions of both, however unfortunately changed by time, are the same in their original foundation and principle." With these words, Godfrey Higgins, a Yorkshire squire, and a Member of the Asiatic Society, presented his tract "An Apology for the Life and Character of the Celebrated Prophet of Arabia, called Mohamed or the Illustrious" published in A.D. 1829, a reprint of which "edited, with introduction, critical notes, appendices and a chapter on Islam by Mirza Abu'l-Fazl" now lies before us, published by the Reform Society, Daryabad, Allahabad in A.D. 1929. Higgins was of those Christian writers who regard Islâm as a form of Christianity no more heretical than that of admittedly Christian Unitarians. There is plenty of internal evidence in this treatise that he was a man who would in any age have been regarded as a "crank"; the recurrence of an altogether perverse and groundless theory—that the Caliph 'Othmân was the actual author of the Qur'ân as we possess it—will suffice as an example; but, a little madness notwithstanding, his work contains close reasoning and telling arguments as well as proofs of an unusual magnanimity. No doubt his reputation as a "crank" prevented the dedication of his little book "To the Noblemen and Gentlemen of the Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland," wherein he expresses his wish to correct "what appear to me to be the erroneous opinions which some of the Members of your Society (as well as others of my countrymen) entertain respecting the religion of many millions of the inhabitants of the Oriental countries, about the

* Mr. Godfrey Higgins' Apology for Mohamed (a Verbatim reprint) edited with introduction, critical notes, appendices and a chapter on Islam by Mirza Abu'l Fazl, Allahabad, Reform Society.

welfare of whom you meritoriously interest yourselves," from having the desired effect. Also, perhaps, the fact that he did not mince matters enough for "noblemen and gentlemen" who were nearly all bound by faith or fastidiousness to the tenets of the Church of England as by law established.

"The domestic slavery of the Mohamedans is no doubt indefensible, but what is this compared to the African slave trade and the plantations of the West Indies? We hear enough in all conscience of Popes of Rome and Archbishops of Canterbury, of councils and convocations, of bulls, articles, canons and concordats; but when did we ever hear of any public act of these men against this horrible traffic? Shew me the bull, shew me the canon or act of convocation. The Bishops of Rome and Canterbury themselves deserve the epithet of *pander to the base passions of their followers*, which they give to Mohamed, for not having, when the atrocity of this traffic was clearly proved, excommunicated all those engaged in carrying it on, as was done by the Quakers.... We make many professions of a wish to convert the poor Negroes; I advise our missionary societies to use their enormous wealth in giving the Negroes their freedom as soon as converted, declaring them brothers, after the example of the Mohamedans. I can assure them that this will make more proselytes than all their sermons."

And, in an earlier passage :

"I shall abstain from giving any account of, or copying, the disgusting trash which has been written respecting the character and conduct of Mohamed by the Christian priests—some of them (Prideaux for instance) men of great learning and high respectability—men who, indeed, ought to have been above such conduct, but whose zeal in this case has actually destroyed their sense of right and wrong and, as it should seem, taken away from them the use of their understandings. If I were to detail the vulgar abuse in which they have indulged, no information respecting the character of Mohamed would thereby be conveyed to any *liberal or reflecting mind* and the Christian religion would be wounded by the infamous behaviour of its professors."

"Though that most Christian and pious emperor, Theudoseus, decreed the destruction of the beautiful temples of the ancients, the priests had not the same objections to their rites and ceremonies. The tawdry, dirty, disgusting churches of the Romish and Greek Christians

in every part of Europe—their pictures, images, festivals, processions and ceremonies, taken from the very worst parts—the dregs—of pagan idolatry,—prove that the priests of the religion of purity could condescend to the basest of accommodations to delude or to increase the number of their proselytes, a practice actually recommended by the person admitted by a majority of Christians to be the head of the religion itself. *Pander to the base passions* of his followers, indeed! Where can anything like this be found in the religion of the *Impostor*? The prejudices of the Pagans or of the Christians are equally set at defiance. No holy water, no relic, no image, no picture, no saint, no mother of God, disgrace his religion. No such doctrines as the efficacy of faith without works, or that of a death-bed repentance, plenary indulgences, absolution or auricular confession, operate first to corrupt, then to deliver up his followers into the power of a priesthood, which would of course be always more corrupt and more degraded than themselves. No, indeed! The adoration of one God without mother or mystery or pretended miracle, and the acknowledgment that he, a mere man, was sent to preach the duty of offering adoration to the Creator alone, constituted the simple doctrinal part of the religion of the Unitarian of Arabia.”

It is as a Unitarian Christian reformer that this author throughout his work represents the Prophet, and at a time when Unitarian Christians had only lately ceased to be persecuted even in England, it may be doubted whether such representation would not be rather a hindrance than an aid to his impassioned plea for tolerance. But he goes much further. It would, indeed, appear that he holds the Muslim view that the coming of Muhammad (May God bless him!) is distinctly foretold both in the Old and New Testaments: that he is, in truth, both the “Comforter” of the Christians and the Messiah of the Jews. He does not merely state this opinion, but supports it by a series of arguments so interesting that we cannot refrain from quoting some of them. He is probably quite right in his contention that the multitudes of Christians and considerable numbers of Jews who accepted Islâm in the first century A.D. were converts on the ground of Scriptural prophecy.

“It was the universal tradition, as well as the words of the record, the gospel histories, that Jesus, before his ascension, promised his disciples that he would send a

person to them in some capacity or other ; the Greek of our Gospels says, as a *Paraklytos*, translated comforter. The Mohammedans maintained, and yet maintain, that Mohamed was this person foretold by Jesus Christ, the same as Cyrus was by Isaiah—both by name ; that he was called by Jesus not by a word which ought to be rendered in the Greek language, as in our gospel histories, *paraklytos*, but *periklutos*, which means not comforter, but famous or illustrious, and which in Arabic, is the meaning of the word Mohamed ; that the gospel of the Christians had originally the latter of those words, but that it was corrupted to disguise the truth . . . The fact of the loss of the autographs cannot be denied . . . and as for ancient copies there does not exist one before the sixth century . . . Those who would destroy the ancient manuscripts of the gospel histories, would not scruple at re-writing a skin of parchment on which an ancient father's work was written ; and it is admitted by the first divines of the Christians that they have been corrupted to serve other purposes ; and those who would do it in one case would do it in another. That the word being confessed to be Hebrew, if it be wrongly written, it is much more likely that the early Christian writers, *the greatest liars upon earth*, should lie to serve their own purpose, than that St. John, a Hebrew, understanding both Hebrew and Greek . . . should have made a mistake . . . They further add, that it is a well-known fact that a person was expected by great numbers of Christians in accordance with the prophecy, from a very early period, which shews that the construction put upon the passage in the Acts, by the Roman Church and by Protestants, was not general. Of this Montanus, in the second century, earlier than Tertullian, furnishes an example. He was considered by his followers to be the promised person, which afforded to his opponents an opportunity for propagating the unfounded and malicious report that he pretended to be the Holy Ghost. That it was to meet these persons, particularly Montanus, that the gospel histories were falsified, long before the time of the real true paraclete or periclyte, as Mohamed by his success, is proved to have been. That after the time of Montanus, but long before the time of Mohamed, Manes was also held by his followers, who constituted, as Mons. Beausobre has proved, a great, learned and powerful sect, to be the promised person. These persons seem, of all others, to have been the most likely to have understood the language in which Jesus spoke, and they could not discover the person in the twelve tongues of fire,

“The argument of the Mohamedans respecting the translation of the word into Gr. *paraklutos* instead of *paraklytos*, receives a strong support from the mode adopted by St. Jerome in the Latin Vulgate in rendering it by the Latin word *Paraclitus* instead of *Paracletus*. This shews that the copy from which St. Jerome translated must have had the word *paraklutos* and not *paraklytos*. Of the gospel of Barnabas, Mr. Sale says in the preface to his translation of the Koran p. 98. ‘This book appears to be no original forgery of the Mohamedans, though they have no doubt interpolated and altered it since, the better to serve their purpose ; and in particular, instead of the *Paraclete*, or *Comforter*, they have in this apocryphal gospel inserted the word *Periclyte*, that is, the famous or illustrious, by which they pretend their prophet was foretold by name, that being the signification of Mohamed in Arabic.’ . . . It must be confessed that the word, as written by Bishop Marsh and as it is almost certain that it must have been used (as he observes) by Jesus Christ, appears strongly to support the assertion of the Mohamedans. . . . I am of opinion that the Mohamedans have as much right to render this word by the word *Periclyte* or *Periclyte*, as the Christians have by the word *Paraclete*. Nay more, I maintain that the balance of probability is on the side of the Mohamedans, because the Christians cannot be justified in rendering the Chaldee jod in the last syllable by the Greek letters *e* or *y* instead of the letter *i*. . . . If this were a Chaldee, Hebrew or Arabic word, used by Jesus, it ought to have the sense given to it which the word in those languages means. . . . It is admitted by Bishop Marsh, an authority not to be disputed when quoted in argument by a Mohamedan, that it is a Syro-Chaldee word, or an Arabic word, and not Greek. One or both of these languages must have been spoken or at least understood by Mohamed, and there is no reason to believe that the Greek translation of the word would ever become a subject of discussion by him. What had he to do in Arabia with Greek translations of the speeches of Jesus ? . . . Of what use could they be to people who did not understand a word of them, but who understood the original spoken by Jesus ? . . . He received the word as a human person, like many other sects in that day, and would as little allow it to mean the third person of a Trinity as the Unitarians do at this day. . . .

“Thus much respecting the prophecy of Mohamed in the New Testament. But he was also, as his followers

say, foretold by name in the Old. The Reverend and very pious Mr. Parkhurst, a most unwilling witness, on the root HMD, says : ' This word is applied to all sorts of sacred things, both of the true and false worship, which were to the respective parties eminently the *objects of their desire and affections*. See, inter al., Hag. ii. 7, *And the desire of all nations shall come* : HMD—From this root the pretended prophet Mohamed or Mahomet had his name.' On this passage of Mr. Parkhurst's a Mohamedan would exclaim : ' Here you see, that he was actually foretold by name in the old as well as in the New Testament—that the application of this prophecy to Jesus Christ has, in fact, been a mistake ; it was intended, as the name shows, for the person sent by Jesus himself to complete his mission, and referred to by him in the word *epaggelian*, Luke XXIV. 49. And for this I have the authority of your own very celebrated divine, Parkhurst. That it was meant for Mohamed, and not for Jesus or the Holy Ghost or a divine influence, is evident because it foretells the former by name. No Mohamedan corruption of a text can be pretended here. ' "

There is much more of interest on the same subject and much more of interest on other subjects in this early nineteenth century tract. While every Muslim will admit that the atmosphere of Christendom has grown much more tolerant since Godfrey Higgins wrote, it is doubtful whether such a work would be any more acceptable to " noblemen and gentlemen " today, on account of the pugnacity of style. Among Arabists at least, the prejudice has almost disappeared, so that one of the greatest living Orientalists, when questioned by the present reviewer, could only think, of one well-known Oriental scholar in all Europe who would venture, for one moment, to question the absolute sincerity of Muhammad (God bless him) in his rôle of Prophet ; and that one exception was a professional Christian missionary. From its tone and the nature of its contents this essay of Godfrey Higgins must always be more agreeable and consequently more instructive to Muslims than to Christians ; and Mr. Abu'l Fazl has done well to unearth it and republish it in the East just a century after its first appearance in the West. Mr. Abu'l Fazl is a gifted and a fertile writer, whose pen is wholly at the service of Islâm. His contributions to the present work as Editor are all that one could wish except in one respect : that he is over-positive in the solution of some problems which remain problems to the closest students of the day. He holds unusual views on the

nature of Divine Revelation, and is persuaded that the Qur'ân is with him. He is as much entitled to those views and that persuasion as we are to express our utter disagreement; but when he asserts positively, as though there were no doubt whatever on the point, against the tradition and belief of the majority of Muslims, against the bulk and weight of German "higher" criticism, and the accepted meaning of the text, that the Qur'ân expounds his view of Revelation, it is a little irritating. We mention it only to prepare the Muslim reader, and there should be thousands of Muslim readers of this very interesting work, for the slight shock which we ourselves received.

Appendix V contains a gem of psalmody which was unknown to this reviewer though a student of such matters. We knew that in the middle nineteenth century little Protestant boys in a provincial town in England used to call after a small Roman Catholic boy who afterwards became a well-known politician :

"Catholic ! Catholic ! Quack ! Quack ! Quack !

"Go to the devil and never come back. !"

But we had not imagined that even in the eighteenth a divine of the rank of Charles Wesley would have indulged in similar abuse and made it part of public worship. In a long quotation from the work of Bosworth Smith, we find "the following hymn written by Charles Wesley for 'believers interceding' for Muhammedans, and still, as I am informed, used by some of them at their religious services"

"The smoke of the infernal cave
 "Which half the Christian world o'erspread,
 "Disperse, thou heavenly light, and save
 "The souls by that impostor led—
 "That Arab thief, as Satan bold,
 "Who quite destroyed thy Asian fold.

"Oh, may thy blood once sprinkled cry
 "For those who spurn thy sprinkled blood !
 "Assert thy glorious Deity.
 "Stretch out thine arm, thou triune God !
 "The Unitarian fiend expel,
 "And chase his doctrines back to hell !"

When, after reading in this book a simple account of the teaching and the life work of our Prophet, and the changes wrought by Islâm, we come upon a thing like that, we

cannot but regard the greater tolerance of these days as a triumph for Islām.

M. P

II

MR. VAKIL AT AJANTA.

A valuable and most welcome addition to the literature of the Ajanta caves is "*At Ajanta*" by Mr. K. H. Vakīl,* the eminent Indian art critic. Those who are already acquainted with the work of Mr. Vakīl expect scrupulous accuracy and a dignified restraint of style protecting, and hiding as fair clothing hides, his rich and contagious enthusiasm and they will not be disappointed in this work ; for, small though it is in compass, and designed to be no more than an artist's handbook to the treasures of the caves, it is more enlightening than larger works that have been written on the subject. After describing the various routes to Ajanta with the cost of travel and refreshment, Mr. Vakīl gives the recent history of the cave-temples from their re-discovery in 1819 "by Europeans employed as officers in the Madras Army" until His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government "organised in 1914, an Archæological Department for the specific purpose of conserving adequately the art-treasurers at Ajanta." He then describes the situation of the caves and from thence onward his guidebook is no more a guidebook for the reader, but a work of literature.

"The rock-shrines of Ajanta are situated about four miles north of the village of that name, on one of the Ghats which mark the boundary of the Deccan table-land as distinguished from that of Khandesh alongside the valley of the river Tapti. Their site has been selected with the care and attention which almost invariably distinguish the work of ancient temple-builders. The quiet secluded spot chosen by the Buddhist monks is testimony to the nature-worship which soothed and stimulated their religious activities, the nature-worship which could be seen in all abundance in the paintings and carvings of their temples. The semi-circular scarp of rock, nearly 250 feet high in which they have been cut, carved and decorated with paintings, the verdant slopes of the rocks opposite and the *sat kund* cascade, vivacious at one end of the ravine, ter-

* At Ajanta. By Kanaiyalal H. Vakīl, B.A., LL.B.

Foreword by W.E. Gladstone Solomon, I.E.S., with 38 Illustrations. Bombay, Taraporevala Sons & Co.

minating at the other as the gentle sinuous Waghora stream and mimicking the leisurely movement of clouds, and the luminous blue of the skies, disclose for them a setting of dramatic intensity irresistible."

Having told us that the Ajanta caves "have been classified, broadly, as *chaityas* and *viharas* "; that vihara caves were for the residence of the monks, whereas the chaityas were places of worship only; and that their character and use have been entirely Buddhist, no traces of Hinduism or Jainism having been found there, Mr. Vakîl goes on to describe the caves themselves, generally and in detail, and so interesting are all his remarks that it is difficult to pick out any of them as more than the rest, deserving of quotation. We select the following :

" Can any intelligent observer fail to recognise in the painting on the left wall inside cave XVI, generally described as the " Dying Princess " the indisputable perfection of workmanship accomplished by the artist trained by centuries of discipline, national, religious and artistic ? Was not the power, hard-won and preserved by generations of artists, necessary for the master-piece which at the first glance, scatters all our pre-conceived notions and obsessions ? The last flicker, almost extinct, of life in the helpless abandon of the " Dying Princess ", the infinite anguish in the lowering eyes which terminate her earthly sight and vision, the affectionate farewell in the drops like the fall of a feather, of the fingers on the arm of the girl by her side, whose unbelieving eyes and enquiring fingers vainly question the shocking calamity, and, finally, the piteous droop of the limbs sliding towards the arm which, now withdrawn in defeat, proclaims the triumph of death, communicate instantly untold grief, reflected in the attitude and expressions of the attendants around the Princess, to every spectator of the sad drama. Can any formula, any convention interpret it ? Of this painting Griffiths rightly says : for pathos and sentiment and the unmistakable way of telling its story, this picture, I consider, cannot be surpassed in the history of Art. The Florentines could have put better drawing and the Venetians better colour, but neither could have thrown greater expression into it."

In addition to his charming commentary on the paintings, Mr. Vakîl has a chapter on the sculptures of Ajanta, which are generally overlooked, the ordinary visitor speaking of the temples of Ajanta as the painted caves and those of Ellora as the sculptured caves of the

Nizam's Dominions. " For reliefs high and low, for sculpture in the round, for impressive individual figures as well as for large-scale composition, for arabesques, for geometric patterns, as well as for architectural renderings in sculpture, Ajanta offers as valuable a field of investigation and guidance as can be found at any other single ancient spot or monument in India. It should be realised that in the compact amphitheatre of cave-cathedrals at Ajanta, chapters in the history of Indian sculpture could be traced, in continuity more or less, through a period of over seven hundred years, the complete period when Buddhism rose, developed and declined as the dominant religion of the land."

So says Mr. Vakil, and we accept his statement as the word of a competent authority. The book contains a foreword by Capt. W. E. Gladstone Solomon, and a profusion of excellent photographic illustrations, for many of which the publishers acknowledge indebtedness to Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, Director of Archaeology, His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Government. No studious visitor of Ajanta should be without this admirable little work, which is of handy shape and size.

M. P.

